

IMPACTS OF POLICIES AFTER 1980 ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS: THE  
“UNOCCUPIED” BUILDINGS OF *EMLAKBANK*, *SÜMERBANK* AND  
*TEKEL* IN ULUS IN ANKARA

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IN ULUS IN ANKARA**

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## ABSTRACT

IMPACTS OF POLICIES AFTER 1980 ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS: THE  
“UNOCCUPIED” BUILDINGS OF *EMLAKBANK*, *SÜMERBANK* AND *TEKEL* IN  
*ULUS* IN ANKARA

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This thesis examines the “unoccupied” buildings in Ankara, which are not re-functioned due to the social, political, and economic reasons after 1980s. 1980s can be accepted as the breaking point in the social, economic and political history of Turkey. The significant policy of this period is the privatization of the governmental institutions, which includes the institutions of service, production and also finance. The building stock of privatized institutions is sold or assigned to the other institutions, or demolished.

The object of the thesis is the unoccupied buildings in Ankara. The thesis particularly focuses on three of these buildings, which are *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* Buildings in *Ulus*. The thesis aims to understand the common points how these buildings become unoccupied. The possessions of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* were transferred from the public sector (government) to the private sector (business) after 1980s. Their buildings, which

were used as the central administration buildings are still unoccupied. Although they are physically present, their non-presence in terms of function can be considered to be creating “voids” of the city. For each building, related data is collected. The selected buildings and the institutions, they belonged to, are studied through their limited chronologies (their stories) by the help of the newspapers, interviews, laws, codes and regulations. The collected data helps to analyze the objects as a text, which provides evaluation of the total scene (i.e. the city of Ankara). By thoroughly investigating and discussing unoccupied buildings and their reasons of becoming unoccupied, this study makes an alternative reading of the transformation of Ankara.

**Keywords:** Unoccupied Buildings, *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank*, *TEKEL*, Neo-liberal Policies after 1980.

## ÖZ

### 1980 SONRASI POLİTİKALARIN KAMU YAPILARI ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ: ANKARA' DA, ULUS'TA BOŞALAN EMLAKBANK, SÜMERBANK VE TEKEL MERKEZ BİNALARI

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Bu tez, 1980li yıllarda Türkiye'de yaşanan sosyal, politik ve ekonomik değişimlerin ardından Ankara'da varolan boş yapıları incelemektedir. Söz konusu boş yapılar, boşaltılmalarının ardından yeniden işlevlendirilemeyen yapılardır. 1980li yıllar Türkiye'nin sosyal, ekonomik ve politik tarihi açısından önemli bir dönemdir. Bu nedenle, 1980'lerin sonunda boş kalan bu yapılar, Türkiye'nin sosyal, politik ve ekonomik değişimlerinin bir sonucudur. Bu tez, Ankara'daki boş yapılar içerisinde üç yapıyı örnek çalışma alanı olarak seçer. Bu yapılar, Ulus'taki Emlak Bankası, Sümerbank ve TEKEL İnhisarlar Baş Müdürlüğü binalarıdır . Bu tezin amacı tüm bu seçilen yapılar arasındaki ortak noktaları araştırmak ve tartışmaktır. 1980li yıllarda Türkiye'de yürütülen temel politikalardan biri devletin hizmet, üretim ve finans kurumlarının yani Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüslerinin (KİT) özelleştirilmesi politikasıdır. Emlak Bankası, TEKEL ve Sümerbank bu kapsamda özel sektöre satılmış ve/veya tasfiye edilmiştir. Özelleştirmenin ardından kurumların Türkiye'deki yapı stokları da satılmış, başka bir kuruluşa devredilmiş ya da yıkılmıştır. Ancak bu tez, söz konusu kurumların

başkent Ankara'da bulunan merkez yönetim binalarını ele almaktadır. Çünkü Ankara'nın yapılı çevresini genellikle kamu yapıları oluşturmaktadır. Söz konusu yapıların "boş" olma hali, kent ölçeğinde "kentsel boşluk" yaratmaktadır. Seçilen yapıların ve kurumlarının hikayeleri, yazılı (gazete, dergi, kanun, yönetmelik, bilirkişi raporları vb.) ve sözlü kaynaklar aracılığı ile elde edilen bilgiler ile incelenmektedir. Bu tez, tüm bu değerlendirmeler doğrultusunda bu yapıların neden boş olduğunu anlamaya çalışırken, Ankara'nın dönüşümünü de farklı bir açıdan değerlendirmeyi amaç edinmektedir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Boş Yapılar, Emlakbank, Sümerbank, TEKEL, 1980 sonrası Neo-liberal Politikalar.

To my family



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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the “unoccupied” buildings in Ankara. The unoccupied buildings, which are not re-functioned after they become unoccupied due to the social, political, and economic changes, will be discussed with the emphasis on the impacts of neo-liberal policies after 1980s. Although the unoccupied buildings exist physically in the city they are not used by the public, and in that manner they can be seen as “voids” of the city. Actually, the research on these buildings in relation to the city of Ankara helps to provide a base for the re-reading of Ankara; a base to understand the recent transformation of Ankara in physical and social sense.

Generally speaking, neither buildings nor city can be analyzed without their social, political and economic context. Transformation of a city affects (the conditions of) buildings, and in a similar way buildings define and affect the physical and social structure/character of a city. Considering the thesis’ problem, the unoccupied buildings are the physical / material signs of the changes in political, economic and social processes, which shape the city of Ankara.

In order to investigate the reasons why the public buildings become unoccupied, the thesis particularly focuses on the buildings, namely *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* buildings in *Ulus* in Ankara. These buildings are selected due to the fact that, they are the concrete representations of their institutions, which were

established as the State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and played a significant role as the keystones of the social and economic development of the newly established Turkish Republic. Moreover, these buildings as the representatives of their institutions are located in *Ulus*, which was the city centre of Ankara in the Early Republican period, and they were the parts of the social, economic and political life in *Ulus*. Therefore, the thesis aims to understand the social, economic and political reasons that lead to transformation of these buildings, which results in the transformation of *Ulus* and the city of Ankara. Then, the thesis asks questions that are listed below in order to understand the conditions of these unoccupied buildings and the relations in between these buildings (micro scale) and the city (macro scale):

1. Why are these buildings unoccupied?
2. Under which conditions are they unoccupied?
3. What are the political/economic/social reasons that make these buildings unoccupied?
4. What are the related planning/architectural decisions that make buildings unoccupied?
5. What are the after effects of the condition of being unoccupied in urban scale?
  - A. In terms of architecture of the city.
  - B. In terms of the everyday urban experience

### **1.1. Procedure**

The Chamber of Architects (UIA member) Ankara Branch organized the Architecture Week in 2-8 October 2006 with the theme “Metamorphosis: (The

transformation process of the city of Ankara)".<sup>1</sup> Güven Arif Sargın states that throughout the history, social and political interventions have caused the transformation of the city of Ankara both in physical and social sense; the identity of Ankara has changed too. In this context, the aim of the Architecture Week 2006 is to understand the metamorphosis of Ankara and also to make citizens aware of the transformation of the physical and social structure of Ankara.<sup>2</sup>

The author of this thesis was responsible of all the events organized during the Architecture Week as charged with the secretariat of the Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch. During the Week, the Chamber organized workshops, forums, exhibitions, thematic site trips all around the city in order to acquire consciousness as the city-dwellers and architects about the fact that the "metamorphose" of the city of Ankara is not a coincidental process.<sup>3</sup>

*"Metamorfoz: Kentin Yok Anı"* [Metamorphosis: The Lost Moment of the City] was one of the sub-themes of the Architecture Week 2006. In relation to this sub-theme, an exhibition was prepared and displayed in various locations in Ankara, and a trip was organized to the "unoccupied" buildings that were the subject and object of the exhibition. This exhibition was prepared by Berin Gür and Meltem Mimarsinanoğlu; the data related to the limited chronology of these buildings was compiled by the author. Then, an article by Gür and Mimarsinanoglu entitled, "Metamorfoz: Kentin Yok Anı' Sergi ve Gezisi: Ankara'nın Başkalaşım

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<sup>1</sup> The context and concept of Architecture Week 2006 "Metamorphosis: The process of the transforming the city of Ankara" (in Turkish "Metamorfoz: Yitik Zamanların Kenti Ankara" ) has been determined by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın as the Vice President of the Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch. He is also the Present Chairperson of the Department of Architecture at Middle East Technical University (METU)

<sup>2</sup> See also, *Metamorfoz: Yitik Zamanların Kenti Ankara*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 2007)

<sup>3</sup> See also, [www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/mimarlik haftasi/mimarlik haftasi 2006](http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/mimarlik haftasi/mimarlik haftasi 2006).

Süreçlerinin ‘Boş’ Binalar Üzerinden Okuması” [Metamorphosis: The Lost Moment of the City Exhibition and Trip: Reading the Transformation Process of Ankara through the Unoccupied Buildings],<sup>4</sup> that presents the findings of the study, is published.

The Exhibition was taking the concept of the metamorphosis of Ankara into account with respect to the unoccupied buildings, whose construction processes have not been completed for many years, and which were used yet have been unoccupied for a long period of time.<sup>5</sup> This exhibition consisted of nine buildings which were *TEKEL* Building, *Emlak* and *Eytam* Banking Building, *Gar Gazinosu*, *Petrol Ofisi* (Office) Headquarter Building, *Türkiye Kızılay* Association Rant Facility Building, Hotel *Çankaya* Construction (Grand Hyatt Ankara), Hotel *Marmara* Construction, *Şekerbank* Head Quarter Building and *TEKEL* Headquarter Building.<sup>6</sup> One of the significant aims of the exhibition was to create a public attention about these buildings and their impacts in the city of Ankara.

Related to the exhibition, a trip was organized to the buildings listed above with the guidance of Berin Gür and the author during the week. The participants of the event were mainly architects and architectural students. The aim of the trip was

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<sup>4</sup> Berin Gür and Meltem Mimarsinanoğlu. “Metamorfoz: Kentin Yok Anı Sergi ve Gezisi: Ankara'nın Başkalaşım Süreçlerin ‘Boş’ Binalar Üzerinden Okuması” in *Metamorfoz: Yitik Zamanların Kenti Ankara*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 2007), 61–68

<sup>5</sup> Berin Gür (Assist.Prof.Dr at METU) and Meltem Mimarsinanoğlu (Research Assistant at Gazi University). and the graphic design done by Gür and Mimarsinanoğlu, with the help of the students (of Architecture at METU)namely, Esatcan Coşkun, Ali Yücel Özdemir and Sertuğ Tanrıverdi.

<sup>6</sup> These buildings which were selected for the exhibitions were mainly the ones whose data can be accessible.

to observe current situations of the unoccupied buildings and their neighborhood.<sup>7</sup>

In the article about the exhibition and its further discussions, Gür and Mimarsinanoğlu ask questions in order to understand the transformation of Ankara. These questions are listed as follows:<sup>8</sup>

1. Does architecture has a power to control the transformation processes of the city?
2. What are the reasons that these buildings are no longer in use or can not be completed?
3. What is the scale of the problem of re-functioning of these buildings (the building scale or the urban scale)?
4. Does the condition of being emptied or not completed create “voids” in the “collective memory”?
5. Concerning specifically the condition of being not completed, what kind of a role and identity is attached to these buildings?
6. What do these buildings mean for the city of Ankara merely with their visual and physical existence?

In light of these questions, they discuss the object/subject of the exhibition (the “unoccupied buildings”) from the social and political point of view. Their discussions refer to concepts such as relations between power and space, national and urban politics, collective memory and urban identity that enable detailed readings and further studies on this theme.

The public buildings, which are no longer in use, are taken as the objects of the thesis. Then, these buildings turn into the tools in order to understand the transformation of Ankara. The buildings are the parts of the city. Transformation in building scale helps to understand the transformation of Ankara (in urban

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<sup>7</sup> However, because of the security reasons some of the buildings could neither be visited nor photographed by the group.

<sup>8</sup> Berin Gür and Meltem Mimarsinanoğlu. “Metamorfoz: Kentin Yok Anı Sergi ve Gezisi: Ankara'nın Başkalaşım Süreçlerin 'Boş' Binalar Üzerinden Okuması” in *Metamorfoz: Yitik Zamanların Kenti Ankara*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 2007), 61–68.

scale). That is to say that a study on each building not only will provide us to understand the reasons behind the conditions of being unoccupied with the stories of the buildings but also will help us to understand and question the city in relation to economic, political and social processes.

## **1.2. Unoccupied Buildings in Ankara**

There are many unoccupied buildings in Ankara, which can be grouped into three:

1. Buildings, the construction processes of which have not been / could not be completed for many years;
2. Buildings, which had been used for a period of time, then have been abandoned for a long period of time;
3. Buildings, which have been given new functions after such a long abandonment

The first group (of buildings whose construction processes could not be completed for many years) contains namely, Hotel *Çankaya*, Hotel *Marmara*, *TEKEL* General Directorate Building, *Hacettepe* University Ankara Conservatory Theater Building, Turkish Redcrescent Rent Building (*Kızılay Rant Tesisleri*), *Atatürk* Cultural Center (*Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, AKM*) area including Ankara Contemporary Art Center and Ankara Opera and Concert Hall, *Akman* Shopping Mall.

The second group (of buildings which were used for many years but have been abandoned for a long period of time) contains namely, *TEKEL* State Monopolies Old Headquarters Building (*TEKEL İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü*) *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank*, *Gençlik Park* (*Gençlik Parkı*), *Ulucanlar* Prison at *Ulus* District,

Railway Station Restaurant Building (*Gar Gazinosu*) Turkish State Railways 2<sup>nd</sup> Regional Directorate Building (*TCDD 2.Bölge Müdürlüğü*) at the Main Railway Station, *Petrol Ofisi* Headquarters Building at *Çankaya* District, Industrial Zone at *Kazım Karabekir* Street. Additionally, *Gökkuşuğu* Recreation Area at *Bahçelievler* can be added to the list whose construction process has been completed at 2005 but cannot be functioned since then.

First and second groups include not only buildings but also areas such as the *AKM* area which consist of five sub-areas, and *Gençlik Parkı* (Park), which is the first Republican urban park, and has not been used for three years.

The third group of buildings includes those buildings, which are re-functioned, such as *Şekerbank* Building, which is used by the Union of Turkish Municipalities; Turkish Court of Accounts Building (*Sayıştay*), which is used by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, *İş Bankası* Headquarters Building, which is used by Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (*Bankacılık Düzenleme ve Denetleme Kurulu*); Ministry of Environment and Forestry Building that is used by The Grand National Assembly General Secretariat.

In the above mentioned lists, private properties (such as *Sait Bektimur* House) are not mentioned due to the fact that the conditions of the private properties can be changed by the intervention of the owner. The given examples are selected according to their functions and the scale of the buildings or the areas. In other words, the buildings that have an impact on the urban environment and on the public interest are given as an example. However, the conditions of the buildings in these lists can be changed according to the social, political and economic process of the city. For example, the status of *Şekerbank* Headquarter building

was changed from an unoccupied building to a re-functioned building or Gas Factory at *Maltepe* district was emptied in 1990, and demolished by the Metropolitan Municipality in 2006. For the following years, the Central Bank of Republic of Turkey building, Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (*Bankacılık Düzenleme ve Denetleme Kurulu*) building, and Capital Markets Board of Turkey (*Sermaye Piyasası Kurulu*) building, *Vakıfbank* headquarter building, *Halkbank* headquarter building will probably be added to the list above because these establishments will move their headquarters to İstanbul.<sup>9</sup>

As it is listed above there are many unoccupied buildings and areas in the capital city. The whole list is tried to be given in order to illustrate what kind of buildings in the capital city are unoccupied. These buildings and areas can be called as “voids of the city” because the impacts of their condition are felt on urban scale. Although they are physically present, their non-presence in terms of function can be considered to be creating voids of the city.

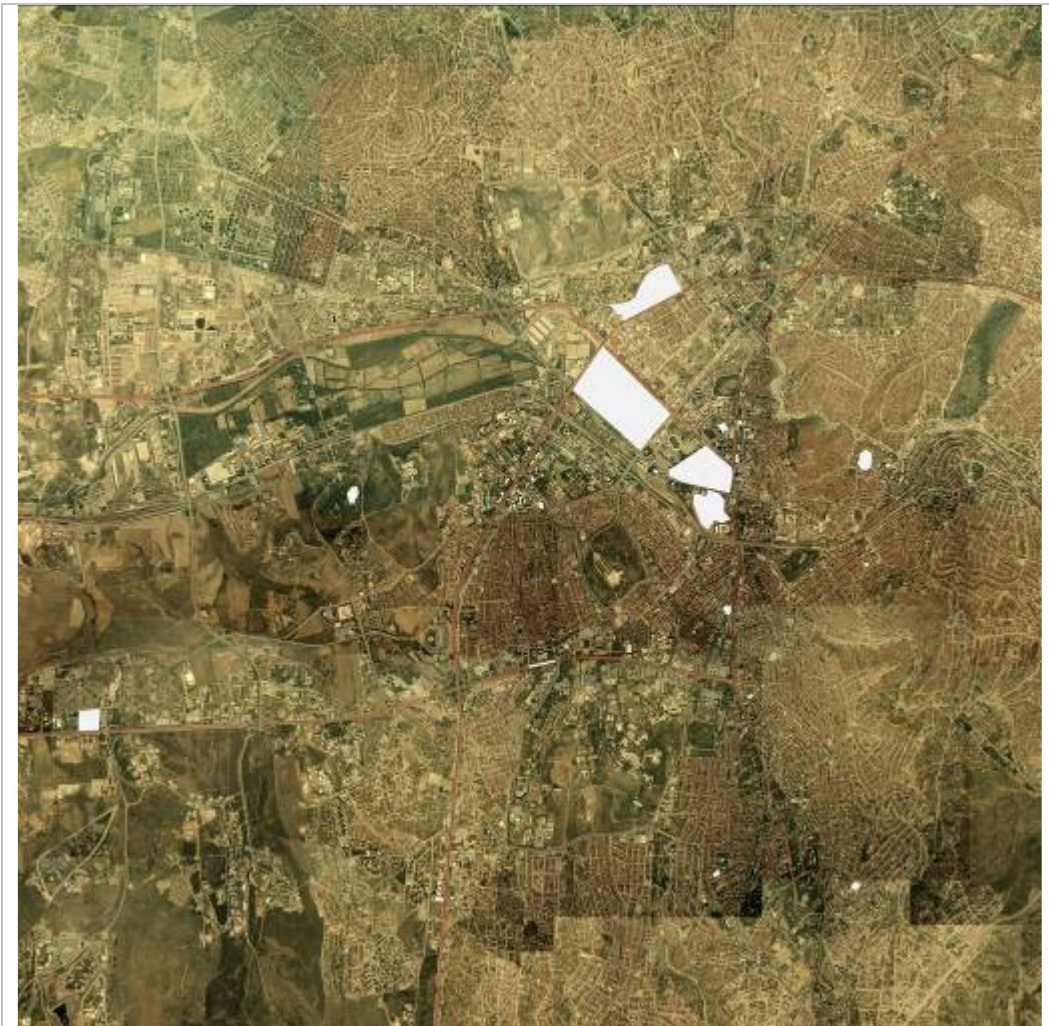
Actually, the thesis approaches the voids of the city as a condition that defines a system, in which although each building differs from the other in terms of its location, scale and function and has a separate history, the reasons / conditions that make these buildings unoccupied are common. The common reason can be due to the social, economic and political changes after 1980s in other words due to the neo-liberal policies in Turkey. Another point to be underlined is the fact that the buildings which are not re-functioned after being unoccupied, are mostly the buildings of the Early Republican period Therefore, it is not by coincidence that these buildings become unoccupied after neo liberal policies, which will be

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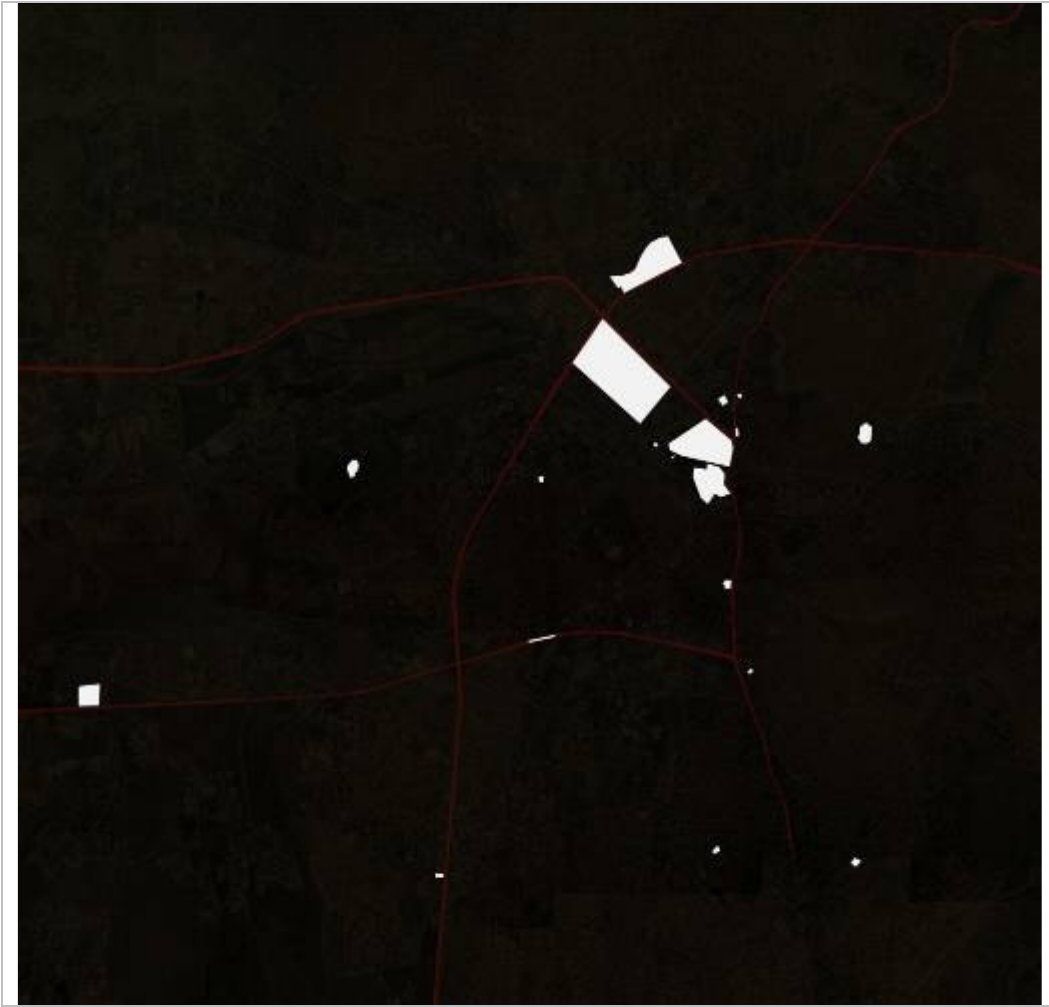
<sup>9</sup> The discussions on moving the headquarters of the Central Bank, *Vakıfbank*, and *Halkbank* to İstanbul will be in the third chapter.



clarified in this study. Therefore, the relationships between the unoccupied buildings and also between these buildings and the city of Ankara will be defined. Whether they are public or private, their impact on their milieu and their power of transforming their neighborhood is discernible.



**Figure 1-1. Top view of the city of Ankara** (<http://earth.google.com/>)



**Figure 1-2. Voids of the city of Ankara** (prepared by the author)



**Figure 1-3. Voids in Ulus** (prepared by the author)

### **1.3. Objects of the Thesis: The Main Buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in *Ulus***

The object of the thesis is narrowed to three of the unoccupied buildings, which are the main buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in *Ulus*. The reason behind this selection is the fact that they are the first main buildings in the new capital city, Ankara, constructed for the institutions namely, *Emlakbank*,

*Sümerbank* and *TEKEL*, which were the significant institutions in the economic development of the newly established Turkish Republic. In this respect, the first constructed main buildings of these institutions in *Ulus* are selected to understand the transformation of Ankara as the capital city in physical and social sense. Thus, the thesis aims to understand the common points between these buildings. The conditions of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* as institutions and their buildings have been transformed since the 1980s. This is the period, which can be accepted as the breaking point of the history of Turkish Republic with respect to social, economic and political changes, and will be explained in more detail in the following chapter. The significant policy of that period is the privatization of the governmental institutions, which consists of the institutions of service, production and also finance. The possessions of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* were transferred from the public sector (government) to the private sector after 1980s. The building stock of privatized institutions is sold or assigned to other institutions, or demolished. However it should be noticed that this thesis specifically dwells on the buildings of the above-mentioned institutions in *Ulus* in Ankara. Ankara as the capital city is where the central administration buildings of the governmental institutions are located. Yet, after 1980s the main administration buildings of the privatized institutions were whether moved from Ankara to İstanbul, like *İş Bankası*, *Şekerbank* and etc, or liquidated. *İş Bankası* is the first bank, which moved its main building to İstanbul in 2001.

The thesis analyzes the conditions of these selected buildings in two different scales. First, the buildings are not only the voids of the city, but also the traces of the social, political and economic changes of the city or even the country. The

transformation of the city or even the country can be read through the conditions of these buildings.

Second, the selected buildings are the public buildings that create an urban effect with their large scale within their context. These buildings with their abandoned conditions may affect their nearby environment and the city in social and economic ways. The decreasing value of stores and residential estate, and the decay in commercial life in the nearby environment may be among the examples of impacts on economic life of the neighborhood. In addition, these buildings may cause security and even health problems for the dwellers of the neighborhood. Considering their locations, they are mostly at the city center so their effect on urban scale and urban life can be recognizable.

### ***Emlakbank***

*Emlakbank* is essential considering the urbanization experience in Turkey. The history of *Emlakbank* as an institution is parallel with the political-social-economic history of Turkish Republic. *Emlakbank*, which was established in 1926, was the main institution that both built housing complexes and also provided loans for housing. The crucial changes in the administrative structure and in the aim of the bank were made by the intervention of the government in 1945, 1984, 1988, and finally 1998. These years are accepted significant also for the economic structure of Turkey. *Emlakbank* was closed in 2001 by Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency, and its 295 branches were transferred to *Ziraat Bank* and 96 branches were transferred to *Halkbank*.<sup>10</sup> The main building of *Emlakbank* in

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<sup>10</sup> Esra Akdoğan, "Türkiye Emlak Bankası'nın Türkiye'nin Konut Politikasındaki Yeri" (MS diss., Akdeniz Üniversitesi, 2002) 138

*Ulus* became unoccupied after the liquidation of the bank. The process from the construction of the *Emlakbank* building till today is such as the following:

1933-1934: The building designed by Clemens Holzmeister was constructed.

2001: *Emlakbank* was liquidated.

2001- : The building has become unoccupied.

### ***Sümerbank***

*Sümerbank* was the primary institution of the industrial development of the newly established Turkish Republic. It was established as State Owned Enterprises (SOE) <sup>11</sup> in 1933, which could be called “the school of industry.”<sup>12</sup> *Sümerbank* established iron, cement, paper and cellulose factories throughout the country. After 1950s, *Sümerbank* focused mainly on developing textile sector till 1987, which was the year of the privatization of *Sümerbank*. The main building of *Sümerbank* was constructed as the concrete symbol of its institution according to the ideology of new Turkish Republic, and actively used until 2006. The procedure from its construction to today is as follows:

1938: The building, including the main administrative part and store, which was designed by Martin Elaesser was constructed.

1987: The privatization process began.

1993: The bank facility of *Sümerbank* was separated and transferred to the private firm.

2006: The main store building was closed.

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<sup>11</sup> State Owned Enterprises (SOE) is in Turkish *Kamu iktisadi Teşebbüsleri (KİT)*. It is the government owned corporations and a legal entity created by a government to exercise some of the powers of the government.

<sup>12</sup> Aylin O.Göçer, “The Impact of Privatization on the Organizational Culture: The Sumerbank’s Case”, (MBA diss. Bilkent University, 1990), 13

2007: The store building (i.e. the low rise building) was rented to LC Waikiki (private firm). Although it was rented, it could not be used since the *Sümerbank* building is the cultural and architectural heritage, and registered by the conservation council, and then every action related to this specific building must be checked and approved by the council. <sup>13</sup>

2008: The building is used as a store of LC Waikiki (private firm).

### ***TEKEL***

*TEKEL* was the significant institution in the agricultural development of the new Turkish Republic. It was established in 1932 providing the "monopoly" services related to tobacco, alcoholic beverages, salt, powder and explosives. The privatization of *TEKEL* by means of selling, renting, transferring of operation rights, and establishment of incorporeal rights on property was decided by the Privatization High Council (PHC) in 2002. The process of privatization endures since 2002. The process related with the *TEKEL* main building in *Ulus* from its construction to the condition of being unoccupied is as follows:

1928: The building designed as the headquarter building by Giulio Mongeri was constructed.

2002: The privatization process began.

2005: For the State Monopoly was privatized, all its properties were put up for sale.

2006: Restoration process was initiated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

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<sup>13</sup> This material was collected by the author of the thesis through review of the laws and regulations and newspapers.

2007: Restoration process has continued under the control of the Central Bank in order to re-function the building as a Turkish Republic Money Museum.

2008: The building is still unoccupied.<sup>14</sup>

#### **1.4. Political Processes after 1980s in Turkey**

The unoccupied buildings in Ankara are significant because they create voids in the city. Ankara as the capital city is where the majority of the governmental building stock is. Hence, the change in the built environment must be discussed within the context of the political, social and economic changes in the country. 1980s has an important role in the history of Turkey in many ways. In order to study the selected unoccupied buildings in Ankara, recent political processes of Turkey is needed to be understood. By studying 1980s, the reasons why these buildings are emptied will be clarified.

In 24 January 1980, economic reform program was announced by the government, which was a turning point initiating the radical changes in economy. Yet, the reform program started to be applied after the Military Coup in 12 September 1980, which gave rise to the process of re-structuring the State. This period was crucial considering economy in Turkey in 1970s. There was an economic crisis, in which the growth in production had stopped, and the poverty of society had been growing. Similar to Turkey, most of the developing countries also struggled with the social and economic problems. In order to overcome the problem of poverty and provide economic growth, these countries have taken

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<sup>14</sup> This material was taken from the exhibition (*Kentin Yok Anı*) prepared for Architecture Week 2006. The material of the exhibition was collected by the author of the thesis through archive of Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch and also newspapers.



credits by the promotion of World Bank Group (WBG) and International Monetary Fund (IMF).<sup>15</sup>

Actually, the hidden agenda is re-structuring these states by neo-liberal discourse in which the main target is to transform the state-base economy to the market-based economy. By doing so the responsibility of the state on economy and society is transferred to the private institutions both in global and local scale.<sup>16</sup> During such a process, Turkey had also signed the first Standby agreement in 1979 with IMF, and Five Structural Adjustment Loan (SAL) agreement with WBG.<sup>17</sup> In this way, Turkey made commitment for the re-organization of the bureaucracy, the coherence between foreign market and local /domestic market, and lastly the eradication of the State Owned Enterprises (SOE).

Consequently, 24th January (1980) economic program influenced the Turkish policy.<sup>18</sup> The period between 1980 and 1988 can be accepted as the base to the neo-liberal policy, which is, with some renovations, still valid today. As a result of the renewed agreement with IMF and WBG, and the economic sanctions that the government has to accomplish, the nation-state began to dissolve (e.g. the eradication of the State Owned Enterprises). Privatization (de-nationalization) is the way how the policy of economy is realized. The process brings about the

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<sup>15</sup> Erşat Akyazılı, "Kamu Kurumlarının Serbest Piyasa Politikaları Temelinde Küçültülmesi ve Kapatılması Sorunu". *Madencilik Bülteni*. October, 2002, 15

<sup>16</sup> The nation-state turns into a global in terms of the state policy and administration (that is to be dependent to IMF, WBG, World Trade Organization), and becomes local in terms of the application of these policies. See also, Erşat Akyazılı, "Kamu Kurumlarının Serbest Piyasa Politikaları Temelinde Küçültülmesi ve Kapatılması Sorunu". *Madencilik Bülteni*. . October, 2002, 15

<sup>17</sup> Sector Adjustment Loan (SECAL) agreement in 1984 and its sub-agreements on agriculture, energy, finance claims that re-organization of state of Turkey is to be provided.

<sup>18</sup> In this period (known as the period of ANAP -*Anavatan Partisi*-), the hierarchy in between the legislation and execution changed. Execution was acquired power against the legislation by the Republic of Turkey Constitution 1982.

hegemony of the finance instead of the social state. Privatization of the governmental institutions leads to the change in national social state ideology, and decreases the effectiveness of the central execution in Ankara. Ankara as the capital city of the State loses its effect, its power against Istanbul as the capital city of finance.

Therefore, understanding the recent history of economy in Turkey is essential to understand how Ankara becomes “the city of voids”. As the government has transferred his authority to the private sector, the government loses its effectiveness, and the results can also be observed in the built environment / the physical structure of Ankara. Hence, it can be stated that there is a relation between architectural-spatial practices and the social-economic processes of the country. Voids of the city appear as a result of the economic and social processes after 1980s.

### **1.5. Approach and structure of the Thesis**

[A]rchitecture pick[s] a site [...] and transfer[s] it to the political realm by means of a symbolic mediation.<sup>19</sup>

In order to understand the relation between architecture/built environment and political-economic-social processes, one of the key reference books is *The Production of Space* by Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre asserts “(social) space is a (social) product.”<sup>20</sup> He claims that space can not exist without the society that it belongs to.<sup>21</sup> Each society and each mode of production produces its own

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<sup>19</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell Publish Ltd., 1991), 48

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 26

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 30-31

architectural-spatial practices, and in turn, its own spaces, its own built environment. According to Lefebvre, “social space works as a tool for the analysis of society.”<sup>22</sup> He claims that the object of interest should shift from things in space to the production of space. Here, the emphasis is more upon the process (of production of space) rather than the end product.

Then, considering the problem definition of the thesis, the buildings are socially “produced spaces”.<sup>23</sup> They are produced according to the society or mode of production in question and the historical period. Concerning each building in question in the thesis, the process of change evolves with the material practices and experiences, which are interrelated with how these buildings are represented in a discourse or by the dominant mode of production, and used as representations. It is in this sense that the relationships and processes, through which the buildings are produced, reproduced, valued, viewed and changed in terms of its function, are significant. The production process of the buildings in the city is defined by the society and the dominant mode of production. The buildings that became unoccupied after 1980s can be taken as examples to illustrate how a society creates and transforms its own space. Therefore to understand the stories of the unoccupied buildings in the thesis and their relations with the city, the society and the mode of production become crucial.

The thesis aims to understand the reasons behind the conditions of the main buildings of the *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* as being unoccupied, in the context of social, economic and political changes after 1980s, and in relation to other unoccupied buildings, to *Ulus* and to the city of Ankara.

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<sup>22</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell Publish Ltd., 1991), 33-34

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 48

The thesis selects those unoccupied buildings, which are located in *Ulus*. *Ulus* has a historical significance; it is a multi-layered urban space, from which it is possible to observe and read various political, social dominations. Specifically, the main buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank*, and *TEKEL* in *Ulus*, which can be accepted as the clues of social, political, economic changes in the city and even the country, will be studied. These buildings are the representatives of the institutions that they belong to, and these institutions are the keystones of the Early Republican Period. In that manner, it is crucial to study these unoccupied buildings which are the examples of the architecture of the Early Republican Period. It should be pointed out that, although the thesis focuses on these specific buildings, selections of other buildings might also provide different data and each data might contribute to different readings of Ankara.

In the second chapter, the recent social, economic and political changes after 1980s will be mentioned. The thesis will review the political history of Turkey between 1923 and 1980 in order to better clarify how 1980 is accepted as the breaking point for the Turkish history. While studying the dominant neo-liberal policies after 1980s, the thesis will give special emphasis to the privatization of the state owned enterprises (SOEs), which is accepted as crucial for the thesis. Then, the reflections of the neo-liberal policies on the city of Ankara will be mentioned.

In the third chapter, the selected unoccupied buildings (of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in *Ulus*) will be discussed in relation to Ankara (as a capital city) by taking consideration the social, economic and political changes after 1980. For each building, related data will be collected. The selected buildings will be studied through the history of institutions they belonged to with

their limited chronologies in reference to the books, newspapers, laws, codes and regulations. Then, the architectural significance of these buildings will be mentioned. The common points behind their conditions of being unoccupied will be discussed under the specific topics, namely the buildings of the “collective memory”, the dilemma between İstanbul and Ankara, change in the content and meaning of public interest and public service, and mutual effect between the unoccupied buildings (the main buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL*) and their context (Ulus)

In the conclusion part, the new role and identity assigned to Ankara will be mentioned. 2023 master plan of the city of Ankara and Metropolitan Municipality Strategic Plan of 2007-2011, which is prepared by Metropolitan Municipality, will be referred in order to clarify the spatial practices of the neo-liberal policies and the new identity of Ankara. Here, the thesis aims to notice the fact that although the privatized institutions move their main buildings to İstanbul, Ankara is assigned a new mission that puts the city in a different place in the national and even the international scale.

## CHAPTER 2

### SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES IN 1980s IN TURKEY

This chapter studies the social, political and economic changes in Turkey after 1980. It aims to elaborate the discussions introduced in the previous chapter. This thesis accepts that “(social) space is a (social) product,”<sup>24</sup> and the city as a (social) space, can not be understood without studying the social, economic and political processes of the society it belongs to. Therefore, in order to understand how some public buildings are unoccupied in Ankara, recent political, economic and social history of Turkey is needed to be explained.

Particularly speaking, the unoccupied buildings, namely *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* Buildings, were produced according to the dominant ideology of the period they belonged to. They are the architectural products of the newly established Republic, and stand as the main public buildings of the new capital city. 1923 is a crucial break point in the history of Turkey since it denotes the end of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the new Turkish Republic. In the same manner, the 1980s, which denotes the end of the “étatisme” and the introduction of neo-liberal policies, is accepted as a break point in the history of Turkey. The hegemony of the new neo-liberal policies has produced its own “social spaces” and caused disposal of the spaces of the old ideology (i.e.

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<sup>24</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell Publish Ltd., 1991), 26

étatisme). How these processes have affected the physical-social structure of the city, and particularly the capital city of Ankara, is also studied in this chapter. Due to the fact that, Ankara is intentionally constructed as a capital city, this chapter refers to its historical background, too. Consequently, this chapter studies the recent history of Turkey in order to discuss the reasons behind the unoccupied buildings in Ankara, which are produced by the society and the ruling ideology.

### **2.1. An Overview of Socio-Economic Policies of Turkey between 1923 and 1980**

The 1980s is the period in which the economic decisions have caused social and political changes in Turkey. In order to understand how 1980s became the breaking point of the history of Turkey, it is necessary to study the transition period from the étatist approach to liberal approach and their effects to the city of Ankara. Utku Utkulu separates the history of Turkish Republic into four periods in terms of economic development.<sup>25</sup> The first period is 1923-1929, in which the Turkish Republic was founded just after the Independence War. It was the recovery period of the postwar; hence it is called as the early years of the State. The second period is 1930-1950 in which étatisme was the main policy of the government. In that period, not only the foreign debts of the old Ottoman Empire were paid back, but also the national industrial investments were done in order to supply the public service and domestic needs. 1950-1961 was the period, in which liberalism was started to be experienced. This is in the sense that it was the beginning of the multi party system, and the new government was against the étatist policy of the old government and tried to overcome this policy. It failed

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<sup>25</sup> Utku Utkulu, "The Turkish Economy: Past and Present" in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 1-40

because of the economic crisis, which resulted in political crisis. In between 1962-1979, the fourth period after the military coup, the nationally planned economic development with étatist approach was applied. The new institutions were established in order to preserve national “mixed economy”<sup>26</sup>. As a result, the economic policies shape the history of Turkey. It is crucial to understand these periods mentioned above, because each dominant economic policy can be recognized through the physical and social structure of the country and even the cities.

### **The early years of the Turkish Republic: 1923-1929**

Turkey is a typical developing country, which was established in 1923. Ankara was chosen as the new capital city of the newly established Turkish Republic for many reasons. Gönül Tankut mentions these reasons as follows: First of all, geographically Ankara was a protected city by being in the middle of Anatolia. Secondly, Ankara was in the junction point of the transportation and communication network (namely, railways and telegraph). The last and the most important reason was that the new government wanted to establish a new modern and contemporary Republic that would replace the old Ottoman Empire, and then they decided to construct a new capital city with a new ideology and architectural style.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Mixed economy is an economic system, which contains both private owned and state owned enterprises or capitalism and socialism, or as mix of market economy and planned economy characteristics. In other words, there is more than one system in mixed economy. Turkey has mixed economy which contains both private owned and state owned enterprises. Retrieved from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mixed\\_economy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mixed_economy) ( accessed March 27, 2008)

<sup>27</sup> Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı* (Istanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993.), 16-17





**Figure 2-1. Ulus between 1923 and 1933** (*50 Yıllık Yaşantımız 1923-1933*, İstanbul: Milliyet Yay, 1975, 11)

The economic issues of 1920s were different with respect to the étatist 1930s; in 1920s industrialization was based mainly on private entrepreneurships, and then the new emerging private sectors were decided to be supported by the leaders of the new Republic.<sup>28</sup> Zivi Hershlag defined this period just after the Independence War as the “transitional period of trial and error”.<sup>29</sup> In the post-war period the political issues played an important role like Lausanne Peace Treaty in 1923, which included the economic matters besides the political and social issues. In addition to the fact that the domestic needs were supplied by the national productions, the government decided to let free trade and finance policy. In that

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<sup>28</sup> Utku Utkulu, “The Turkish Economy: Past and Present” in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 10

<sup>29</sup> Zivi Y. Hershlag. *The Contemporary Turkish Economy*, (London: Routledge, 1988). quoted in Utku Utkulu, “The Turkish Economy: Past and Present” in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 10

period, bank buildings and also the new government buildings were started to be constructed in the center of the new capital city of the new Turkish Republic. Elvan Altan Ergut claims that, the reasons behind the simultaneous constructions of the government buildings and the bank buildings relate to the fact that the political matters were taken in to consideration in relation to the economic issues.<sup>30</sup>

### **The economic recovery with étatist approach: 1929-1950**

1929 was the first turning point of the economic development of the new Turkish Republic. In that period, the government had started to pay back the foreign debts of the Ottoman Empire, and exportation was stopped and the primary commodities could not be supplied because of “the Great Depression”<sup>31</sup>. These conditions resulted in a new strategy, which is called “étatism”. According to “étatism”, the government would have to participate in economic affairs to raise the welfare as a major investor and producer.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, Turkish heavy industries were founded by State Owned Enterprises (SOEs), which were the main institutions for the development of the Turkish economy. *Türkiye Sanayi ve Maden Bankası* was the first example of SOEs, which later became *Sümerbank* in 1933 with the law 2262. During the first five year industrial plan (1934-1938), the public SOEs were established in the fields of industry, mining and energy. On the other hand, the private sector was active in manufacturing industry. The

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<sup>30</sup> Elvan Ergut. *The Isbank Skyscraper: The Modern Office Block in Turkey*. "VIIIth International DOCOMOMO Conference, Import-Export: Postwar Modernism in an Expanding World", 2004

<sup>31</sup> “The Great Depression was a dramatic, worldwide economic downturn beginning in some countries as early as 1928. In that period International trade declined sharply, as did personal incomes, tax revenues, prices, and profits. Cities all around the world were hit hard, especially those dependent on heavy industry.” Retrieved from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Great\\_Depression](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Great_Depression) (accessed date: 23 March 2008).

<sup>32</sup> Utku Utkulu, “The Turkish Economy: Past and Present” in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 12

development of economy was interrupted by the Second World War.<sup>33</sup> During the war, the government controlled the economy through the SOEs, and the military considerations became prior and the civilian economic development efforts were reduced.<sup>34</sup>



**Figure 2-2. Nazilli Sümerbank Factory.** (Archive of METU Faculty of Architecture ,Photo: İnci Aslanoğlu)

## Liberalization experience: 1950-1961

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<sup>33</sup> In the first five year industrial plan, the annual industrial growth during 1930s was about 10 per cent. But during the Second World War the production levels fell by an average of 5.6 per cent. Utku Utkulu, "The Turkish Economy: Past and Present" in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 12

<sup>34</sup> Utku Utkulu, "The Turkish Economy: Past and Present" in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 12

In the late 1940s, the multi party system emerged, and the government was transferred from the étatist *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican Party) to the *Demokrat Parti* (Democratic Party), which advocated the liberal economy. In that period, the government supported primarily the private sector instead of SOEs, and liberalization of the domestic and foreign trade.<sup>35</sup> It was the first time that the government planned to privatize the SOEs.<sup>36</sup> In 1950s, in order to realize the economic policy, the substantial support of Marshall Plan, which included the financial aid on the agricultural products, was used.<sup>37</sup>

The stabilization program was realized in 1958; hence the substantial foreign loans were taken according to the program, which included import liberalization, removal of price control and increase in SOEs prices. In that period, SOEs were re-organized politically by the “Ministry of Administrations”.<sup>38</sup> In other words, it was the first time that étatism was criticized sharply, and the tendency of the government was to purge the state from the economic activities. In general, the economic policy of 1950s was called as inward-looking. Towards the end of the 1950s, the economic crisis resulted in political crisis, and the Democratic era was interrupted by the military coup in 1960.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Utku Utkulu, “The Turkish Economy: Past and Present” in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 13

<sup>36</sup> Rıdvan Karluk, *Türkiye’de Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsleri ve Özelleştirme* (İstanbul: Esbank Yayınları, 1994), 25

<sup>37</sup> Utku Utkulu, “The Turkish Economy: Past and Present” in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 13

<sup>38</sup> Rıdvan Karluk, *Türkiye’de Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsleri ve Özelleştirme* (İstanbul: Esbank Yayınları, 1994), 25-26

<sup>39</sup> Utku Utkulu, “The Turkish Economy: Past and Present” in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 14

On the other hand, it was the period that the immigration from the rural to urban started. According to the State Statistical Institute surveys, the increasing ratio of the population in the cities were approximately %6,4 which was %1,8 in rural areas.<sup>40</sup> The reasons behind this immigration were the industrialization of the cities, and the job opportunities created with the Marshall Plan. The social and political changes were directly related with the economic approaches. Moreover, in that period, the construction process of the modern capital city was interrupted. Ankara had been rapidly urbanized after 1950s; its social and spatial characteristics were altered. The capacity of the capital city was insufficient to accommodate increased population, and as a result, a new type of dwelling, *gecekondu* emerged in the city peripheries for low income groups. Additionally, the city center was shifted from *Ulus* district to *Yenişehir- Kızılay* district, to the south of the city. (Figure 2-3) According to Tuğrul Akçura, there were two groups of people who used these districts. First group was low-income and middle-income group who lived in north of the city and used *Ulus* as a city center. The south of the city was much more prestigious, and high-income group lived there and used *Kızılay* as a city center.<sup>41</sup> (Figure 2-4)

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<sup>40</sup> DİE, *Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı, 1997* (Ankara: DİE Yayınları, 1998) quoted in Turgut Göksu et al., ed, *1980-2003 Türkiye'nin Dış, Ekonomik, Sosyal ve İdari Politikaları* (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2003), 337

<sup>41</sup> Tuğrul Akçura, *Ankara. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti Hakkında Monografik Bir Araştırma*, (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1971), 157



**Figure 2-3. Kızılay 1960s** (Archive of METU Faculty of Architecture)



**Figure 2-4. Kızılay** (Postcard, Archive of METU Faculty of Architecture)

This shift was encouraged by the location of the new Parliament building, which was opened in 1961. *Ulus* district has begun to be emptied functionally as a city center.<sup>42</sup> The image of Ankara as the capital city of Turkey was shifted from the planned and constructed modern capital city to the “created”, “lived” and “contemporary” city, which was integrated into the world.<sup>43</sup> With the new plan (prepared by Nihat Yücel- Raşit Uybadin) in 1957, the present density of the city was increased by replacing existing building blocks with multi-storey buildings. It

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<sup>42</sup> Tansı Şenyapılı, ed., *Özcan Altaban'a Armağan: 'Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı* (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2005), 48

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 52

was mentioned that, increase in the height of the buildings would not only provide economic benefits but also raise aesthetic quality of the city.<sup>44</sup>

On the other hand, rapid urbanization has not only affected the capital city, but also İstanbul. The encouragement of the private sector was resulted in rapid industrialization of İstanbul with increase in its population. Private entrepreneurships preferred İstanbul for their investment projects. Considering development of cities, this preference caused inequalities and increased the gaps among the cities; and even the distinction between Anatolia and İstanbul emerged.<sup>45</sup>

### **National planning years with etatist approach: 1961-1979**

1960s was the period of national planning with étatist approach, which continued till 1979. State Planning Organization (SPO) was established with the duty of proposing and implementing socio-economic development plans.<sup>46</sup> The domestic industries were protected, and the development of the trade was considered. According to Utkulu, the planning of the 1960s and 1970s were more comprehensive than 1930s. The consensus of that period was that the state had to play a leading role in order to realize the rapid development and industrialization of the country. On the other hand, the government continued to liberalize the labor market. Yet, the étatist approach collapsed after the first oil

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<sup>44</sup> Tansı Şenyapılı, ed., *Özcan Altaban'a Armağan: 'Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı* (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2005), 52

<sup>45</sup> Baykan Günay, "Ankara Karalamaları, Türkiye'nin Başkenti: Ankara". *ADA Kentliyim*, no:7, (1996): 83

<sup>46</sup> Utku Utkulu, "The Turkish Economy: Past and Present" in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 14-15



shock of 1973-1974, which resulted in the external debt crisis in 1978.<sup>47</sup> This crisis prepared the end of the period in which the economic and social policies were dominated by the étatist approach.

## **2.2. Neo-liberal Policies after 1980**

The economic crisis in 1970s stopped the economic development of the countries in the world. In order to overcome this economic crisis, the developed countries built up new economic strategies, and re-organized production processes with new technologies, using the new communication and informatics technological opportunities, which caused the flow of the finance and goods globally. So to speak, after 1970s, new accumulations of the capital and new regulation mechanisms have occurred in the world. Globalization is the result of all improvements in the communication and production technologies, in other words, it is a political process that unifies the national/local markets under the new regulations and organizations in the world.

Unlike many countries, Turkey continued its fast growth policy by inward looking strategies in economy, despite this global economic environment after the first oil shock in 1973-1974. For Turkey was a developing country with its “mixed economy”, the first oil shock could not be absorbed by the country, which resulted in social and political crisis. Between 1973 and September 1980, seven governments, which were all coalitions, took office in Turkey. The longest coalition was in charge for 14 months, and the shortest coalition was 10 days.<sup>48</sup> The external debt crisis as a result of the first oil shock of 1973 appeared in 1978

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<sup>47</sup> Utku Utkulu, “The Turkish Economy: Past and Present” in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 15

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 33

in Turkey. There was poverty in the society, lack of employment and shortage of supplying needs of the society. After this crisis, the government took some precautions, but failed. As a result, the government declared, economic reform program in 24 January 1980. It was accepted as a turning point in the economic policy of Turkey. It proves that economy directly influences the society, in other words, the date, 24 January 1980, was crucial in social and political history of Turkey. The economic reform program consisted of following objectives and arrangements:

- abandonment of an inward oriented ISI [Import-Substitution Industrialization] strategy and replaced with an outward-oriented one based on a more market based economy;
- reduction of direct government intervention in the manufacturing sector;
- lowering of barriers to foreign direct investment; [...]
- gradual import liberalization
- public enterprise [SOEs] reform to reduce their heavy burden on the economy and improve their efficiency;
- encouraging privatization and limiting the extent of public enterprises [SOEs];
- de-regulation and rationalization of the public investment programme; [...]
- more effective export promotion measures to encourage rapid export growth;
- steps to an improved external debt management and increased creditworthiness.<sup>49</sup>

As Utkulu claims, the 24 January 1980 economic reform program has brought radical changes to the Turkish economy and society. This program was not the first liberalization attempt; Democratic Party attempted liberalization in 1950s. Yet unlike the earlier liberalization attempt, this program was crucial because “[...] for

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<sup>49</sup> Utku Utkulu, “The Turkish Economy: Past and Present” in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 20-21.

the first time the Turkish government actualized economic policies to create more liberal market oriented economy [...]”.<sup>50</sup>

According to Hüseyin Şahin, the main target of the economic reform program was to organize the liberal market economies, and to decrease the role of the state on the economy.<sup>51</sup> In other words, this program had long term targets, which were mainly re-organizing the economic institutions and changing the strategies of industrialization. Şahin also claims that the reform program was based upon neo-liberal policies, which, generally speaking, do not consider the social and political aspects. For instance, decreasing the expenses for the public interest and salary by pacifying Labor Unions, were among the main policies of the neo-liberal approach.<sup>52</sup>

After the military coup in 12 September 1980, the short term economic and social policies were realized according to the above mentioned economic program under the military government till December 1983.<sup>53</sup> In 1983, the first elections after coup were done, and ANAP (Anavatan Partisi)<sup>54</sup>, the defender of the liberal

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<sup>50</sup> It is mentioned in the World Bank Study Reports that the government tried four times to liberate trade; in 1950, 1958, 1970 and 1980. They also claim that the last time the government committed the major programme of economic liberalization and trade reform, although the first reform programme was not the initiative of IMF or World Bank it had many similarities between the program that was proposed by IMF and World Bank. State in Utku Utkulu, “The Turkish Economy: Past and Present” in *Turkey since 1970: Politics, Economics and Society*, ed. Denis Lovatt (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 21-34

<sup>51</sup> Hüseyin Şahin, *Türkiye Ekonomisi: Tarihsel Gelişimi-Bugünkü Durumu* (Bursa: Ezgi Kitabevi, 2006), 193

<sup>52</sup> Ibid

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 196

<sup>54</sup> In English, this is called Motherland Party.

Motherland Party was established in 1983 by Turgut Özal. It is abbreviated as ANAP in Turkish. It is considered a centre-right party which supported restrictions on the role that government can play in the economy which favours private capital and enterprise, and which allows for some public expressions of religion.

economy and out-ward looking economic strategies, won the elections. The promises of the new Prime Minister, Turgut Özal, were increasing the living standards of the society, fulfilling privatization and liberalization program.<sup>55</sup> During that period, the problem of immigration and unemployment was increasing. The years between 1980 and 1985 was the period of the highest urbanization ratio with the population growth of %7, 4 in the city, whereas -%1, 0 in the rural area.<sup>56</sup> In that period the population of the rural areas were decreased.

In the period of 1984-1991<sup>57</sup> the government arranged the finance sector and its sub-institutions. They intended to decrease the effectiveness of the SOEs in the economy by limiting their financial sources and reducing their expenses. The government asked for the master plan for privatization of SOEs from the American company whose name was Morgan Quaranty Trust Company of New York in 1985.<sup>58</sup> However, the expenses of the SOEs were not reduced, and the

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Retrieved from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motherland\\_Party\\_%28Turkey%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motherland_Party_%28Turkey%29) (accessed March 26, 2008).

<sup>55</sup> Hüseyin Şahin, *Türkiye Ekonomisi: Tarihsel Gelişimi-Bugünkü Durumu* (Bursa: Ezgi Kitabevi, 2006), 200

<sup>56</sup> DİE, *Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı, 1997* (Ankara: DİE Yayınları, 1998) quoted in Turgut Göksu et al., ed, *1980-2003 Türkiye'nin Dış, Ekonomik, Sosyal ve İdari Politikaları* (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2003), 337

<sup>57</sup> The government liberalized the importation, and the ratio of importation was increased. The ratio of exportation and importation raised from %16,3 and %8,3 to %21,7 and %14,9. On the contrary, the exportation ratio of the agricultural productions in the total ratio was decreased from %70 to % 16,4. The external debts increased because of the outward-looking strategy, which supported exportation and importation. Turkey was the fifth developing country in 1987 with the largest amount of external debts. The growth in the sectors of construction, energy, transportation, trade and manufacturing increased. Employment opportunities at construction, transportation and tourism increased. Stated in Hüseyin Şahin, *Türkiye Ekonomisi: Tarihsel Gelişimi-Bugünkü Durumu* (Bursa: Ezgi Kitabevi, 2006), 200-209

<sup>58</sup> The company prepared the questionnaire to the bureaucrats in order to determine the main aims of the privatization. According to the results, allowing market forces to stimulate the economy was the primary aim of the privatization. See for further information, Esin Şenol, "Özelleştirmenin İş ilişkilerine Sosyal ve Hukuki Etkileri" (MS diss., Gazi Üniversitesi, 2006). and also Aylin O. Göçer

privatization of SOEs was not realized yet.<sup>59</sup> In this period, the gap between different income groups was increased, and “the rich became richer, the poor became poorer”.<sup>60</sup>

In 1990, within the privatization program, Turkish Airlines, and some of the SOEs were taken in the process of privatization by the government decision.<sup>61</sup> With the Gulf War in 1991, Turkish economy was again in a crisis. The new general elections were done in 1991; True Path Party (*Doğru Yol Partisi*) and Social Democratic Populist Party (*Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti*) established a coalition. The new coalition prepared a reform program for the SOEs, which consisted of privatization and achieving autonomy. The privileges of SOEs in the economy were intended to be reorganized according to this reform program. While the government intended to reduce the effectiveness of SOEs in the economy, they founded new SOEs, namely *Gümüşhane* Cement Factory, *Lalapaşa* Cement Factory, PTT Manufacturing, maintenance and equipment institution in 1991.

5 April 1994 was the announcement day of the new economic program. The government took new precautions and decisions in order to overcome economic instability. The most important precautions were about the expenses of the State.

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“The Impact of Privatization on the Organizational Culture: The Sumerbank’s Case” (MBA diss., Bilkent University, 1990)

<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, the government prepared a legal base for privatization. From 1984 onwards, many laws, codes, government decisions are inured. They are the laws no.2983, 3291, 3701, 3987,4000,4161, 3096, 3974, 4046,4054 and the Statutory Instrument no.233, 304, 414 437, 473, 530, 531, 532, 533, 546, 509. See for further information Rıdvan Karluk, *Türkiye’de Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsleri ve Özelleştirme* (İstanbul: Esbank Yayınları, 1994)

<sup>60</sup> Durmuş Yalçın, et al. *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi II* (Ankara: AKDITYK, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2005), 349

<sup>61</sup> The SOEs which were re-organized according to the privatization program in 1991 were *Petrol Ofisi Anonim Şirketi (POAŞ)* and *Türkiye Petrol Rafinerileri Anonim Şirketi*; in 1992 *Et ve Balık Kurumu (EBK)*, *Orman Ürünleri Sanayi Kurumu*, *Türkiye Süt Endüstrisi Kurumu (SEK)*, *Yem Sanayi T.A.Ş.*, *Denizcilik Bankası T.A.Ş.* and *Türkiye Çimento ve Toprak Sanayii T.A.Ş.*

They decided to sell the mass housing and the resort places of the State in the country; they also intended to continue to privatize the SOEs which had great effects on the general economy. These precautions were mostly for raising the incomes of the State. They restricted the salaries of the employees, in that way in order to gain control over the domestic needs, they decreased the purchasing power of the society.

The new Privatization legislation with the number 4046 was inured in 27 November 1994. In this law, the privatization of SOEs was seen as a tool to heal the economy by creating extra financial sources. The government and some of the politicians declared that by inuring privatization legislation, the last socialist state was demolished, and saw this law as one of the most important reforms in the Turkish history comparing it to the Republican reforms.<sup>62</sup> They programmed the privatization process of SOEs. By the 5 April program, the government declared that if a SOE could not be privatized it would be closed down in order to re-organize the state.<sup>63</sup> But the government could not succeed in the privatization as much as they expected by the end of the 1999. In 1998 a new South Asia economic crisis emerged and Turkey was affected. Yet not only the world economic crisis but also the *Marmara* and *Düzce* earthquakes influenced the economy negatively. The purchasing power of the society was decreased and the

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<sup>62</sup> Hüseyin Şahin, *Türkiye Ekonomisi: Tarihsel Gelişimi-Bugünkü Durumu* (Bursa: Ezgi Kitabevi, 2006), 232

<sup>63</sup> The SOEs planned to be closed were *Karabük Demir Çelik Fabrikası*,<sup>7</sup> enterprises of *Sümerbank*, *Zirai Donatım Kurumu*, *Devlet Malzeme Ofisi*, some of the production services *Et ve Balık Kurumu* and some of the factories of *TEKEL*. See Ridvan Karluk, *Türkiye'de Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsleri ve Özelleştirme* (İstanbul: Esbank Yayınları, 1994), 48

state could not fulfill the public services. The stability in the economy was so-so coped in 2003.<sup>64</sup>

2000s were not different from the 1980s or 1990s. Turkey was responsible for great foreign debts which were taken from the IMF and World Bank. International finance institutions prepared the legal bases in three points.<sup>65</sup> Reducing the effects of the State in the production / manufacturing and industrial sectors was the primer aim of the new regulations. Second aim was reducing the budget of the State consisting of taxes, the salaries of employees, the costs of institutions, and supporting the private entrepreneurs instead. Third aim of these agreements between the IMF, World Bank and Turkey was privatizing the international circulation of finance, goods and services in the local markets. The aim of the government was to re-structure the State with a neo-liberal approach in re-organizing the economy. The effectiveness of the State on the economy was reduced with the help of the privatization policy of SOEs. But the public resistance to their policies slowed down the privatization of SOEs in practice.

### **2.2.1. Privatization of State Owned Enterprises (SOEs)**

Although the government planned to eliminate the State from the economy for many years, their intentions have not been realized till mid 1990s. By the trend of globalization and regional integration, the government had a new economic reform program which helped to re-structure the Turkish economy and integrate it to the world. After 1970s most of the developed countries in the world have

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<sup>64</sup> Hüseyin Şahin, *Türkiye Ekonomisi: Tarihsel Gelişimi-Bugünkü Durumu* (Bursa: Ezgi Kitabevi, 2006), 245

<sup>65</sup> Duran Gökkaya, *Özelleştirmeye bir bakış: Türkiye ve Azerbaycan örneğinde* (Ankara: Gün Yayıncılık, 2007), 58.

finished its privatization process. On the contrary, Turkey had étatist approach in the economy, which was mainly inward-looking economy and state had an active role in 1970s. By the rise of the neo-liberal policies, in 1980s the government decided to decrease the activity of the State in the economic market and increase the private entrepreneurs.

Privatization, which is considered in parallel with “de-nationalization,” is defined as “the transfer of ownership or control of an enterprise from government to private sector”.<sup>66</sup> In other words the process brings about the hegemony of the private sector instead of the social state. Marcie J. Patton defines the privatization in Turkey in two tracks: First of all, “the transfer of state owned productive assets to private ownership”, secondly, “the development of incentives to encourage and sustain an export drive propelled by large export trading companies in the private sector”.<sup>67</sup>

In order to understand the process of privatization and how this process is actualized in Turkey, it is crucial to mention about SOEs, since they were the dynamics of the Turkish economy all through the history. After the Independence War in 1923, the government decided to produce the domestic needs and also support the private entrepreneur. Since the beginning of the 1950s there have been problems with SOEs about its high employment, interest expenses and production prices below market level. The government intended to sell out the enterprises due to the reasons above. Besides their role in economy, the building

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<sup>66</sup> Aylin O. Göçer “The Impact of Privatization on the Organizational Culture: The Sumerbank’s Case” (MBA diss., Bilkent University, 1990), 3

<sup>67</sup> Marcie J. Patton “Constraints to Privatization in Turkey, ” in *Privatization and Liberalization in the Middle East*, ed. Iliya Harik. and Denis J. Sullivan. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 106



stocks (state properties) of the SOEs took crucial role in also urbanization. As they were seen as the prestigious institutions of the state and the promoter, regulator and basis of the economy, their built environment became significant in the formation of the cities. These institutions and their service buildings spread all through the country. They have helped establishment and/or development of many small-sized cities<sup>68</sup>, economic life of which is depending upon. However, an opposite development perspective was pursued in the state policies and programs after 1980s as explained in the previous pages. The governments declared that Privatization was necessary to realize the following objectives: “Reduction of the State dominance in the economy by transferring the SOEs which have pioneer role, to the private sector; establishment of a market economy based on competition; reduction of final burden on the state budget; development of capital markets and inclusion of the idle savings to the economy.”<sup>69</sup>

The purposes of privatization can be better understood by clarifying its economic, political and social reasons.<sup>70</sup> The economic reason of the privatization is developing the liberal market economy, liquidation of the monopolies, increasing the ratio of employment, and increasing the effectiveness of the finance sector. The financial reasons of the privatization can be specified as; increasing the incomes of the state budget and invalidating the debts of the SOEs. The political

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<sup>68</sup> However, as the city developed the spaces of SOEs, their buildings/establishments at the outskirts of the city, become areas in the center of the city, For example, *Ayancık-ORÜS*, Nazilli - Sümerbank, *Yenice - ORÜS*, *İskenderun - ISDEMİR*, *Bursa -Sümerbank Merinos*.

<sup>69</sup> The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, ed., *Aspects of Privatization in Turkey* (Ankara: The embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1997), 91

<sup>70</sup> Hüseyin Yayman, “1980 Sonrası Türkiye’de Özelleştirme Uygulamalarının Gelişimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Üzerindeki Etkileri,” *Gazi Üniversitesi İ.İ.B.F. Dergisi*, Winter (2000): 135-154. quoted in Esin Şenol, “Özelleştirmenin İş ilişkilerine Sosyal ve Hukuki Etkileri,” (MS diss., Gazi Üniversitesi, 2006)

and ideological reasons for privatization was decreasing the effectiveness of the state, providing global demands, decreasing the political effectiveness of the Labor Unions. In that manner the social reasons are explained as follows: There are inequalities of the incomes in the social and industrialized states. The reasons behind inequality are the distributions and the use of the capital sources of the state. In order to overcome this problem, the incomes of the privatization of SOEs can be distributed to the society. Since the transfer of the revenues to the society will result in the discourse of the “propriety to the people” which was used to create consensus of privatization.

Considering privatization, the characteristics of Turkish case from the other countries should be mentioned. Every privatization experience has its own dynamics and accepted as a unique case, and then the practice in Turkey differentiates from the world examples: First of all, under the same legislation, Turkey exercised privatization, donation, liquidation, and socialization. Secondly, privatization is mainly the privatization of public lands. Thirdly, as a nodal intervention, privatization has direct impacts on urban planning and the planned growth of the cities.<sup>71</sup> The privatization covers public goods (movable and immovable) and public services.

The main commodity in the Turkish case of privatization or liquidation is the “private properties of the state”. These public immovable goods (lands, buildings) are those possessed or owned by SOEs or just used, but owned by another institution or a person.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, the lands or buildings where the facility is

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<sup>71</sup> Şirin G. Eren, “Impacts of Privatization on Urban Planning: The Turkish Case (Ankara)”, (Phd diss., Middle East Technical University, 2007), 4

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. p.6

located; lands or buildings left vacant for future investments; lands, buildings or parcels owned but located anywhere else than the production area; and lands or buildings owned by some other public institution but used by the enterprises in the Privatization Program are also privatized. Between 1986 and 2001, 36711 activities of the Privatization Administration cover transfer of immovable properties in the form of partial or block privatization. The transfer of public land or buildings ownership was the central administrative policy of privatization process: For both public and private sectors, “every public land or building is transferable.”<sup>73</sup>

According to the data of Privatization Administration, between 1985 and 2008, 246 institutions which are partially owned by the state, 22 incomplete institutions, 393 immovable public propriety, 8 highways, 2 Bosphorus Bridges, 103 institutions, 6 Harbor, the license of lotteries and mobile consultation stations are in the Privatization Program. Additionally, 23 institutions, which are partially owned by the state, and 4 immovable goods were liquidated or unified with other SOEs, which are not in the privatization program. More than half of these institutions in the program were privatized completely since 1985.<sup>74</sup> (See Appendix A)

The neo-liberal policies and the globalization of the goods, capital and services, with the developed communication and informatics technologies, have dissolved the borders of the nations. In the history, States were the rulers of the

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<sup>73</sup> Şirin G. Eren, “Impacts of Privatization on Urban Planning: The Turkish Case (Ankara),” (Phd diss., Middle East Technical University, 2007),.6

<sup>74</sup> “Privatization implementations in Turkey,” [http://www.oib.gov.tr/program/uygulamalar/1985-2003\\_1.htm](http://www.oib.gov.tr/program/uygulamalar/1985-2003_1.htm). (accessed March 31, 2008) See for further information, [www.oib.gov.tr](http://www.oib.gov.tr)

relationships of the production and consumption processes. Yet the effects of the Social State have been decreased on the economy.<sup>75</sup> Also Turkey was transferred from the étatist approach in the economy to the neo-liberal approach. Privatization has been the primer policy of the State. In other words, the privatization of the SOEs changes the economic structure of Turkish Republic and also the social and political structure.

### **2.3. Reflections of the dominant policies to the city of Ankara**

As stated by Gür, according to Lefebvre, “space as a form is simultaneously both a *medium* of social actions and a *product* of a society.”<sup>76</sup> Lefebvre points out a mutual relationship between space and society, which lives in it. “New social relationships call for a new space and vice versa.”<sup>77</sup> Every society, with its own particular social, economic and political dynamics that define social relationships, creates its own space and its city. Since the city is “produced space”, the dominant policies, which affect the society through the history, affects the cities. In this sense, the social, economic and political changes through the history of Turkish Republic have been affecting Ankara in many ways. Ankara, was constructed with the dominant policy of the 1920s (étatism), and has been transforming with the dominant policy of 1980s (neo-liberalism). In other words, Ankara has two specific transformation periods. Since the construction of Ankara has the symbolic meaning considering the transition from the old Ottoman Empire to new “modern” Turkish Republic, it has a specific condition in the history of

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<sup>75</sup> Ayda Eraydın, *Değişen Mekan: Mekansal Süreçlere ilişkin Tartışma ve Araştırmalara Toplu Bakış: 1923–2003* (Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 2006), 16

<sup>76</sup> Berin Gür, “Reconstruction of urban space through the dialectics of global and local: evolution of urban space in Sultanahmet-İstanbul” (Phd diss., Middle East Technical University, 1999), 27

<sup>77</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell Publish Ltd, 1991), 59

Turkish Republic. It is the seat of the national government, the head of the State. Yet, as it was mentioned in the above sections, the economic system of Turkish Republic has transformed sharply in 1980s from the State dominancy to the private entrepreneurs dominancy. This transformation in the economic system has brought about crucial changes in the social and politic aspects of the country and in turn in the spatial characteristics of the capital city, Ankara, where the main buildings of the State and entrepreneurs are located.

This thesis studies the unoccupied main buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in Ankara. These main buildings are located in the old city centre of Ankara, namely *Ulus*. *Ulus* has a specific role in the history of Turkish Republic because it was the first city center of the “modern” capital city of Turkey. The buildings were designed by foreign architects, who were invited by the early Republican government. This attempt of the government proves the importance of construction of the new modern capital city with the new ideology. Actually, the Early Republican period represents the efforts for the modernization of the built environment (and also the society) in Turkey, and particularly in Ankara. However, the urbanization period after 1980s with the neo-liberal policies, has started to change the character of built environment in Ankara.

Consequently, two periods, namely étatism and neo-liberalism are significant in the transformation of Ankara. This significance was the result of the two opposite and dominant policies. In order to clarify these oppositions and their effects on the city of Ankara, the construction of Ankara as a capital city in the Early Republican period and reflections of Neo-liberal policies to the capital city of Ankara are studied.

### 2.3.1. Construction of Ankara as the Capital City of New Turkish Republic

With the end of the Ottoman Empire and the construction of the new Turkish Republic, the capital city was moved from İstanbul (the capital city of Ottoman Empire) to Ankara.<sup>78</sup> Not only the governmental institutions were moved to Ankara, but also the political, social and economic system was transformed as a whole. This was important because the new Turkish government gave significant concern for equal public services in every part of the country, and Ankara was in the middle of Anatolia at the intersection of the transportation and communication network. During the establishment of Republic, the population of İstanbul decreased, while the population of the Ankara increased. On the other hand, İstanbul, which was re-constructed with the urban planning experience of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, represented the old Ottoman urban structure. The government preferred creating a newly constructed city, which was suitable for the new modern society and new life style, rather than the restoration and renewal of the old urban structure. Newly created/planned physical environment in Ankara was the stage/scene of the new contemporary life style.<sup>79</sup> Ankara was not only the image of the new Turkish Republic, but also a capital city, which was to fulfill the requirements of the new modern life style. The political intentions initiated the construction of Ankara with a new style different from the old Ankara.<sup>80</sup> Ergut states that when Ankara was chosen as the capital of the national government, “the construction of the state was put into the action by the construction of its

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<sup>78</sup> For the reasons of moving the capital city from İstanbul to Ankara, see Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınları, 1993)

<sup>79</sup> Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınları, 1993), 45

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, 44

capital”.<sup>81</sup> Ankara was the image of the nationalist, progressive, modern, contemporary Turkish Republic. The establishment of Ankara as the capital city was accepted as one of the most important “Kemalist” revolutions, which is called the “modernization project” of the Republic.<sup>82</sup>



**Figure 2-5. Topview of Ulus in the Early Republican period.** (*Nafia İşleri Mecmuası*, 1936, no.: 5, 150)

Ankara became the capital city of Turkish Republic in 13 October 1923. In order to create the symbolic, modern and contemporary capital city with its physical structure for the new modern life, the private properties (lands) in Ankara were

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<sup>81</sup> Elvan Ergut, “The Isbank Skyscraper: The Modern Office Block in Turkey,” (paper presented at VIIIth International DOCOMOMO Conference, Import-Export: Postwar Modernism in an Expanding World, 2004)

<sup>82</sup> Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınları, 1993), 43

expropriated in order to construct the public buildings. Till 1927, the city of Ankara had grown irregularly. In 1927, the urban plan of Hermann Jansen, the German urban planner and architect, was chosen by the competition in order to create the urban plan of Ankara. The city has developed through the north-south axis according to the Jansen plan. (Figure 2-6) The new city centre was designed at periphery of the old city center, with its newly constructed, prestigious, buildings and boulevards.



**Figure 2-6. Ziraat Bank Construction and Bankalar Street.** (Archive of METU Faculty of Architecture)

Ankara was rapidly urbanized with its prestigious city centre, namely *Ulus* where the Assembly (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Assembly buildings), Ankara Palas<sup>83</sup> (the most

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<sup>83</sup> designed by Vedat Tek and Kemaleddin Bey



prestigious hotel), and the central buildings of the banks (*Ziraat Bank*<sup>84</sup>, *The İş Bank*<sup>85</sup>, *Ottoman Bank*,<sup>86</sup> etc.) were situated, and with the increasing population.(Figure 2-7) The Exhibition Halls<sup>87</sup> (after called as Opera House<sup>88</sup>), Peoples House<sup>89</sup>, the ministry of Foreign Affairs building<sup>90</sup>, and Ankara University Faculty of Letters<sup>91</sup> were some of the examples of the prestigious and symbolic buildings of the Nation, located on the north-south axis in Ankara. The new governmental buildings were designed by foreign architects in order to construct the capital city as a “modern “city.”<sup>92</sup> Since the state of new Republic aimed to construct the “modern identity”, its capital city had to be constructed with new buildings as the symbols of modernization project. Being the seat of the new government, many governmental buildings were constructed in Ankara as the concrete symbols of the modern Republic.

### **2.3.2. Consequences of Neo-Liberal Policies in the city of Ankara**

The construction process of the modern capital city project was interrupted by the economic crisis in 1950s. On the other hand rapid urbanization with increasing population resulted in lack of housing. *Gecekondu* type of settlement started to

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<sup>84</sup> designed by Giulio Mongeri

<sup>85</sup> designed by Giulio Mongeri

<sup>86</sup> designed by Giulio Mongeri

<sup>87</sup> designed by Şevki Balmumcu

<sup>88</sup> designed by Paul Bonatz

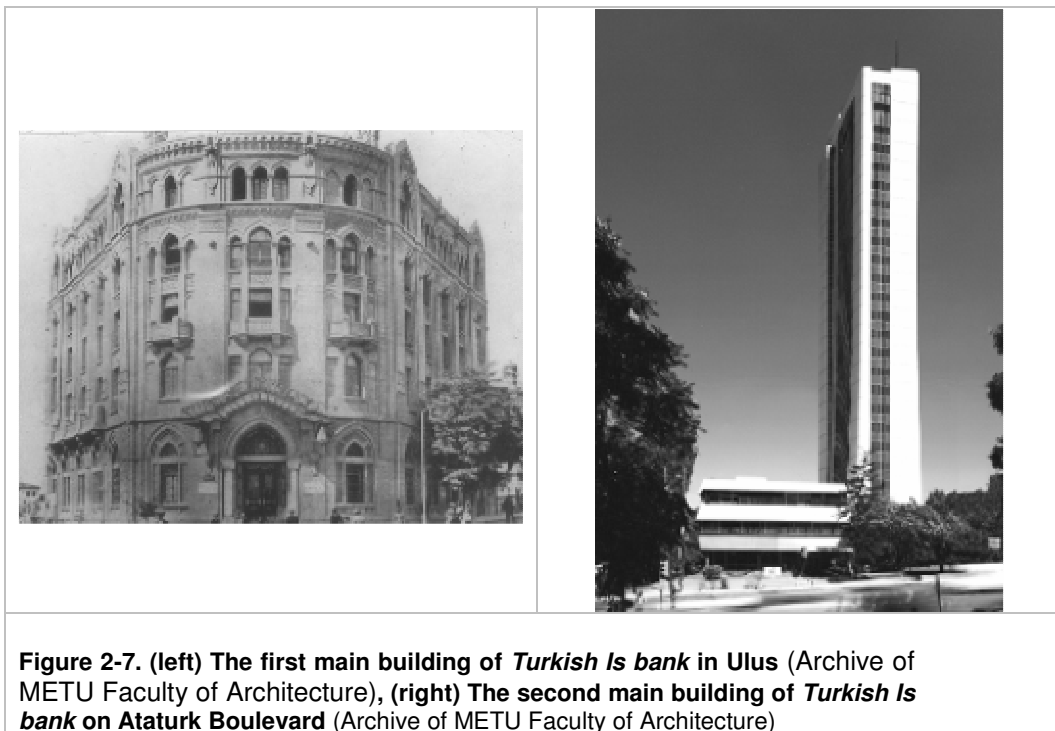
<sup>89</sup> designed by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu

<sup>90</sup> designed by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu

<sup>91</sup> designed by Bruno Taut

<sup>92</sup> Elvan Ergut, “The Isbank Skyscraper: The Modern Office Block in Turkey, ” (paper presented at VIIIth International DOCOMOMO Conference, Import-Export: Postwar Modernism in an Expanding World, 2004)

appear in that period. Such changes did not occur only in Ankara but the other cities in Turkey as well. But specifically considering Ankara, its city centre was moved from *Ulus* to *Yenişehir* and *Kızılay*. It was the first time that *Ulus* (Early Republican Period city centre) became functionally unoccupied in the 1950s and 1960s, during the first attempt of decreasing the effectiveness of the State. The prestigious development on the south part of the city was the clue of the transformation of the Turkish Republic. As Ergut mentions, “the period also witnessed Turkey’s fuller integration into the new world economic system of capitalism, which reinforced liberal policies and emphasized the role of the private sector in all fields”.<sup>93</sup>



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<sup>93</sup> Elvan Ergut, “The Isbank Skyscraper: The Modern Office Block in Turkey,” (paper presented at VIIIth International DOCOMOMO Conference, Import-Export: Postwar Modernism in an Expanding World, 2004)

It was the period when the banking sector competition also occurred. Ergut continues that in that period Turkish *İş* Bank, the first republican bank, moved its headquarters from *Ulus* to a new skyscraper, which has a symbolic meaning with its new technology and modern architectural style, on *Atatürk* Boulevard. (Figure 2-7) That proves the effectiveness of the private sector specifically finance sector. The crucial note about the Turkish *İş* Bank is that the bank headquarters was once more moved to *İstanbul* in 2001 in order to be placed in its fashionable and again currently highest skyscraper of the country in that period. It exemplifies the different point of view in economic as well as spatial developments of Turkey's integration to the global context, whereby power is to be located in cities that are "global" namely, *İstanbul*. This example is crucial to understand the whole transformation process of Ankara as the capital city of Turkish Republic. Turkish *İş* Bank is an example of the modernization process during the Early Republican Period with its attempts to engage in the international system in economic terms.<sup>94</sup>

Neo-liberal approaches in 1980s have not only affected the financial markets and the national and regional politics, but also affected the spatial and social characteristics of the most of the cities in Turkey, and Ankara in particular. (Figure 2-8) The rapid urbanization and increasing number of construction of commercial spaces, namely shopping malls, are the results of the neo-liberal policies in Ankara, like all other cities. With the shift in priorities (from the state to private entrepreneurs), local governance together with private entrepreneurs

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<sup>94</sup> Elvan Ergut, "The İşbank Skyscraper: The Modern Office Block in Turkey," (paper presented at VIIIth International DOCOMOMO Conference, Import-Export: Postwar Modernism in an Expanding World, 2004)

becomes the main decision maker in the re-construction of the cities. Authority is distributed between the public, private and the local governance. Moreover increase in the number of new housing projects at the peripheries of Ankara and the urban transformation processes in the old city centers are almost the same with the other cities in Turkey. (Figure 2-9)



**Figure 2-8. Ankara specifically *Ulus* after 1990s** (Archive of METU Faculty of Architecture, Photo: Olgu Çalışkan)



**Figure 2-9. Ankara specifically Kızılay after 1990s** (Archive of METU Faculty of Architecture)

Considering the neo-liberal policies, what is specific to Ankara, as a capital city of the state, can be explained as follows: For the control of the economy is taken from the state and given to private sector, the state becomes smaller. Privatization of the governmental institutions has caused to changes in the national social state ideology, and decreased the effectiveness of the central execution in Ankara. From the Early Republican Period to 1980s, the physical environment of Ankara mostly consisted of the “private properties of the State” specifically, the headquarter buildings of the SOEs. As the dominant policy of the government was the privatization of the SOEs after 1980, whether they were liquidated or privatized, the headquarters of them were rather moved to İstanbul or closed. Private properties of the State (lands and buildings) in Ankara have been unoccupied or sold for further investments to private entrepreneurs. Actually, these unoccupied large scale buildings, which were designed with a particular architectural program, were the symbols of the power of the State. Consequently, the physical environment of Ankara, as the seat of the

governmental institutions, has changed deeply via privatization comparing to the other cities in Turkey.

By the end of 1970s, the cities started to become prior than the countries. The competition between the countries has been turned into the competition between the cities in the global scale. Their spatial characteristics and also their positions and roles in the social, economic and political structure of the country determine the new missions of the cities. In that manner, in Turkey, İstanbul has become the center of the capital, in other words, the most of the institutions of the financial issues have been gathered in İstanbul in order to compete globally. Although the further discussions on this subject will be done in the following pages, it should be remembered that, because of that reason (i.e. the competition between İstanbul as the center of finance and Ankara as the political center of the state), the headquarters of Turkish *İş Bank* was moved to İstanbul from Ankara in 2001, then the headquarters of *Şekerbank* was moved in 2005. In the near future, the others (*Ziraat Bank* and also *Halkbank*) whose headquarters located in Ankara are planning to move İstanbul in order to compete with the others under the same conditions. (Figure 2-10) It is in this respect that, with the privatization policies, the urbanization of Ankara as a capital city differs from the urbanization of the other cities in Turkey.



Figure 2-10. İstanbul as a financial center (Sabah Newspaper on 11 September 2007)

To conclude this chapter, every dominant policy creates its own society and so its own space and its own city. In order to understand these dominant policies and their effects on Ankara, the social, economic and politic history of Turkish Republic were studied in five periods. These periods are, the early years of the Turkish Republic (1923-1929), the economic recoveries with étatist approach (1929-1950), liberalization experience (1950-1961), national planning years with étatist approach (1961-1979) and neo-liberal policies after 1980. Considering the objects of the thesis namely the main buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* constructed during the Early Republican period as the symbol of the new Republic, and privatized or liquidated after 1980, which will be discussed in the following chapter with respect to the thesis problem, particularly reflections of the

dominant policies of the Early Republican and the Neo-liberal Periods on Ankara were mentioned. Ankara has a specific role in the history of Turkey as the constructed capital city of the new Republic. As the headquarters of all state owned enterprises are located in the capital city, these buildings start to be emptied as a result of their privatization or liquidation process. Understanding the social, political and economic history of Turkey and its effects on Ankara and SOEs prepares the basis, which enable further discussions in the following chapter.



## CHAPTER 3

### **DISCUSSION ON THE UNOCCUPIED MAIN BUILDINGS OF *EMLAKBANK*, *SÜMERBANK* AND *TEKEL* IN ANKARA IN THE CONTEXT OF DOMINANT POLICIES AFTER 1980**

In the previous chapter, the social, economic and political histories of Turkey were mentioned in general. However, this chapter particularly focuses on the three unoccupied buildings of SOEs, namely *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in *Ulus* in Ankara.

Since buildings are constructive elements of a city, and the physical and social structure of a city is affected by the dominant mode of production, any change in the mode of production can be read through the buildings. Specifically, the social, political and economic change in Turkey can be recognized through studying how these particular buildings become unoccupied. As a result, *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* are worth for studying in order to understand the reasons why some public buildings and areas become unoccupied.

This chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, for the sake of the discussions, the brief institutional histories of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *Tekel* are mentioned in order to understand their specific roles in the history of Turkish Republic with respect to the reasons for their establishment. In addition to this, the architectural significance of each building is given briefly.

In the second part, the impacts of the dominant policies after 1980s on three SOEs -*Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank*, *TEKEL*- and on their main buildings in Ankara,

which are still unoccupied, are discussed. The arguments of Henri Lefebvre (his argument on “space as a social product,” power of the space/architecture), Michel Foucault (his argument on “space of the power”) and Christine Boyer (her arguments on “collective memory”) form the conceptual basis of the discussions on these buildings. Discussions are pursued under the specific topics by taking the following questions into consideration:

1. Why are these buildings unoccupied?
2. Under which conditions are they unoccupied?
3. What are the political/economic/social reasons that make these buildings unoccupied?
4. What are the related planning/architectural decisions that make buildings unoccupied?
5. What are the after effects of the condition of being unoccupied in urban scale?
  - A. In terms of architecture of the city.
  - B. In terms of the everyday urban experience

The specific topics to be discussed are such as the following:

- The buildings of the “collective memory”,
- The dilemma between İstanbul and Ankara: İstanbul as the financial center versus Ankara as the political center,
- Change in the content and meaning of public interest and public service
- Mutual effect between the building and its context.

### **3.1. *Emlakbank, Sümerbank and TEKEL* as an institution and their main buildings in *Ulus***

#### **3.1.1. Brief Institutional History of *Emlakbank, Sümerbank and TEKEL***

The objects of this thesis, *Emlakbank, Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* were the important SOEs, which were established at the beginning of the Turkish Republic. *Emlakbank* was the main institution in supplying the housing requirements by giving loans for housing and by building housing complexes; *Sümerbank* was main industrial institution which supplied domestic needs; and *TEKEL* was the monopoly of production of the alcoholic beverages, cigarettes and salt. These institutions are all either liquidated, privatized or in the privatization process. Also their immovable properties in Turkey were privatized or transferred to the private sector or a person, or left vacant for further investments. Understanding the brief institutional history of *Emlakbank, Sümerbank and TEKEL* in Turkey is crucial, because it can give clues about not only the process of the privatization practices and economic changes in Turkey but also the reasons why the majority of the main SOEs buildings is unoccupied in the capital city of Turkey.



### ***Emlakbank***

*Emlak ve Eytam Bankası* (Estate and Orphans Bank) was established in 1926 by the state in order to manage the orphans savings, and give loans. Yet it should be pointed out that, *Emlak* and *Eytam* Bank did not provide loans for construction; on the contrary, it gave loans only if the estate was mortgaged.<sup>95</sup> The Bank was a governmental institution, the capital of the *Emlak* and *Eytam* Bank was 20.000.000TL. Bank and its loans were mostly used for the capital city of Turkey, Ankara; hence the Bank became insufficient to serve for the needs of the public. In 1946, *Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası* (Turkish Estate Loan Bank) was established instead of *Emlak* and *Eytam* Bank. Although it seems that the *Emlak Kredi* Bank was the successor of *Emlak* and *Eytam* Bank, the main aim behind its establishment was different. The aim was mainly to provide loans to public for

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<sup>95</sup> This was mentioned in the report that was prepared to supply capital to the *Türkiye Emlak ve Kredi Bankası* by The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement in 1964. It was quoted in Murat Güvenç and Oğuz Işık, *Emlak Bankası 1926-1998* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 3

housing. It became more related with the urban problems of the cities, like migration and shortage of housing.<sup>96</sup>

Depending on the changes in social, political and economy policies in Turkey, the structure and the status of Bank was modified. Although the *Emlak Kredi* Bank provided housing for the low-income group in 1946, after 1984 the Bank diverged from this main aim.<sup>97</sup> In 1984, following the liberalization policy of the government after 1980, *Emlak Kredi* Bank was transformed to SOE, and named *TEK-BANK* (*Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası*). The aim of *TEK-BANK* focused primarily on financial operations rather than housing projects, which were the primer aim of the *Emlak Kredi* Bank. Consequently, by re-organization of *Emlak Kredi* Bank in 1984, the agenda on supplying low-income housing was over.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Murat Güvenç and Oğuz Işık, *Emlak Bankası 1926-1998* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 132

<sup>97</sup> Esra Akdoğan, "Türkiye Emlak Bankası'nın Türkiye'nin Konut Politikasındaki Yeri" (MS diss., Akdeniz Üniversitesi, 2002), 28

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, 120



**Figure 3-2. Ataköy** (Güvenç M. and Işık O. *Emlak Bankası 1926-1998*. Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul 1999, 170)

*TEK-BANK* was unified with *Anadolu Bank* in 1988 with the capital of 225 billion TL, and was re-named *Türkiye Emlak Bankası A.Ş* (Turkish Estate Bank Joint Stock Company).<sup>99</sup> After the unification, the main aim of *Emlakbank* was redefined so as to focus on foreign trade and housing. In other words, *Emlakbank* was adapted to the foreign trade in the world by the government, the responsibility of the Bank on housing kept as it was.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> In Turkish shortly named *Konutbank*.

<sup>100</sup> Esra Akdoğan, "Türkiye Emlak Bankası'nın Türkiye'nin Konut Politikasındaki Yeri" (MS diss., Akdeniz Üniversitesi, 2002), 127



**Figure 3-3. Levent** (Güvenç M. and Işık O. *Emlak Bankası 1926-1998. Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul 1999, 155*)



**Figure 3-4. Yenimahalle** (Güvenç M. and Işık O. *Emlak Bankası 1926-1998. Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul 1999, 140*)

The Bank developed large housing projects, which were significant for big cities such as, *Bahçeşehir, Bizimkent, Ataköy and Levent* in İstanbul, *Deniz Bostanlığı* in İzmir, and *Konutkent, Bilkent and Elvankent* in Ankara.<sup>101</sup> (Figure 3-2,3-3,3-4) In 1998, according to the decision of High Planning Council<sup>102</sup> *Emlakbank* stopped to develop housing projects, and continued as a trade bank, which gave property loans.<sup>103</sup> *Emlakbank* was closed in 2001 by Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency, and its 295 branches were transferred to *Ziraat Bank*, and 96 branches were transferred to *Halkbank*.<sup>104</sup>

### ***Sümerbank***

In 1925, *Sanayi ve Maden Bankası* (Industry and Metal Bank) was established to which the industrial institutions were transferred. This bank was divided into two sub-institutions, which were *Devlet Sanayi Ofisi* (State Industry Office) and *Türkiye Sanayi Kredi Bankası* (Turkish Industry Loan Bank). In 1933, *Sümerbank* was established as SOE with the unification of *Devlet Sanayi Ofisi* and *Türkiye Sanayi Kredi Bankası*.<sup>105</sup>

The role of etatism was defined by Halil Bey<sup>106</sup> as setting up a base for public affairs, which could not have been done by private sector in the Early Republican

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<sup>101</sup> Murat Güvenç and Oğuz Işık, *Emlak Bankası 1926-1998* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999)

<sup>102</sup> Also seen as Supreme Planning Council, in Turkish *Başbakanlık Yüksek Planlama Kurulu*

<sup>103</sup> Esra Akdoğan, "Türkiye Emlak Bankası'nın Türkiye'nin Konut Politikasındaki Yeri" (MS diss., Akdeniz Üniversitesi, 2002) 137

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, 138

<sup>105</sup> [http://www.yol-is.org.tr/genel/bizden\\_detay.php?kod=199](http://www.yol-is.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=199) (accessed January 31, 2008)

<sup>106</sup> *Halil Bey* was Turkish National Assembly 4<sup>th</sup> Term member of the Parliament from İzmir, who declared his views about the establishment of *Sümerbank*.



Period. Then, it was important to establish *Sümerbank* to contribute industrialization of new Turkish Republic, and to encourage private sector.<sup>107</sup>

(Figure 3-5)

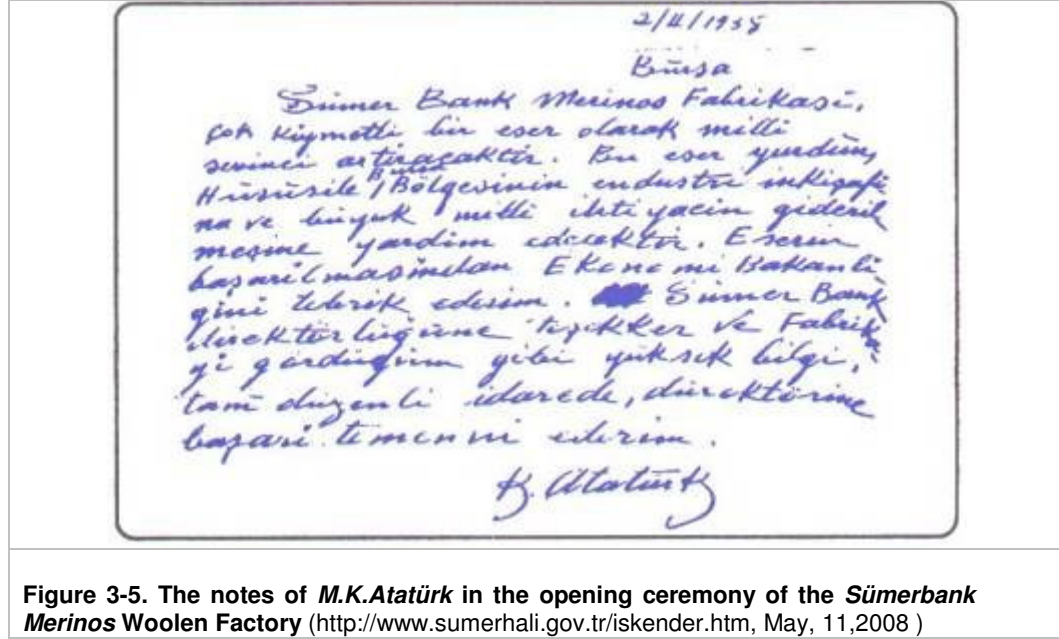


Figure 3-5. The notes of *M.K. Atatürk* in the opening ceremony of the *Sümerbank Merinos Woolen Factory* (<http://www.sumerhali.gov.tr/iskender.htm>, May, 11, 2008 )

The mission of the *Sümerbank* was defined as follows:

“...To work between the public and private sector in the area of industry with the specific aim of encouraging the foundation of major industries...”

“...To foster the education of personnel, who will take part in the development of Turkish Industry...”

“...To take active measures to improve Turkish Industry...”

“...To monitor industrialization in its accomplishment by means of a more harmonious and effective use of all national resources and economic factors...”

“...To improve urban/regional balance...”

“...To maintain and improve employment opportunities....”<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Halil Bey. Cited in Serkan Tuna “Türkiye’de Devlet İşletmeleri (1930-1940),” (Phd diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi 2002), 114

<sup>108</sup> Aylin O.Göçer, “The Impact of Privatization on the Organizational Culture: The Sumerbank’s Case”, (MBA diss. Bilkent University, 1990), 12-13

*Sümerbank* established iron, cement, paper and cellulose factories throughout the country in order to accomplish its aims mentioned above. Therefore, it was called “the school of industry”.<sup>109</sup> The first public investment of the government was the *Sümerbank Kayseri* Fabric Factory with its mass housing in 1935. (Figure 3-6)



**Figure 3-6. Kayseri Sümerbank Factory** (Fotoğrafla Türkiye, Matbuat Um. Md. Ankara)

In 1950s, the main focus of *Sümerbank* was the textile sector, and then the other industries related to *Sümerbank* were transferred to other enterprises or private sector. In 1987, *Sümerbank* was privatized with all factories all over the country,

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<sup>109</sup> Aylin O.Göçer, “The Impact of Privatization on the Organizational Culture: The Sumerbank’s Case”, (MBA diss. Bilkent University, 1990), 13

and became *Sümerbank Holding A.Ş.* (*Sümerbank Holding Joint Stock Company*). In 1993, the bank unit of Sümerbank Holding was separated, and became independent as *Sümerbank Joint Stock Company (Bank)*. In 1995, *Sümerbank Joint Stock Company* was sold to *Garipoğlu Group* with the price of 101.460.000 \$.<sup>110</sup> In 1999, *Sümerbank Joint Stock Company* was transferred to the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund (*Tasarruf Mevduatı Sigorta Fonu- TMSF*) from *Garipoğlu Group*. In 2001, it was sold to *Oyak Group*. It has been registered to the *Oyakbank A.Ş.* since 2002.

### **TEKEL**

Tobacco and salt products were for the first time monopolized by the Ottoman Empire in 1862.<sup>111</sup> Due to the *Rusumu Sitte*<sup>112</sup> of 1879, the income from the salt, tobacco and alcoholic beverages were first left to the foreign bankers, and then in the 1883 to *Düyun-u Umumiye*<sup>113</sup>. Later, the income was left to the company (*Memaliki Osmaniye Duhanları Müşterek Menfaa REJİ Şirketi*), which was a subsidiary of the Tobacco Monopolies. There were many factories like *Cibali, İzmir, Adana,* and *Samsun Tobacco Factories*, which were founded between 1884 and 1897.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Günnur Yılmaz, "Özelleştirme Yöntemleri ve Türkiye'de Kamu Bankalarının Özelleştirilmesinde Sümerbank ve Etibank Uygulamaları," (MS diss., Gazi Üniversitesi 1997)

<sup>111</sup> <http://www.tekel.gov.tr/default.asp?islem=tarihce> (accessed February 01, 2008)

<sup>112</sup> In order to collect the debts from Ottomans, they established "*Rusumu Sitte İdaresi*". This administration collected debts from duties of income of the salt, tobacco and alcoholic beverages etc. For further information <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=183884> (accessed Feruary , 2008)

<sup>113</sup> *Düyun-u Umumiye* was a board of creditors, whose aim was to preserve benefits of creditors. The members of the board consisted of Ottoman *Galata* bankers, Britain, Austria, France, Germany, Netherland and Italy. It was also called public debts.

<sup>114</sup> <http://www.oib.gov.tr/portfoy/tekel.htm> (accessed February 01, 2008)

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the control and sale of tobacco and its by-products were executed by the State in 1925. In 1926, tobacco, tobacco products and alcoholic beverages were monopolized by the State. Consequently, the "monopoly" services related to tobacco, alcoholic beverages, salt, powder and explosives were issued to the Monopolies Public Directorate (TEKEL), which was established in 1932. In 1946, *TEKEL* became *TEKEL* Headquarter Directorate as SOE. In 1987, *TEKEL* Headquarter Directorate was renamed as Tobacco, Tobacco Products, Salt and Alcohol Trade Headquarter Building, in short *TEKEL*.<sup>115</sup>

The privatization of *TEKEL* by means of selling, renting, transferring of operation rights, and establishment of incorporeal rights on property was decided by the Privatization High Council (PHC) in 2002.<sup>116</sup>

The Alcoholic Beverages Industry Management and Trade Co. was sold to the joint venture of *Nurol-Limak-Özaltın-Tütsab* with a price of 292.000.000 \$ with the decision by PHC in 2003. A contract has been signed with Che Tobacco and Tobacco Products Alcoholic Beverages Industry and Trade Lt. Co. with a price of 1.325.000 U.S. dollars. The cigar brands and belongings of *TEKEL* were given to the *Teka* Cigar Production and Trade Co. in 2005. Three lake salinas in the area of *Tuz* Lake, and the *Kaldırım*, *Kayacık* and *Yavşan* Salt Establishments were privatized in 2006.<sup>117</sup> *TEKEL* Cigarette Industry, Management and Trade Co. was sold to British American Tobacco (BAT) with the price of 1 billion 720 million U.S.

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<sup>115</sup> <http://www.tekel.gov.tr/default.asp?islem=tarihce> (accessed February 01, 2008)

<sup>116</sup> <http://www.oib.gov.tr/portfoy/tekel.htm> (accessed February 01, 2008)

<sup>117</sup> <http://www.oib.gov.tr/portfoy/tekel.htm> (accessed February 01, 2008)

dollars in 2008.<sup>118</sup> The process of privatization of the idle facilities and properties owned by *TEKEL* is continuing.

### **3.1.2. Architectural Significance of the Buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL***

The new economic processes in Turkey after 1980 have caused the fact that the most of the SOEs were re-organized or sold to private sector or closed down. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the main headquarter buildings of the SOEs were in Ankara as the capital city in order to administer the SOEs centrally by the state. In that manner, the headquarter buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL*, which served to public since the foundation of Turkish Republic, become unoccupied after the privatization process. These buildings are important and have a symbolic meaning in the history of modern architecture in Turkey because they are the early examples of the construction years of Ankara as a capital city and the new Turkish Republic.

The main buildings of these three SOEs are located at *Ulus*. *Ulus* was the main city center of Ankara particularly during the early republican period, where all the governmental buildings and also the First Assembly Building were located. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the efforts of the government to construct Ankara as the modern capital city went in parallel with the construction of the new modern society. It is believed that when the modern physical environment was constructed, the modernization of the society could be realized. It was aimed to construct “modern nation”, “modern human” through “modern city”. Then, Ankara started to be constructed according to the needs of the new State and the new

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<sup>118</sup> <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/8773971.asp?gid=196&sz=49553> (accessed May 07, 2008)

society. The governmental buildings (*Sümerbank* and *Teke*), bank buildings (*Ziraat Bank*, *İş Bank*), housing projects (*Saraçoğlu Mahallesi*), the urban parks (*Gençlik Parkı*), the cultural and social spaces (Opera House, Exhibition Hall and *Halkevi*) were built in order to fulfill the public services of the modern society. The construction of Ankara was a model for the other cities in the country. These buildings as architectural products are “the representative of the nation”.<sup>119</sup> It was accepted that the architectural practices were to be the integral part of the construction of the “unified modern nation”.



**Figure 3-7. EmlakBank Building** (Archive of METU Faculty of Architecture, Photo: İnci Aslanoğlu,)

*Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* buildings were part and result of the modernization project of the Early Republican period. As the representatives of the modern identity of the state, these buildings were designed by the foreign

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<sup>119</sup> Elvan Ergut, “Making a National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation-State in Early Republican Turkey” (Phd diss., State University of New York, 1998)

architects, who were invited to apply their experience and knowledge on modern buildings.<sup>120</sup> The detailed architectural record of the buildings is not given in this thesis however the ideology beneath the architectural practices during the Early Republican period is significant, which gives rise to further discussions on the current conditions of these specific buildings.<sup>121</sup>



**Figure 3-8. Sümerbank Building.** (Aslanoglu, İ. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938*, ODTÜ Mimarlık fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 2001, 262)

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<sup>120</sup> See for further studies on the “modern identity of the state” and the construction process of the modern capital city in Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı*. (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınları, 1993) and also, in Zeynep Kezer, “The Making of a National Capital: Ideology and Socio-Spatial Practices in Early Republican Ankara,” (Phd diss., University of California, 1999), Elvan Ergut, “Making a National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation-State in Early Republican Turkey” (Phd diss., State University of New York, 1998)

<sup>121</sup> For the detailed architectural record of the Early Republican architectural products, see İnci Aslanoglu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2001)

*Emlakbank (Emlak ve Eytam Bankası)* building, which was designed in 1933-34 by Clemens Holzmeister,<sup>122</sup> is located on the *Bankalar* Street. (Figure 3-7) This street is where the headquarter buildings of the banks were located especially in the Early Republican period. A design competition for the *Sümerbank* headquarter building including the main store, to which many Turkish and foreign architects participated, was organized in 1936.<sup>123</sup> (Figure 3-8) Although the winner was the Turkish architect namely Seyfi Arkan, the building was designed by Martin Elaesser who did not participate the competition, and constructed in 1938. It remained as the main administration building and the main store of the *Sümerbank* until the privatization of the institution. *TEKEL*, State Monopolies, Headquarter Building was constructed in 1928 on the *Bankalar* Street. It was a corner building designed by Giulio Mongeri.<sup>124</sup> (Figure 3-9)

*Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* buildings are also the symbols of the power and the ideology of the State like the other buildings of the Early Republican period. These three representative buildings were used for many years by the institutions they belonged to. In general, after the privatization process of SOEs their head offices whether were moved to İstanbul or closed down, and the

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<sup>122</sup> The building is an example of the Early Republican Architecture. Most of the public buildings were designed as a monumental building in that period. İnci Aslanoğlu claims that the *Emlakbank* building has the characteristics of the design of Holzmeister. The building was designed in the international functional-rational style/ attitude instead of the national style. Comparing to *T.İş Bankası* Building at *Ulus* which was designed by Giulio Mongeri in 1929, *Emlakbank* building has much simpler façade with its symmetry and prismatic mass without the ornamentations/decorations.

<sup>123</sup> İnci Aslanoglu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2001), 261

<sup>124</sup> The building is an example the First National Architectural Style. Aslanoğlu claims that national tendencies affected architecture, became more popular especially after the Second Constitution in 1908, and continued its popularity during the early years of Turkish Republic. Holod, Evin and Özkan state that, there is a balance between the scale of *TEKEL* Building and the old city pattern therefore *TEKEL* Building can be accepted as the one of the good examples of that period. Nationalism resulted in the revival of the old elements like Seljukid patterns, and Ottoman architectural and decorative elements. For example, the common points of the buildings are the symmetry of the mass, the façade ornamentations/decorations in other words, history oriented formalistic attitude. İnci Aslanoglu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2001), 141



buildings of the SOEs were assigned to other governmental institutions or sold to the private sector. Yet the problem is that the main buildings of these institutions (*Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL*) are still unoccupied, and cannot be re-functioned after the privatization.



**Figure 3-9. TEKEL Headquarter Building** (Aslanoglu, İ. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938*, ODTÜ Mimarlık fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 2001, 142)

These buildings are the concrete representations of their institutions, which were indented to fulfill development plans of the country till 1980s. *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* were the pioneer institutions for the rural development in the country by processing, controlling and supporting the production of the agricultural products (like tobacco or cotton etc.), and for the promotion of the society by creating employment opportunities. Moreover, together with their buildings, they supported the construction of the modern social and physical environment in the rural areas. In other words, these institutions, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL*, were the cores of the state policy in the establishment of the balance between the rural

and urban development. Additionally, *Emlakbank* controlled the urbanization by providing shelter to the citizens with housing projects. These three institutions worked cooperatively for the sake of the public, till 1980s. Then, the main buildings, being the first constructed buildings of these institutions, are the symbols of the Early Republican official ideology, which aimed for the modernization of the society and its space, and also for the establishment of the balance between the urban and rural. Therefore, these buildings appear as the representations of the social, economic, political ideology of the state in the Early Republican period.

### **3.2. Discussion**

The relevance of the arguments of Lefebvre, Foucault and Boyer comes from their concern with space by emphasizing different points: “space as a social product”, “power of the space/architecture” (that is Lefebvre); “space of the power” (that is Foucault); and space of the “collective memory” (that is Boyer). Their arguments support the discussions on the impacts of the neo-liberal policies on the selected SOE’s and their unoccupied main buildings.

The conceptual ground of Lefebvre’s discussions on “the social production of social space” is established by linking the space (the production of space); time (the making of history) and social being (the society).<sup>125</sup> Lefebvre builds a matrix for the conceptualization of space, which is crucial to comprehend “social space”.

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<sup>125</sup> Berin Gür, “Reconstruction of urban space through the dialectics of global and local: evolution of urban space in Sultanahmet-İstanbul” (Phd diss., Middle East Technical University, 1999), 36

The components of the matrix are “spatial practice”, “representations of space” and “representational space or the space of representations”.<sup>126</sup>

1. *Spatial practice*, which embraces production and reproduction and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space and of each member of a given society’s relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*.<sup>127</sup>

2. *Representations of space*, which are tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes and to ‘frontal’ relations.

3. *Representational spaces*, embodying complex symbolisms sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art.<sup>128</sup>

In his matrix; “spatial practice” is the process of producing material form of social spatiality. Spatial practice is also called “perceived” and physical (material) space. “Representations of space” refer to the idealistic and subjective way of spatial production. It is also called “conceived”<sup>129</sup> space that refers to the process, in which meanings are constructed. Representational space (spaces of representation) is also called “lived”<sup>130</sup> or “imagined” space, and refers to transformation of physical space by making symbolic use of its object.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell Publish Ltd, 1991), 33-47

<sup>127</sup> Lefebvre states in his footnote that “these terms are borrowed from Noam Chomsky, but this should not be taken as implying any subordination of the theory of space to linguistics.”

<sup>128</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell Publish Ltd, 1991), 33

<sup>129</sup> For further discussions, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell Publish Ltd, 1991), 29-33.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>131</sup> Berin Gür, “Reconstruction of urban space through the dialectics of global and local: evolution of urban space in Sultanahmet-İstanbul” (Phd diss., Middle East Technical University, 1999), 27

Specifying the social relations of production is political and ideological in representational space.<sup>132</sup>

What is “lived” and what is “perceived” are identified with what is “conceived”. In other words, representation of space has architectural-spatial and behavioral consequences. Lefebvre claims that these three concepts of space are relational, and there is no priority in between them. Yet representational space has a significant position in this relational matrix.

According to Foucault, space is a production of power. He approaches architecture as a discipline that provides “the institutions for the exercise of power; it institutionalizes power.”<sup>133</sup> The acts of the dominant political and economic power (eg. the Neo-liberal policies) mediate into the reconstruction and transformation of urban space. According to Foucault, power is productive, and space cannot be considered apart from the exercise of power.

Urban space is, in fact where “the power of spatial representations” (that is the argument by Lefebvre) and “the spatial representations of power” (that is the argument by Foucault) support each other. For the thesis, the unoccupied buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* are the constitutive elements of the urban space, which are discussed also by taking into account these two supporting arguments.

Speaking in reference to Lefebvre, neo-liberal policies after 1980s have architectural-spatial and behavioral consequences. “Representations of space”

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<sup>132</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell Publish Ltd. 1991), 31

<sup>133</sup> Berin Gür, “Reconstruction of urban space through the dialectics of global and local: evolution of urban space in Sultanahmet-İstanbul” (Phd diss., Middle East Technical University, 1999)

are defined as the ideology of spoken and written words, as the discourse of the systems that produce the social space. *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* buildings are the representations of the policies of the Early Republican Period, which intended to create the modern society through the physical structure that they lived in. These three governmental buildings are “conceived” spaces; in other words they are not only the concrete symbols but also the mental production of the economic policies of the state (i.e. étatist policies). On the contrary, the spatial practice of neo-liberal policies after 1980s, focus more on flexible, adaptable to the market policies, fragmental, short term investments. For example, shopping malls, high rise office blocks and etc. appear as the spatial practice of the neo-liberal policies. Considering the representational space or the space of representations, which overlays the physically “perceived” space and the mentally “conceived” space; the two different approaches can be recognized between the policies before and after 1980. *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL*, as the concrete symbols of the modernization project of the Early Republican period and also the missions of their institutions they belonged to, were lived spaces. That is to say that the society practiced and experienced these spaces; most of the people went to the *Sümerbank* building in order to buy cheap and good quality fabrics or clothes, which were produced by the state. The image of the *Sümerbank* building for the citizens in Turkey in general and the *Sümerbank* building in Ulus-Ankara in particular is the store where the domestic fabric of good quality is sold in low price. *Emlakbank* and also *TEKEL* had the similar mission before the neo-liberal policies, yet after 1980s these buildings started to become unoccupied one by one. However, these buildings have such a power that whether their functions change or not, they continue to live as *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* buildings with their social images in our collective

memory. Their social images come from their significant role as the material outcome of the ideology of the nation-state policy of the New Turkish Republic.

Speaking in reference to Foucault, every dominant ideology produces its own institutions with its buildings. *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* with their buildings were the institutions for the exercise of the nation-state ideology. *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* buildings are unoccupied, but they can be re-functioned as a store or a museum. The act of re-functioning institutionalizes a new type of power with new type of use or mission (eg. consumption spaces) that is burdened after 1980s by neo-liberal policies. Consequently, architecture is political in the sense that it both constitutes and also is constituted by the social economic and political transformations.

### **3.2.1. The Building of the “Collective Memory”**

According to Maurice Halbwachs, collective memory “exists as long as it is part of the living experience of a group or individual”.<sup>134</sup> It is different from the history in the manner that, history fixes past in a uniform manner but collective memory is “a current of continuous thought still moving in the present, still part of a groups [society] active life and these memories are multiple and dispersed, spectacular and ephemeral, not recollected or written down in one unified story. Instead, collective memories are supported by a group [society] framed in space and time.”<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 78-79

<sup>135</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 78-80

Considering the thesis problem, *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* buildings, have a symbolic meaning in the context of economic, social and political history in Turkey. As it was mentioned before, these buildings are *the* spaces of their institutions, which were the keystones of the nation state ideology. In that manner, the thesis approaches the concept of the collective memory in two ways: the significance of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* as an institution in the collective memory, and the architectural significance of their buildings in Ulus-Ankara, which are unoccupied today. To repeat, these three institutions have an important role in the development of the country. On the one hand, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* supported the industrial and agricultural productions in the rural areas; on the other hand *Emlakbank* supported the planned and sustainable urbanization of the cities. They served for the sake of the public; they included to the daily life of the society. For example, the products of these institutions, which were a type of brands (such as *TEKEL* beer, *Sümerbank* fabrics -*Sümerbank basması*-, *Emlakbank* Housing etc.), were part of the everyday life of the society. (Figure 3-10) In that manner, these memories are, whether multiple or single, shared by the society. Moreover, these institutions provided great capacity for the employment of the society. The employers of the institutions created sub-communities in Turkey, and they are the ones that are resisting the privatization of these institutions, in other words they struggle for their state of belonging and memories.<sup>136</sup> Specifically, the collective life of the employers in the settlements of these institutions generates different memories. Whether they are privatized or liquidated, the society still remembers these institutions, which make their marks on the economic, social and political history of Turkey.

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<sup>136</sup> The resistance of the *TEKEL* employers all through the country counter to privatization of *TEKEL* was taken part in the news. (Appendix F)



**Figure 3-10. Brand productions of the *Sümerbank* (pyjamas), *TEKEL* (beer) and *Emlakbank* (houses) in the collective memory** (Sümerbank pyjamas: [http://www.revistamuseu.com.br/upload/museu\\_republica\\_08\\_pijama.jpg](http://www.revistamuseu.com.br/upload/museu_republica_08_pijama.jpg), TEKEL beer: [http://www.mey.com.tr/images/bulten\\_11.jpg](http://www.mey.com.tr/images/bulten_11.jpg), Emlakbank houses: [http://www.proge.com/images/projeler/bilkent\\_konutlari.jpg](http://www.proge.com/images/projeler/bilkent_konutlari.jpg) )



**Figure 3-11. Gençlik Park** (Archive of METU Faculty of Architecture Photo: Baykan Günay)



*Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* headquarter buildings which are located in *Ulus* are the spatial representations of a group of important institutions in the capital city of Turkey. *Ulus* was the old city centre, which was planned by Hermann Jansen according to the physical needs of the modern capital city in the 1930's. There are two axis created by Jansen; the first axis is the railway axis that ends at the main railway station acting as the gate to the city; and the second axis is the north-south axis on which the governmental and social-cultural buildings were located. These two axes intersect at *Ulus*.

*Ulus* was the center where the government, society, the services of finance and goods were gathered, interacted, and created a network. Of this network, the headquarter buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* were practically involved in the process of production and distribution of the goods to the public. They were the representations of the public realm of the Republic like other public spaces in *Ulus* (such as *Gençlik Parkı*, *Gar Gazinosu*, Second Assembly Building, and Ankara Citadel). After 1980s, the above-mentioned political, economic and social network with their buildings and spaces in *Ulus* began to dissolve with the neo-liberal policies. The city center moved to the south of Ankara. The spaces of this coherent network lost their functions, and became singular without the context they belonged to.

The main buildings of the institutions became unoccupied after the privatization or liquidation of the institutions they belonged to. They exist actually but they can not integrate to the daily life of the society, which is shaped by the neo-liberal policies, since they are unoccupied. The liberal market economies attribute *Ulus*

an image of the historical city center, which is conserved or renovated with the commodity of the tourism investments.<sup>137</sup> This identity of historical city center assigned to *Ulus* is different from the identity assigned by the early republican ideology. Speaking in reference to Boyer, the attribution of the new identity to *Ulus* and its spaces, results in annihilating the “collective memory,” which is the main component of the public realm.<sup>138</sup> In that manner, *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank*, *TEKEL* buildings and *Ulus* also, became *non-place/non-lieu*,<sup>139</sup> which functions only as the commodity space of the tourism instead the spaces of production and distribution of the goods.

As it was mentioned before, the idea of collective memory is “multiple and dispersed, spectacular and ephemeral.”<sup>140</sup> Each imagination, each way of thinking, and each group of a society produces its own collective memory. Considering the thesis problem, the question, how the unoccupied buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* are “conceived,” “lived” and “imagined” by the dominant social and economic policies, becomes crucial to understand the link between the collective memory and the space-power relations. In the imagination of the government today, architectural practices and in turn the buildings of the First National Style constitute the collective memory, and then the

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<sup>137</sup> Cana Bilsel, “Yeni Dünya Düzeninde Çözülen Kentler ve Kamusal Alan: İstanbul'da Merkezkaç Kentsel Dinamikler ve Kamusal Mekan Üzerine Gözlemler,” <http://www.metropolistanbul.com/public/temamakale.aspx?tmid=13&mid=8> (accessed April 30, 2008)

<sup>138</sup> Christine M. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory* (Cambridge and Massachusetts: the M.I.T Press, 1994), 1-11

<sup>139</sup> Marc Augé, *Non-Lieux, Introduction à une Anthropologie de la Surmodernité*, Editions du Seuil, (Paris: 1992), quoted in Cana Bilsel “Yeni Dünya Düzeninde Çözülen Kentler ve Kamusal Alan: İstanbul'da Merkezkaç Kentsel Dinamikler ve Kamusal Mekan Üzerine Gözlemler.” <http://www.metropolistanbul.com/public/temamakale.aspx?tmid=13&mid=8>

<sup>140</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 78-80

architectural practices and buildings of this style are promoted. Related with the First National Style, İnci Aslanoğlu claims that national tendencies affected architecture, became more popular especially after the Second Constitution in 1908, and continued its popularity during the early years of Turkish Republic. Nationalism resulted in the revival of the old elements like Seljukid patterns, and Ottoman Architectural and decorative elements.<sup>141</sup>

Today, *TEKEL* building as the example of the First National Style is conceived and imagined by the government as the concrete representation of the architecture of the late Ottoman Empire with its façade ornamentations. Therefore, *TEKEL* building will be re-functioned as Turkish Republic Money Museum; as the commodity space by fostering the image of the Ottoman Empire according to the neo-liberal policies. Yet, Sümerbank and Emlakbank are conceived as the representation of the Republican Period so that they are still unoccupied.

### **3.2.2. Dilemma between İstanbul and Ankara: İstanbul as the Financial Center versus Ankara as the Political Center**

There has been a tension between the two important cities of Turkey, namely, İstanbul and Ankara since the Early Republican Period. İstanbul had been the capital city of the Roman-Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires for centuries.<sup>142</sup> The War of Independence in Anatolia meant the end of İstanbul as the capital of

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<sup>141</sup> İnci Aslanoglu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2001), 8-25.

The common points of the buildings of the First National Style are the symmetry of the mass, the façade ornamentations/decorations in other words, history oriented formalistic attitude.

<sup>142</sup> İstanbul served as the capital city of the Roman Empire (330–395), the Byzantine Empire (395–1204 and 1261–1453), the Latin Empire (1204-1261), and the Ottoman Empire (1453-1922).

the country. Since it was the last capital city of the Ottoman Empire, a new capital city for the newly established Turkish Republic with the new ideology was decided to be constructed. Instead of re-shaping İstanbul, Ankara became the symbol of the New State by leaving behind the city of İstanbul as the representative of the old Ottoman Empire. The political-governmental centre was moved to Ankara. İstanbul retained its identity only as a trade-commerce and cultural centre of the nation.

From Early Republican Period till 1950s Ankara acted as equipoise for uncontrolled growth and urbanization of İstanbul.<sup>143</sup> After 1950, by the governmental support for liberalization of the economy, the private entrepreneurs preferred İstanbul for their investments. The government also intentionally invested to İstanbul. The city underwent great structural changes; new roads and factories were constructed in the city. Wide modern boulevards, avenues and public squares were built in İstanbul, sometimes at the expense of the demolition of many historical buildings. All these investments were done after the multi party system, and İstanbul once more became the nucleus of the nation's social, political, economic and cultural life. The city became the base for private industrial enterprises comparing to Ankara or other cities in Anatolia, which were developed with the investments of the state, for example the construction of *Sümerbank* (and etc.) in the Anatolian cities played a significant role in the development of these cities. Generally speaking, 1950s were crucial in the manner that inequalities between the cities were occurred in the country, although the aim of the Early Republican government was to provide equality

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<sup>143</sup> Baykan Günay, "Ankara Karalamaları, Türkiye'nin Başkenti: Ankara". *ADA Kentliyim*, no:7, (1996): 80–87

between the cities.<sup>144</sup> İstanbul gained power against Ankara in the control of the finance, and became prior for private entrepreneurships. The gap between İstanbul and Ankara, İstanbul and other Anatolian cities has been increasing since 1960s. Considering the rapid demographic growth of the two cities, to stop the illegal constructions, and to plan healthy infrastructure and qualified physical environment *Emlak Kredi Bankası* (Estate Loan Bank) started to put its efforts to the construction of the first housing projects in 1950s. Among these projects, Levent(I-IV), Ataköy (I-IV), Koşuyolu, Subayevleri, Atatürk Boulevard were in İstanbul, and Gülveren, Yenimahalle and Subayevleri were in Ankara.<sup>145</sup> Comparing the number of the projects in the cities, the government considered İstanbul more significant than Ankara. When the number of the branches of the Emlakbank that were opened in that period, is considered, İstanbul had the priority, too.<sup>146</sup>

The distinction between İstanbul and Ankara is intentionally developed by the central administration of the state. The dilemma between Ankara and İstanbul was in national scale till 1980s. By the neo-liberal policies and the discourse of the “globalization,” İstanbul becomes the forefront of other cities in Turkey. Since 1980s, the dilemma between the two cities has not been at national scale any more. This is due to the fact that İstanbul is intended to be a global city, as the center of the international flow of capital in Turkey. After 1980s the competition between Ankara as the political center and İstanbul as the financial center is

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<sup>144</sup> Baykan Günay, “Ankara Karalamaları, Türkiye’nin Başkenti: Ankara”. *ADA Kentliyim*, no:7, (1996): 80-87.

<sup>145</sup> Murat Güvenç and Oğuz Işık, *Emlak Bankası 1926-1998* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 136.

<sup>146</sup> Murat Güvenç and Oğuz Işık, *Emlak Bankası 1926-1998* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 191.

considered in this thesis. The neo-liberal policies diminish the effectiveness of the government by the privatization of the public enterprises and cutbacks in the public sector employment, and by the liberalization of the international trade and flow of capital. These policies put forward the flow of capital instead of the flow of goods and manufactures. Additionally, with the neo-liberal policies, the world is accepted as a unified country, in which every city has a new mission without considering the national borders. The competition between the countries turns into the competition between the cities.<sup>147</sup> In that manner, the policy of the government in Turkey, which was to establish the balance between the cities and the rural areas, has changed. The authority of the local municipalities gains privilege that causes the reduction of the effectiveness of the central administration on the cities. İstanbul is decided to be the major city that works as the financial center of Turkey, and where the global capital is located.

Then, the headquarters of most of the Bank buildings started to move to İstanbul to attract the global capital. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, Turkish *İş Bank* moved to İstanbul in 2001, then *Şekerbank*, and also the headquarters of privatized sector like *Petrol Ofisi* moved to İstanbul in order to integrate to and have a place in the global world. The headquarters of *Halkbank*, *Ziraat Bank*, *Vakıfbank*, which are still the State Banks yet will be privatized in the following years, will probably move to İstanbul for the same reasons. The government declared that Turkish Central State Bank (*TC Merkez Bankası*), Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (*Bankacılık Düzenleme ve Denetleme Kurulu*), and Capital Markets Board of Turkey (*Sermaye Piyasası Kurulu*) will move to İstanbul, too. When the financial sector will totally be moved from

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<sup>147</sup> Çağatay Keskinok, *Kentleşme Siyasetleri* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2007), 77.

Ankara with all the State or Private Banks to İstanbul, the control and the administration of the economy will be in İstanbul. However, in the early Republican Period, when Ankara was chosen as the new capital city, the Ottoman Bank and *Ziraat* Bank moved their headquarters from İstanbul to Ankara, and their central buildings were located in *Ulus* like the other bank and government buildings.

“İstanbul’u yok eden İstanbul” kentin yüzde 70’iyken; bunu umursamayan söylem:  
**İstanbul’a ‘başkent’ yakıştırması**

**UYGARLIKLARIN İZİNDE OKTAY EKİNCİ**

İstanbul’un “Avrupa Kültür Başkenti” olmasına artık 3 yıl bile yok. Uluslararası hazırlıklarda bu söylemin “kasa”lığını bilenler, 2019’da İstanbul’un başkent seçilmesini isteyecek bir vesayetiği için emellerde.

Türkiye Gecekonukları Derneği’nin genelinde ki “bilgi”nin tepinmesi, karayollarının “beycesiz”liğinden, “tanınan yeterliliği”nden, siyasetin “kültür”ü arzattığından yakınılı... Bunlar doğru olsa bile, acaba şu “başkent” ismi de yerli yerinde kalacak mı “ekiliktir”imizin payı yok mudur?

Siz hiç Liverpool için İngiltere’nin “futbol başkenti”, Almanya da Hamburg’a “bahk-çöğün başkenti” dediğini duydunuz mu? Kentler belli standartlarda olmalı ki öze çıkıyor, arsa diğer konuların biriktirmeleri küçümseyici arzularla “gibiyim geçirmiş”likleriyle aile bağlanmaz.

Peki, oç imperatorlukların merkezi, Doğu ile İnan aygırlıklarının ortak mirasını hamsızın İstanbul için, bu “gibiyimlik” acaba nereden haykallıdır?... Dışarıda başkenti dışardaki bir başka kentte “bir halına” ile aynı lafının yapıldığı tek ülke, Türkiye olsa gerek... Nüfusu 15 milyon yaklaşıyor, herne bir ilde; her akleden birimleri yapıldığı İstanbul, eibette ki inan ilkeyi de en “etikileyen” kent... so-runtları da hep aynı gündemde: Arsa bu “baş-kent”iği, herne bir kızıdaki “başkent” söylemlerine de “gerekçe” elabildi mi?

Örneğin, ekonominin yüzde 40’ını yaratması rağmen, herne azlık ile yokolmuş çöğürük arandaki açarızın da “en fazla oldu il”... O halde İstanbul’a “yokulluğun başkenti” demek ne gerek?

Hele statü yapılmazsa, orman ve su havzalarının yapılmaz, altyapıyı gökdeğerlerden yosunlu apartmanlarının kadar, içereceği gün geçireceği, yüzde 70’i “kaçak” bir metropole ne gereceği yokulması için, “talanın başkenti” demek doğru mudur?

Hangi örneğe bakılarsa bakılsın, İstanbul’un “başkent” isminin “herne” “arandı” “gerekçiler”i,

Anadolu kentine verilecek değeri mi? İstanbul tarihinde en büyük başarıyı gerçekleştiren başkent, şimdi örneğin “inşaat sayını”na bakılarak aynı unvanı artık hak etmediği gibi, edebiyat için de ne yakın ki durum farklı değil... Bu nedenle yine Milliyet Kitap’ın aynı dosyada kullanılan “İstanbul Edebiyat Geçmiş” başlığı bile onun mükellem anlatımına rağmen, kapalıdaki başkent unvanını göğsünde kalıyor...

**‘NOBEL’İN HATIRINA MI?**

Üstelik dosyadaki genel havaya bakıldığında, Osman Pamuk’un İstanbul’a anlatılan romanıyla Nobel ödülünü aldığı için bir yazarın unvanı akla gelmiş karanı vızıyor. Nâzım Hikmet’in, Anıtlı İnan’a, Tanrısal’ın Gününar’la en saygın isimlerden “günce” “gerekçiler”le çöğün” ciki İstanbul edebiyat örneklerarası olsa bile, sanki Nobel’ün bir başkenti göstermeye istikrar bir dosya... İhtet... “Tarihteki İstanbul” gerçekten sararın, küllübirin, her şeyin de merkeziydi... Dabası birimliği, Cumhuriyet döneminde, Ankara’ya başkent yapılının büyük çabalarıyla 1950’lere kadar özele korundu... Ne var ki son yarım yüzyıldan ulan politikaların, geçmesiyle “başkent değeri”nin de yok etti. Örneğin, kentin tek “Fatih Sultan Mehmet Caddesi” ile Elmalı su havzasındaki kaçak kentleşmenin “planızca yol”ından beri... Halk bu yakıştırmayı sürdürmek ise İstanbul’un tarihsel büyüklüğünden gelen erdemlerine “ortadın kalibran”ların çöğürük “beves” kenti desteklemeyen başka bir anlatı taşınıyor... Örneğin, kenti anı günün, bölgeni eşit bir dânya unvanınının yeniden kâbir ve aygırlık kırılgıya yakıştırmaları politikalarının kuvuşturmak olmalı. “Avrupa Kültür Başkenti” unvanınının geçeri de bu değil mi?

Kepke Milliyet Kitap, künden edebiyat geçeri için anlatıldığı sayılıdır. “Osman Pamuk ödülleri”nin aynı kaderni de “edebiyatın başkenti İstanbul’a” ayırmış... Hele Selim Her’ine, belli ki aynı güdenlerle söyleydiği “İstanbul bir yalıdır” tezma-nı öze çıkarıyıcı ne kadar yararlı olursa... Aynı Nobel ödülünü yazanının denmiş ki “İstanbul herne bir yapıtı...”, Hangisi? Sanki “İstanbul’u yok eden İstanbul” olmasını?

Figure 3-12. News about İstanbul as “Capital city” (Cumhuriyet Newspaper 04 January 2007)

The reasons behind the transfer of all the governmental institutions that is related to the finance and the State Banks have been discussed for years by the governments, non-governmental organizations and the financial authorities.<sup>148</sup>

The disengagement of nation- state results in the division of the centers into the centers of finance and political administration. For the time being, İstanbul is the financial center and Ankara is the political center.



Figure 3-13. The heart of Finance (Sabah 11 September 2007)

Considering the thesis problem, the transfer of the headquarters of the privatized State institutions and the bank buildings will cause probably the emergence of even more unoccupied large scale buildings and urban spaces in Ankara. The urban spaces of Ankara become where mainly the governmental buildings are located. These unoccupied buildings help us reading the transformation of

<sup>148</sup> There are many news sources about the competition of the two major cities, For example; “Ankara mı İstanbul mu?” [http://www.internethaber.com/news\\_detail.php?id=35986&uniq\\_id=1200665165](http://www.internethaber.com/news_detail.php?id=35986&uniq_id=1200665165) (accessed April 24, 2008).



Ankara with different point of view with the emphasis on the privatization of SOEs. On the contrary, the physical structure of İstanbul with investments of the global moving capital is shaped and occupied with newly constructed prestigious skyscrapers. Particularly, the policies of privatization (of the state enterprises and banks), and liberalization, and the discourse of the global city result in the reduction of the effectiveness of the State per se the decrease in the effectiveness of Ankara as the locus of the state. The discourse of globalization and the competition between the cities force the cities to gain new missions in order to endure in the global world. The new strategies for Ankara in order to endure in the global conjectures will be discussed in the following chapter.

### **3.2.3. Change in the content and meaning of “public interest” and “public service”**

The privatization of SOEs, which are not only the basis of national production, but also of the preservation of social balance, seriously contradicts with the definition of “national and public interest” as the most fundamental of the state policies. Public-private, public service and public-common properties of the State such as housing provided for the employees and recreation areas, have social public functions. *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* are the significant examples of SOEs which served for public and fulfilled the public interest. With the privatization or liquidation of these SOEs, their public properties lost their social function. *Emlakbank* affected the urbanization process of the cities by providing loans or housing to the citizens. Also the contribution of *TEKEL* in agricultural development of the country and the industrialization experience of *Sümerbank* had been the keystones of the development of the state and the society since the Early Republican period. *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* are the institutions

for interventions of the state to the economy for public welfare, which was the major mission of the State cited in the Constitution of 1982.<sup>149</sup> For the Turkish Republic is defined as a “social state”, public services and public interest are the major concepts that the state and its enterprises fulfill. Particularly by the policies of privatization, the content of public interest and public service is changed. In order to better clarify this change with neo-liberal policies, it is crucial to define “public interest” and the “public service”. The concept of “public interest” is defined in the final declaration of 4<sup>th</sup> National Paper Symposium as follows:

When the concept of public interest is defined “formally” within the Rule of Law, it will possess a spirit with a liberal and social function, and thus will be shaped according to the principles of law and legal guarantee. Such a definition requires abstractness, generalization, continuity, equality, openness, clearness and a normative content.

On the other hand, when the concept of public interest is defined with regard to values, it will be shaped according to the ruling ideology, the tendencies, strength of the political power and the definition of the State they embrace, and thus legal guarantee will not be possible beyond certain aspects. Because, the definition will be interpreted with the idea of “the State of a certain value”, and the evaluation of the concept of public interest will be left to the conception of the social state – social rights and responsibilities of the State (and actually of the political power), which will form a concrete definition. The evaluation of the public interest will present a changing form with the changing interests of the political power, since there will be no abstract, generalized and continuous definition.<sup>150</sup>

Additionally, public service is defined by Mahmut Duran as “specific activities of the government in the collective needs of the society, and institutions engaged in

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<sup>149</sup> UCTEA Chamber of Mechanical Engineers. “Evaluation on The Privatization of SEKA within the Context of The Privatization of SOEs” (paper presented at 4<sup>th</sup> National Paper Symposium, December 2002) [http://www.mmo.org.tr/index.php?Itemid=42&id=1023&option=com\\_content&task=view](http://www.mmo.org.tr/index.php?Itemid=42&id=1023&option=com_content&task=view). (accessed May 3, 2008).

<sup>150</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> National Paper Symposium was organized by the UCTEA Chamber of Mechanical Engineers with the theme of “The Situation of the Paper Industry in Turkey in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” in 20 December 2002. The final declaration of this symposium was published with the title “Evaluation on The Privatization of SEKA within the Context of The Privatization of Soes”, May, 03, 2008, [http://www.mmo.org.tr/index.php?Itemid=42&id=1023&option=com\\_content&task=view](http://www.mmo.org.tr/index.php?Itemid=42&id=1023&option=com_content&task=view).

these activities”.<sup>151</sup> In other words, all government activities, which are socially necessary, are accepted as public service.

The major capital of the neo-liberal period aims for the complete possession of all sources, and demands a complete termination of obstacles against profit. In this respect, concepts and constitutional provisions such as “public interest”, “social goal”, “social public service”, and “social rights” are left aside. However, beginning from the Early Republican period, the main aim of the SOEs is to provide “public service”. Therefore, the aim of the state is not to gain maximum profit from their enterprises, yet to serve to public by using the society’s own sources. In that manner, although each SOE can be evaluated separately, all SOEs should be evaluated within an integral structure. They are the main elements of the integral structure of the state’s production and public services. Hence, it is possible in this integral structure that some of SOEs may have profits and some may not due to the social and economic reasons or the qualities of the services they provide.

As it was mentioned before, the policy of supporting private sector after 1950s resulted in the industrialization of the city of İstanbul in particular which increased the gaps between İstanbul and other cities in Anatolia. However, the main aim of the nation-state policy was to open way for the industrialization of the Anatolian cities by constructing production and living spaces in these cities and by supplying their inhabitants with the spaces for cultural and social activities. In that manner, *Sümerbank* factories together with their social spaces (recreation, accommodation, sport facilities) are the good examples for the manifestation of

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<sup>151</sup> Mahmut Duran, “Özelleştirmenin Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Boyutu” in *Dünyada ve Türkiye’de Özelleştirme*, (Ankara:Türk Maden İşçileri Sendikası, 1994), 75-123.

the nation-state ideology by creating “modern” and “contemporary” society in Anatolia with its required physical structure. The industrialization experiences of *Sümerbank* as the representative of the State in the Anatolian cities and the industrialization experiences of the private entrepreneurs in the big cities like İstanbul are different in terms of their impacts to the social and physical structure of the cities. For example, the energy needs of the factories of the private entrepreneurs are supplied from the sources of the city.<sup>152</sup> On the contrary, the factories of *Sümerbank* contributed to its neighborhood and the city it was located, by supplying energy to the city from the sources of the factory.<sup>153</sup> This example proves that the aim of the state enterprises (SOEs) is not only producing the goods but also serving for public, on the contrary, private sector aims to gain maximum profits at any cost. The example also disproves the assertion of the government, which claims that private sector fulfills the public service. The quality of the physical environment is also different between the state factories and the factories of private entrepreneurs. Private entrepreneurs establish only factories, production spaces. Yet, the state industrial areas with its social facilities namely, culture, sports, resort, service buildings, serve not only the employees of the factory but also the inhabitants of the city. They are much more planned to provide adequate spaces to socialize.

The mentality of social state is vanished by the neo-liberal policies. In other words, the social and legal “authorization” of the state is weakened by the privatization that accompanies the policy of creating a field and space of action

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<sup>152</sup> Murat Güvenç and Oğuz Işık, *Emlak Bankası 1926–1998* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 175.

<sup>153</sup> Çağatay Keskinok, *Kentleşme Siyasaları* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2007), 149-150.

and power for neo-liberal policies. Replacing the Nation State model with “Company-State”<sup>154</sup> model, a term defined in the final declaration of the 4<sup>th</sup> National Paper Symposium, neo-liberal policies reduce the state organs to the defender of multi-national (or global) capital and its proponents, and not the defender of its citizens. As Keskinok puts forth, the notion of citizen is replaced by the notion of “customer”.<sup>155</sup> In the “company-state” model, “customers” and basic individual-social rights of these customers have no value and no legal guarantee when compared to the interests of the company.

### **3.3. Mutual Effect between the Buildings and Its Context**

Although the thesis dwells on three unoccupied buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL*, and discusses the specific topics in reference to the impacts of the social, economic and political changes after 1980 on these three buildings, the arguments expand to *Ulus* as the locations of these three buildings and even to Ankara. For these buildings interact with their neighborhood and the city, it is necessary to discuss the effects of the neo-liberal policies on the transformation of *Ulus* through these buildings. Actually, understanding the transformation processes of *Ulus* opens up the way to clarify how *Ulus* is conceived and how it is lived through the history by the social, economic and dominant policies.

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<sup>154</sup> UCTEA Chamber of Mechanical Engineers, “Evaluation on The Privatization of SEKA within the Context of The Privatization of SOEs” (paper presented at 4<sup>th</sup> National Paper Symposium, December 2002). [http://www.mmo.org.tr/index.php?Itemid=42&id=1023&option=com\\_content&task=view](http://www.mmo.org.tr/index.php?Itemid=42&id=1023&option=com_content&task=view). (accessed May 03, 2008).

<sup>155</sup> Çağatay Keskinok, *Kentleşme Siyasetleri* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2007), 56.

*Ulus* has been witnessed the Roman and Ottoman periods of Ankara, and also the construction period of Ankara as the capital city of the new Turkish Republic. In that manner, *Ulus* is multi-layered urban area. It has various layers of social, cultural and political dominations that have to be considered while discussing about *Ulus*. The railway station that was constructed in the late Ottoman Empire period played a significant role in the decision of the location of the city centre (that is *Ulus*) of the new capital city, in the Early Republican Period. The Station street (*İstasyon* street) became the main transportation axis ended with the square, which was called *Taşhan* Square<sup>156</sup> in the end of 1880s. The name *Taşhan* came from the building on the corner of the square, which was constructed after the Second Constitutional monarchy, and then destructed in 1937 for the construction of *Sümerbank*'s building. In the early 1920s, this square was called as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*<sup>157</sup> (National Sovereignty), and from the early Republican period onwards it is named as *Ulus*. (Figure 3-14) Considering the fact that *Ulus* was the only city centre, the change in the names of the square also represents the effects of the social, economic and political transformations. From the square to the Ankara Citadel, through the Karaoğlan Bazaar, there were many stores, patisseries, restaurants and even cinema, which prove that *Ulus* was a living city centre within its scale.<sup>158</sup> Considering the names before the

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<sup>156</sup> In the final report of Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch which was presented to the Conservation Council of the Region of Ankara and prepared by Emre Madran, Elvan Altan Ergut and Nimet Özgönül in 10 January 2005. <http://www.mimarlarodasiansankara.org/?id=1523> (accessed May 13, 2008).

<sup>157</sup> Bülent Batuman, "Ulus İçin Ne Planlanıyor? Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin 'kentsel yenileme projesi', Ulus için yıkım ve çok katlı yapılaşma vaadediyor" <http://www.mimarlarodasiansankara.org/?id=2806> (accessed May 13, 2008)

<sup>158</sup> In the final report of Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch which was presented to the Conservation Council of the Region of Ankara and prepared by Emre Madran, Elvan Altan Ergut and Nimet Özgönül in 10 January 2005. <http://www.mimarlarodasiansankara.org/?id=1523> (accessed May 13, 2008)

Republican period, *Taşhan* represents the fact that this area was conceived as the commercial city centre, and then during the Independence War the square was conceived as the symbol of National Sovereignty, and after the establishment of the Republic it was conceived as the commonwealth.

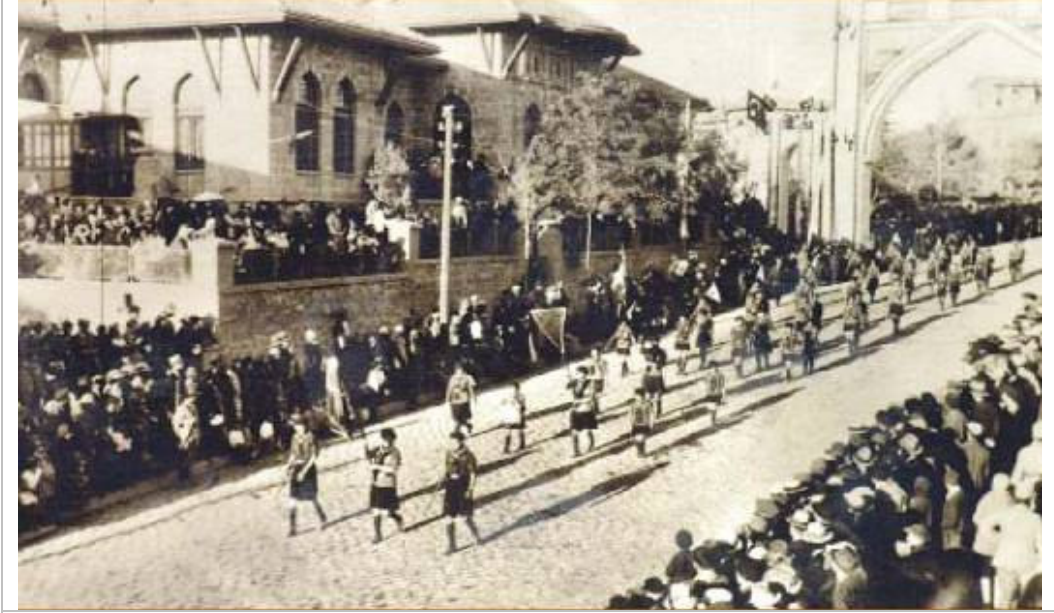


**Figure 3-14. Ulus Taşhan and Cumhuriyet Statue in 1927**

([http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/3pnhLvHj\\_YlyKsVbrgUjAQ](http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/3pnhLvHj_YlyKsVbrgUjAQ) on 22 May 2008)

The first Assembly building of the new Turkish Republic was located on the corner of the *Ulus* square, and the Second Assembly building was also constructed on the *İstasyon* street since railway station was the only gate to the city. The first modern hotel of Ankara, *Ankara Palas*, in which the important guests and the bureaucrats stayed, was also constructed on the *İstasyon* street

because of the same reason. The national ceremonies occurred on this street in the early years of the Republic. (Figure 3-15)



**Figure 3-15. İstasyon Street** (Arcayürek C., *Bir Zamanlar Ankara*, Bilgi Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2005 )

According to the Jansen Plan, the north-south axis began with the *Ulus* square, continued through the Bankalar Street, *-Yenişehir- Güvenpark* and finished at the President Residence. On this axis, the educational buildings, post office, *TEKEL* building, bank buildings, *Gençlik* Park, Opera house, Public house and Ethnographic Museum were constructed as a part and result of the “modernization project” of the Early Republican period. *Ulus* was constructed as the administrative and commercial center of the modern capital city. As it was explained previously, *Ulus* was conceived as the hub of the social, political and economic life of the capital city and the country. In other words, *Ulus* was the



representation of the Republican ideology with its space and spatial practices, with the daily life of the society taking place in *Ulus*.

By 1950s, the administrative center was moved to Yenisehir and Kızılay but the commercial center was still *Ulus*. It can be discussed that the liberalization experience in the economy and the rapid urbanization after 1950s resulted in the reallocation of the new administration and commercial center to Kızılay and transformation of *Ulus*. *Ulus* lost its function and symbolic image as *the* city centre of Ankara assigned in the Early Republican period and became commercial centre of the low income groups. In 1950s, the first commercial buildings (such as *Ulus İşhanı*, *Anafartalar Çarşısı*) were constructed in order to improve the identity of *Ulus* as the commercial city center. (Figure 3-16) As a result, the spaces and society in *Ulus* have started to transform.



**Figure 3-16. Ulus İşhanı and Anafartalar Çarşısı** (Archive of METU Faculty of Architecture)

As stated and illustrated in the previous pages, throughout the history, *Ulus* has been transformed due to the dominant social, economic policies. Transformation of *Ulus* has continued by the neo-liberal policies after 1980s. Generally speaking, the neo-liberal policies approach the cities as commodity, whose spaces can be fragmented into particular sub-spaces. Contrary to the policies, which consider the public benefits a priori, and approach the cities as public realm, the neo-liberal policies more concentrate on the rent value, and take public benefits as secondary. As a result of the architectural-spatial practices of the neo-liberal policies, as an alternative to the city centers, shopping malls with entertainment and recreation facilities, prestigious symbolic high rise office blocks, suburban housing projects, which fulfill the requirements of the popular culture and the new life style, are produced.

To repeat: speaking in reference to Lefebvre's argument on space, *Ulus* and its space is the representation of the modernization project of the Early Republican period, and between 1950s and 1980s *Ulus* is the representation of the commercial life of the low-income group with the first liberalization experience. Together with the neo liberal policies, the nation-state ideology began to dissolve, and the physical environment of *Ulus* has changed. Today, *Ulus* being the old city centre of Ankara is conceived as a historical and tourism space, which is to be valued with the investments of tourism. According to Guy Debord, tourism is the consumption of the historical and cultural values.<sup>159</sup> The neo liberal policies conceive *Ulus* as the tourism commodity. Then, individual and the collective memories become the marketing values; and that situation causes the alienation

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<sup>159</sup> Guy Debord, *Gösteri toplumu ve yorumlar* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı yayınları, 1996)

of individuals to themselves and to the spaces they live in. For example, *Gençlik* Park, which was the most popular urban park and actively used by public, becomes unoccupied.

Considering the the objects of the thesis, as a result of the neo-liberal policies, *Sümerbank*, *Emlakbank* and *TEKEL* are privatized or liquidated, and these institutions have lost their missions. Their main buildings in *Ulus*, which were constructed as the (architectural/built) representations of the institutions they belonged to, become unoccupied and isolated. Neo-liberal policies evaluate these spaces as the commodities, in which the interaction between the society and the space is established on the basis of consumption. *TEKEL* building is going to be the museum of Money; *Sümerbank* building is used as the store of LC Waikiki; and *Emlakbank* building or *Gençlik* Park is still unoccupied. Yet it has to be pointed out that although *TEKEL* and *Sümerbank* buildings are re-functioned today they are still unoccupied considering the discussion of the thesis. As the architectural symbols of the Early Republican ideology, these buildings alienate not only to themselves that is to become estranged to their historical, social significance, but also to their neighborhood that is to become estranged to the context; they may not be integrated to the daily life in *Ulus* that they are once a part of. This proves the existence of a mutual effect between these unoccupied buildings and *Ulus*.

In conclusion, this chapter has discussed the significant impacts of the neo-liberal policies, specifically on the *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* institutions and their main buildings in *Ulus*, and also on the capital city, Ankara. Beginning with the brief history of these SOEs and the architectural significances of their buildings, the discussions have been pursued under the specific topics, which are

the buildings of “collective memory”, dilemma between İstanbul and Ankara, the change in the meanings of public interest and public service, and the mutual effect between the building and its context. *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* and their public properties, which are the concrete representations of the nation state policies, have already been privatized or on the process of privatization. Their unoccupied buildings are the concrete results of the neo-liberal policies after 1980s. As they are the elements of the physical structure of the capital city, the change in the social, economic and political approaches has affected the city that can be recognized also through the change in the conditions of buildings in various aspects. The impacts of the neo-liberal policies and the competition between the cities have not completed yet. Ankara, as the capital city of Turkey since the Early Republican period, is the symbolic city of the nation-state policy. Since the neo-liberal policies have resulted in the dissolution of the nation-state ideology, this dissolution affects also the city of Ankara. The transformation processes of Ankara continue. By losing its effectiveness, as a political center, on the economic policy of the state by the neo-liberal policies, the future visions of Ankara in order to compete with other cities, specifically İstanbul, which is the financial center, needs to be discussed. Since the neo-liberal policies approach the cities as the commodities, which can be marketable, the projections of the city of Ankara should be worth studying. The strategies for the city of Ankara today and the future projections for the following years will be studied in detail in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the unoccupied buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in *Ulus* in Ankara have been discussed with the emphasis on the impacts of neo-liberal policies after 1980s. These buildings are approached as the concrete representations of their institutions, which were established as the part and result of the ideology of the Early Republican period. As Lefebvre states “space is a social product,” and space and society mutually constructs each other. Then, transformation in the society could not be separated from transformation of the city in physical and social sense. In that manner, the impacts of the social, economic and political changes after 1980s on SOEs, particularly *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* are crucial to understand not only the reasons why the main buildings of these institutions in *Ulus* are unoccupied but also the transformation of Ankara as the capital city in the social and physical sense.

For this purpose, initially, the social and economic policies in Turkey have been explained. In order to understand how the year, 1980, becomes a breaking point in the political history of Turkey, the brief historical information has been given. An overview of socio economic policies of Turkey between 1923 and 1980 has been divided into four periods, which are mainly as follows: 1923-1929, early years of the State; 1930-1950, the period of the étatist policies in which the national industry was developed in order to fulfill the public service and domestic needs; 1950-1961, the liberalism period which was experienced with the

beginning of the multi party system; 1962-1979, the nationally planned economic developments with étatist approach. The neo-liberal policies after 1980s have been given briefly.

This study has given priority to the privatization policies of the government, which are initiated to re-structure the economy in Turkey and to decrease the effectiveness of the state on economy, since the objects of the thesis, namely the main buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in *Ulus*, are the buildings of the privatized or liquidated SOEs. Therefore, the privatization policies of SOEs in Turkey have been mentioned with the reasons and the objectives behind the executions.

Ankara has been affected directly from the change in the policies of the government. On this account, the reflections of the neo-liberal policies in Ankara have been studied. Two significant periods that played a role in the transformation of the physical and social structure of Ankara have been mentioned. Therefore, the consequences of Early Republican period, during which Ankara was constructed as the capital city, and the consequences of neo-liberal period in Ankara have been briefly explained.

In the second chapter, the discussions on the unoccupied buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in *Ulus* have been done in the context of the dominant policies after 1980. Yet prior to the discussions, understanding the specific roles of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* with respect to the reasons for their establishment in the history of Turkish Republic are worth for studying. Therefore, the institutional histories of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* have been mentioned. The buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in *Ulus*,

which are unoccupied today, have been introduced as the representations of these institutions and the examples of the architecture of the Early Republican period. These buildings are the part and result of the efforts for the construction of the modern society and physical environment in the capital city of the new Turkish Republic.

The discussions on the main buildings of the *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* have been mainly based on the arguments of Lefebvre on “power of space”, Foucault on “space of power” and Boyer on “collective memory”. The questions that are asked in the beginning of the thesis have been elucidated with reference to these arguments that form a conceptual basis to the thesis. Considering the conceptual basis, the discussions on the unoccupied main buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* can not be separated from the discussions on the social economic and political changes in Turkey. To do so, the discussions have been done under specific topics.

The first topic is the buildings of the “collective memory”. As it was mentioned previously, these buildings served for three important institutions of the State, which were the keystones of the national economy. In that manner, the concept of collective memory has been dealt in two ways. Firstly, the impacts of the *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* as an institution, and then the impacts of their main buildings in *Ulus* on collective memory, have been mentioned. Moreover, the productions of these institutions have been emphasized because their productions have a brand value in the collective memory such as, *TEKEL* beer or cigarette, *Sümerbank* fabrics and *Emlakbank* housing.

The second topic of the discussions is the dilemma between İstanbul and Ankara: İstanbul as the financial center versus Ankara as the political center. The thesis accepts that the dilemma between these two cities has been started since the Early Republican Period, in which Ankara was constructed as the new capital city of the New Turkish Republic as opposed to İstanbul, which had been not only the capital city of the old Ottoman Empire but also Roman- Byzantine Empire for centuries. It has been argued that, Ankara became a symbol of the new Turkish Republic; as a result, the investments done by the government have focused on Ankara in order to develop the city and foster its symbolic image until the end of the 1950s, the period of the first liberalization experience. On the one side, the political, governmental and economic centre of the nation-state was Ankara, and on the other, the trade, commercial and cultural center was İstanbul. By the neo-liberal policies of the today's world, the dissolution of the nation-state, and the discourse of the globalization, the attention of the government is directed to İstanbul. The economy is not based on the industrialization anymore; in general sense, the flow of capital and the flow of information and technology dissolve the boundaries of the countries; the competition between the countries becomes the competition between the cities. In that sense, İstanbul is decided to be the competitive city of Turkey, with its historical, geopolitical and administrative background. The headquarters of all private and national banks either have already moved to İstanbul or have been planning to move, in order to attract the global capital. Even the autonomous institutions, like Turkish Central State Bank (*TC Merkez Bankası*), Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (*Bankacılık Düzenleme ve Denetleme Kurulu*), and Capital Markets Board of Turkey (*Sermaye Piyasası Kurulu*), which control the economy, are planned to be moved to İstanbul. In that sense, this study discusses that Ankara as the capital city of



the state loses its function of controlling the economy against İstanbul. Therefore, Ankara sustains its function as a political center and transfers its authority on economy to İstanbul. The thesis approaches the dilemma between İstanbul and Ankara as a process in the manner that, as the headquarters of such institutions will move from Ankara to İstanbul, the transformation of Ankara functionally and physically are inevitable, just as the possible increasing number of unoccupied buildings.

The third topic considered in the thesis is the change in the content and meaning of the concepts of public interest and public service. *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL*, which are privatized or liquidated according to the neo-liberal policies of today, were crucial SOEs whose aim was fulfilling the “national and public interest”. The thesis defines the concepts of the public service and public interest in order to clarify the impacts of the privatization. Although the government claims that public services can be given by private sector, this statement is questionable considering the definitions of the public service and public interest. The priority of private sector is to gain maximum profit, and that priority contradicts with the priority of the public interest and public service. On the one hand, there are SOEs, which aim to serve for public at any cost; on the other hand, there are private entrepreneurs, which aim to extinct all the obstacles against profit. By privatization of the SOEs, it has been argued in the thesis that the state behaves like a “company”, so that the citizens become the “customers”<sup>160</sup>, who can not protect their social rights and public benefits due to the change in the mentality of the state.

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<sup>160</sup> Çağatay Keskinok, *Kentleşme Siyasaları* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2007), 56.

*Ulus* has a symbolic meaning as the city centre of the Early Republican period; thereof the transformation process of *Ulus* has been mentioned in order to clarify how *Ulus* is conceived and how it is lived throughout the history by the social, economic and dominant policies. Generally speaking, since the type of spaces and the institutions of neo-liberal policies have changed due to the criteria of the global economy, the focus of spatial practices of neo liberal policies has been shifted to the shopping malls, luxury housing projects, high rise office buildings and the urban projects, which are all conceived in their rent value. Taking these policies into account, the unoccupied buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in *Ulus*, which have lost their missions due to the privatization or liquidation of the institutions they belonged to, can not be integrated to the social, economic and political life in *Ulus* even in the case that they are re-functioned. Although these buildings are physically present, their non-presence absence in terms of function and/or in the symbolic space they used to occupy in the collective memory can be considered to be creating voids in *Ulus*.<sup>161</sup> Therefore, it is argued that these buildings are not only alienated to their historical and social significance, but also to their neighborhood, to *Ulus*.

In the light of the discussions on three buildings and *Ulus*, the future investments on Ankara by the government should be mentioned in order to understand how Ankara is conceived by neo liberal policies. In the Early Republican period, Ankara was planned and constructed as the capital city. The discourse of the early republican period constructed Ankara as a part of the modernization project

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<sup>161</sup> Berin Gür and Meltem Mimarsinanoğlu, "Metamorfoz: Kentin Yok Anı Sergi ve Gezisi: Ankara'nın Başkalaşım Süreçlerin 'Boş' Binalar Üzerinden Okuması" in *Metamorfoz: Yitik Zamanların Kenti Ankara*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 2007), 61-68

and the spatial representation of the modern society and life. It was accepted also as a model for the other Anatolian cities as the designed and constructed image of the new Republic.



**Figure 4-1. General view of Ankara in 2000s**

(<http://picasaweb.google.com/akm.org.tr/EskiYeniAnkara/photo#5109992745369249794> on 22 May 2008)

On the other hand, the discourse of the global city today and the competition between the cities in order to attract the international capital result in seeking for a new identity for Ankara, which is quite different from being a political center. That is why in the 2023 master plan of Ankara, which is prepared by the

Metropolitan Municipality,<sup>162</sup> Ankara is conceived as the city of science, culture and services. The further spatial and social development of Ankara is planned according to this vision. The aims of the 2023 master plan are stated as: to analyze and orient the structure of Ankara in the system of global and regional relations and in the sectors of economic activity and social life; and to provide social, economic and cultural progress in a way which allows optimum benefit from the natural and human resources.<sup>163</sup> The identity of a constructed capital city with its coherent agricultural and industrial production has been shifted to an identity of a creative, inventory and innovative scientific center. The targets of the Municipality are declared in the metropolitan strategic plan for the following ten years of Ankara in a way that Ankara is to be the second biggest industrial city; the biggest commercial city; the biggest city for conventional tourism, the biggest city for health-thermal tourism; the biggest city of university education; and the biggest city in terms of technological developments of the country.<sup>164</sup>

All these targets create their own spatial practices, which result in the transformation of Ankara. To exemplify, according to the master plan of 2023 Ankara, the governmental buildings will move away from the city centre, and their buildings will be re-functioned by taking their neighborhoods into account. For

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<sup>162</sup> The Metropolitan Municipality is authorized on the cities in place of the central government with the neoliberal policies.

<sup>163</sup> Cited in the Targets and Aims Section of 2023 Masterplan of Ankara "Ankara'nın küresel yapı, ülke ve bölgedeki yeri, ve potansiyellerine dayalı ve sürdürülebilir gelişme politikalarına uyumlu; doğal ve beşeri kaynak ve potansiyellerden varlıklarına ve devamlarına zarar vermeyecek ve optimum yararlanmaya imkan verecek biçimde, sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel gelişmeyi sağlayarak, koruma ve kullanma dengesini amaçlamaktadır." [http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB\\_Nazim\\_Plani/ABB\\_nazim\\_plani.aspxin](http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/ABB_nazim_plani.aspxin) (accessed May 15, 2008).

<sup>164</sup> The 2007-2011 Strategic plan of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara for European Union [http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB\\_Nazim\\_Plani/ABB\\_nazim\\_plani.aspxin](http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/ABB_nazim_plani.aspxin) (accessed May 15, 2008).

example, *TEKEL* will be a museum due to the fact that *Ulus* is conceived as the cultural and historical city centre. Also, *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği (AOÇ)*, which is the unique example in Turkey for agricultural and also industrial investments in the capital city, will be a ground for the spaces of expositions. In other words, the neo liberal policies are seeking to produce a way to market the cultural, social and historical values of Ankara. In doing so, the conceived spaces of the neo liberal policies create a new type of relationships between the individual and the city, which are based mainly on consumption. Here, it is clear that the basic services that have to be provided to the individuals as citizens are understood as services to the client; that is to say that the concept of citizen is replaced by client.<sup>165</sup>

The constructed capital city of the early Republic and its spaces represent the ideology of the Republic. In the 2023 master plan of the capital city, the decentralization of the governmental buildings and embassies, the approach to the renovation and rehabilitation of *Ulus*, *AOÇ*, and *Gençlik Park*, and an intention to construct the informatics valley are among the examples that represent the spatial practices of the neo-liberal policies.

To understand how Ankara will be transformed step by step, it is crucial to mention the planning decisions of the 2023 master plan of the city of Ankara. In the master plan, the main governmental buildings, which are located in the city

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<sup>165</sup> We can see an example where the neo-liberal ideology openly states such an understanding: the definition of the target of the fire department of the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara in the Strategic plan of 2007–2011 for European Union is as follows:

“With the end of the year 2009, new fire taskforce units will be set up by a coordinated work so that there will be no fire stations lacking anything, and no complains will remain in terms of *customer satisfaction* (Italics mine) [*Müşteri memnuniyeti için sonuçlanmayacak şikayet kalmayacak şekilde yeni İtfaiye birimleri kurarak koordineli çalışma sonucunda; İl dahilinde 2009 yılı sonuna kadar eksik İtfaiye binası kalmayacaktır.*] [http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB\\_Nazim\\_Plani/ABB\\_nazim\\_plani.aspx](http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/ABB_nazim_plani.aspx) (accessed May 15, 2008)

centre, will be moved to the outwards of the city, to the new prestigious governmental buildings on the axis of *Eskişehir* Road. Similarly, the embassies which are located on the *Atatürk* Boulevard are encouraged to move to the *Or-an* diplomatic district. The spaces of both government and the embassies in the city centre will be transformed and re-functioned according to the properties of the neighborhood.

In the 2023 master plan, it is mentioned that, Ankara is expected to be the biggest city as being the center for the informatics and technology research and development in Turkey, which will consist of %77 of the total research in the country.<sup>166</sup> There are still six technology development centers in Ankara, which are *ODTÜ Teknokent*, *ANKARA Teknoloji Geliştirme Bölgesi (Bilkent)*, *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Teknoloji Geliştirme Bölgesi*, *Ankara Üniversitesi Gölbaşı Teknoparkı*, *Gazi Üniversitesi Teknoparkı*, while in İstanbul there are three technology development centers.<sup>167</sup> Additionally, Ankara is expected to be the biggest city for conventional tourism and health and thermal tourism. To do so, it is planned to construct new convention centers; one convention center in the north of Ankara, one in *Hacı Bayram Ulus*, two in *Söğütözü*.<sup>168</sup> Additionally, for the health and thermal tourism, private hospital constructions will be encouraged in Ankara. The restoration and conservation of *Ulus* as the historical tourism centre, and the renovation of *AOÇ* and *Gençlik* Park as the recreation and fair area are intended. Moreover, the urban transformation projects like *Kuzey*

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<sup>166</sup> “The 2023 masterplan of Ankara”, *Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi*, [http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB\\_Nazim\\_Plani/ABB\\_nazim\\_plani.aspx](http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/ABB_Nazim_Plani/ABB_nazim_plani.aspx) (accessed May 5, 2008).

<sup>167</sup> <http://www.sanayi.gov.tr/webEdit/gozlem.aspx?menuSec=202&sayfaNo=2535&> (accessed May 19, 2008).

<sup>168</sup> *Büyükşehir Ankara Dergisi*, no: 175 (2008): 4–13.

*Ankara Girişi* (North Gate to Ankara), *Dikmen Vadisi* 3, 4, 5 (Dikmen Valley 3, 4, 5) are the examples for the rehabilitation of the *gecekondu* areas.<sup>169</sup>

These details are given in order to clarify what kind of projects will be put into practice as representing the spatial practices of the neo liberal policies, which give emphasis to rent value rather than public value. In the same manner, the meanings of concepts of public space and public realm, the way of giving public service and also the type of the relationships between the individual and the city have been changed.

Therefore, the future conditions of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* buildings are to be examined with respect to the above-mentioned future projections for Ankara suggested by the 2023 master plan. As the unoccupied buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* are located in *Ulus*; they may be re-functioned according to the future projections suggested for *Ulus*, which is planned as the cultural and historical city centre for tourism investments in the 2023 plan. Furthermore, these buildings are the significant examples of the Early Republican architecture, and their institutions are the basis for the development of the Republican ideology. In other words, they are the symbolic images of the history of the Turkish Republic in architectural and social-political sense.

Speaking in architectural terms, the architecture of both the *Emlakbank* and *Sümerbank* buildings differs from the architecture of the *TEKEL* building (i.e. the First National Style). As it was mentioned before, considering the dominant policies of today's government, the architecture of the early 1920s of Ankara, which is the First National Style as the revival of the Seljukid pattern and

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<sup>169</sup> *Büyükşehir Ankara Dergisi*, no: 175 (2008): 4-13

architectural and decorative elements of the Ottoman Empire, is consciously selected to be taken into consideration in the process of re-functioning. That reminds us the discussions of the collective memory, which binds the group of people with common background, and it is in that sense that the question whose memory is to be conserved and represented becomes crucial. That is why *TEKEL* building is on restoration process to be the Turkish Republic Money Museum of the Turkish Central Bank, which will become a consumption space. On the contrary, the buildings of *Emlakbank* and *Sümerbank*, with its much simpler facades having no historical references to the Ottoman and Seljukid architecture, are conceived by the today's government as the representative of the westernization project of the newly established Turkish Republic, and are still unoccupied. Although the store of *Sümerbank* has been rented to a private firm, this is a short term project, and re-assessment of the building in the long run might not be put into practice.

Coming to the question, what the after effects of the condition of being unoccupied in urban scale are, that is asked at the beginning of the thesis, concerning the *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* main buildings in *Ulus*, their conditions of being unoccupied have affected their milieu and also the city of Ankara. They have the power of transforming their neighborhood considering their scale and their functions in the city. The condition of being unoccupied can be mentioned in two ways. Firstly, as these buildings physically exist, their non-presence in terms of function creates voids in Ankara. When the dimensions of the area that these buildings occupy are considered, the scale of the voids in the city centre causes the large urban spaces that can not be actively integrated to the everyday life of the city as it has been illustrated in the introduction of this



thesis. Secondly, *Ulus*, in which the large scale urban voids start to come up (e.g. *Gençlik Park*), turns into the nonfunctional historical city centre, which may only serve for tourism. That shows the fact that the conditions of being functional, being used or being unoccupied, being nonfunctional affect the status and the characteristics of the urban spaces.

The unoccupied buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* were the parts and results of the social, economic and political life in the Early Republican period, and used until the privatization or liquidation of their institutions. Therefore, the non-presence in terms of function affects not only the building itself but also the nearby environment. As they are not used, the maintenance of these buildings has not been done. The deterioration of these buildings results in the deterioration of their neighborhood. It can be said that this is a mutual deterioration whose effects can be observed in the decay in the everyday life and in the social and economic conditions of the nearby environment. Although these buildings are isolated from their neighborhood, their neighborhood can not be isolated from the impacts of the unoccupied buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL*. The impacts of these buildings can be illustrated as the decreasing value of stores or the decay in commercial life and in turn in economic life of the neighborhood. In addition, these buildings may cause security and even health problems for the neighborhood. Considering their locations and scale that they are mostly at the city center, so their effects on urban scale and urban life can be recognizable.

The social, economic and political transformation of Ankara from the capital city of Early Republican policies to the city of neo-liberal policies can be recognized through the transformation of the symbolic spaces of the Early Republican period.

The unoccupied buildings of *Emlakbank*, *Sümerbank* and *TEKEL* in *Ulus* are examples of such transformation process. The spaces of the Early Republican period of which these buildings are examples, are today conceived as commodities, and the city is also seen as a commodity to be marketed with a new identity to compete with other cities in global scale. Here, it should be stated that, even in the case that these buildings are re-functioned and are not unoccupied anymore, that will be realized with the practices of the dominant policies of neo-liberalism rather than an idea of continuity of their identity and historical importance. Therefore, these buildings will continue to be unoccupied within the collective memory.

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## APPENDIX A

### PRIVATIZATION IMPLEMENTATIONS OF TURKEY

#### A.1 COMPLETELY PRIVATIZED COMPANIES BETWEEN 1985 AND 2007 ( www.oib.gov.tr)

COMPANIES	% of Shares sold
1) Adıyaman Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
2) Anadolubank A.Ş.	100.00
3) Aşkale Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
4) ÇELBOR Ç.Çekme Boru San.ve Tic.	100.00
5) Türkiye Gemi Sanayii A.Ş.	100.00
6) Denizbank A.Ş.	100.00
7) Denizli Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
8) Ergani Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
9) Eti Gümüş A.Ş.	100.00
10) Filyos Ateş Tuğlası Sanayi T.A.Ş.	100.00
11) Eti Krom A.Ş.	100.00
12) Eti Elektrometalurgy	100.00
13) Eti Aliminium	100.00
14) İskenderun Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
15) İskenderun Demir ve Çelik	100.00
16) Karabük Demir Çelik Fabrikası	100.00
17) Kars Çimento Sanayii ve Tic. T.A.Ş.	100.00
18) Ladik Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
19) Lalapaşa Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
20) Ordu Soya Sanayii A.Ş.	100.00
21) Sivas Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
22) SÜMERBANK A.Ş.	100.00
23) Şanlıurfa Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
24) TAKSAN	100.00
25) Trabzon Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
26) USAŞ Uçak Servisi A.Ş.	100.00
27) Van Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	100.00
28) BOZÜYÜK Seramik San. ve Tic. A.Ş.	100.00
29) YEMSAN Yem Sanayi A.Ş.	100.00
30) Türkiye Süt Ürünleri A.Ş.	100.00
31) Kurtalan Çimento Sanayi ve Tic. A.Ş.	100.00
32) Etibank Bankacılık A.O.	100.00

**COMPANIES****% of  
Shares sold**

33)	HAVAŞ	100.00
34)	Konya Krom Manyezit Tuğla San. Tic.	100.00
35)	Yarımcı Porselen San. Tic.A.Ş.	100.00
36)	ÇİTOSAN T.Çimento ve Topr.San.A.Ş.	100.00
37)	ORÜS orman Ürünleri A.Ş.	100.00
38)	Petrol Ofisi A.Ş.	100.00
39)	Turban Turizm A.Ş.	100.00
40)	TUMOSAN T.Motor San.Tic.A.Ş .	100.00
41)	Türkiye Zırai Dınatım A.Ş.	100.00
42)	ESGAZ	100.00
43)	BURSAGAZ	100.00
44)	DİV-HAN	100.00
45)	ETİ Bakır A.Ş.	100.00
46)	ETAĞ Etimesgut Ağaç SAn.Tic.	100.00
47)	T.Selüloz ve KAğıt FAb. (SEKA)	100.00
48)	T.Gübre Sanayi (TÜGSAŞ)	100.00
49)	TÜPRAŞ	100.00
50)	Deniz nakliyatı T.A.Ş.	99.99
51)	YASATAŞ Turistik Tesisleri A.Ş.	99.99
52)	Sivas Demir Çelik İşletmeleri A.Ş.	99.99
53)	GERKONSAN	99.99
54)	PETLAS Lastik Sanayi A.Ş.	99.92
55)	Güven Sigorta T.A.Ş.	99.91
56)	Trakya(Pınarhisar) Çimento San. A.Ş.	99.90
57)	Elazığ Çimento Sanayii A.Ş.	99.89
58)	Çorum Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş	99.85
59)	KÖYTEKS Yatırım Holding	99.84
60)	Niğde Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş	99.84
61)	Bartın Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş	99.79
62)	KÜMAŞ Kütahya Manyezit İşl.A.Ş.	99.74
63)	Gaziantep Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş	99.73
64)	TESTAŞ T.Elektronik San.Tic.A.Ş.	99.62
65)	Söke Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş	99.60
66)	Afyon Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş	99.60
67)	Aksaray Azmi Milli T.A.Ş.	99.58
68)	Ankara Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş	99.30
69)	GİMA Gıda ve İhtiyaç Mad. T.A.Ş.	98.53
70)	ÇİNKUR Çinko Kurşun Metal San. A.Ş.	98.41
71)	Balıkesir Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş	98.30
72)	Asil Çelik San. ve Tic A.Ş.	96.60
73)	MEYSU A.Ş.	96.15
74)	Gümüşhane Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş	95.46
75)	Adapazarı Şeker Fabrikası	94.09
76)	NİMSA Niğde Mey. Su. Gıd.San. A.Ş.	92.67
77)	TOE-Türk Otomotiv Endüstrileri A.Ş.	91.66
78)	ANSAN Ankara Meşrubat Sanayii A.Ş.	88.33
79)	KÖYTAŞ Köy Tarım Makinaları A.Ş.	85.59
80)	Ankara Anonim Türk Sigorta Şirketi	84.50

**COMPANIES****% of  
Shares sold**

81) GÜNEYSU A.Ş.	67.31
82) Tüstaş Sınai Tesisleri A.Ş.	63.87
83) Adana Kağıt Torba Sanayii T.A.Ş.	60.00
84) Ataköy Turizm Tesisleri ve Tic.A.Ş.	58.59
85) Başak Sigorta A.Ş.	56.67
86) Ataköy Otelcilik A.Ş.	56.49
87) Baha Esat Kütahya Şeker Fab.A.Ş.	56.00
88) ERDEMİR	55,10
89) Bursa Soğuk Depoculuk Ltd. Şti.	52.00
90) İpragaz A.Ş.	51.00
91) DİTAŞ Deniz İşlet. ve Tankerciliği A.Ş	50.98
92) Cyprus Turkish Airlines	50.00
93) Türkiye-Libya Ortak Tarım ve Hay.A.Ş.	49.70
94) Ray Sigorta A.Ş.	49.65
95) ÇEMAŞ Döküm Sanayi A.Ş	49.60
96) Ünye Çimento Sanayi A.Ş.	49.23
97) Çaybank A.Ş	49.00
98) NETAŞ Northern Elektrik Telekom A.Ş.	49.00
99) BİNAŞ Bingöl Yem Sanayii A.Ş.	47.50
100) Adana Çimento Sanayii T.A.Ş.	47.28
101) Mardin Çimento Sanayii A.Ş.	46.23
102) Çayeli Bakır İşletmeleri A.Ş.	45.00
103) Eskişehir Yem Fabrikası A.Ş.	45.00
104) Trakmak Traktör ve Ziraat Mak. A.Ş.	45.00
105) PAN Tohum Islah ve Üretim A.Ş.	43.93
106) Konya Çimento Sanayii A.Ş.	43.91
107) Kepez Elektrik A.Ş.	43.68
108) TELETAŞ Telekom. End.ve Tic. A.Ş.	43.29
109) Migros Türk T.A.Ş.	42.22
110) Başak Emeklilik AS.	41.00
111) Biga Yem Fabrikası A.Ş.	40.00
112) İstanbul Demir Çelik Sanayi A.Ş.	40.00
113) Aksaray Yem Fabrikası A.Ş.	40.00
114) SUNTEK Ağır Isı Sanayi A.Ş.	39.00
115) AEG Eti Elektrik A.Ş.	38.96
116) Türkkablo A.O.	38.00
117) Kars Yem Fabrikası A.Ş.	37.07
118) Bolu Çimento Sanayii A.Ş.	35.54
119) Türk Traktör ve Ziraat Makinaları A.Ş.	33.73
120) ÇİMHOL Çimento Y. Mam. San. Hold.	30.42
121) Polinas Plastik Sanayi T.A.Ş.	30.00
122) Güneş Sigorta A.Ş.	30.00
123) Çorum Yem Fabrikası A.Ş.	30.00
124) ALTEK Elekt. Sant. Tes.İşlt.ve Tic.A.Ş	30.00
125) Çelik Halat ve Tel Sanayii A.Ş.	29.57
126) MEKTA Ticaret A.Ş.	28.00
127) Çamsan Ağaç Sanayi T.A.Ş.	26.83
128) Çukurova Elektrik A.Ş.	25.40

**COMPANIES****% of  
Shares sold**

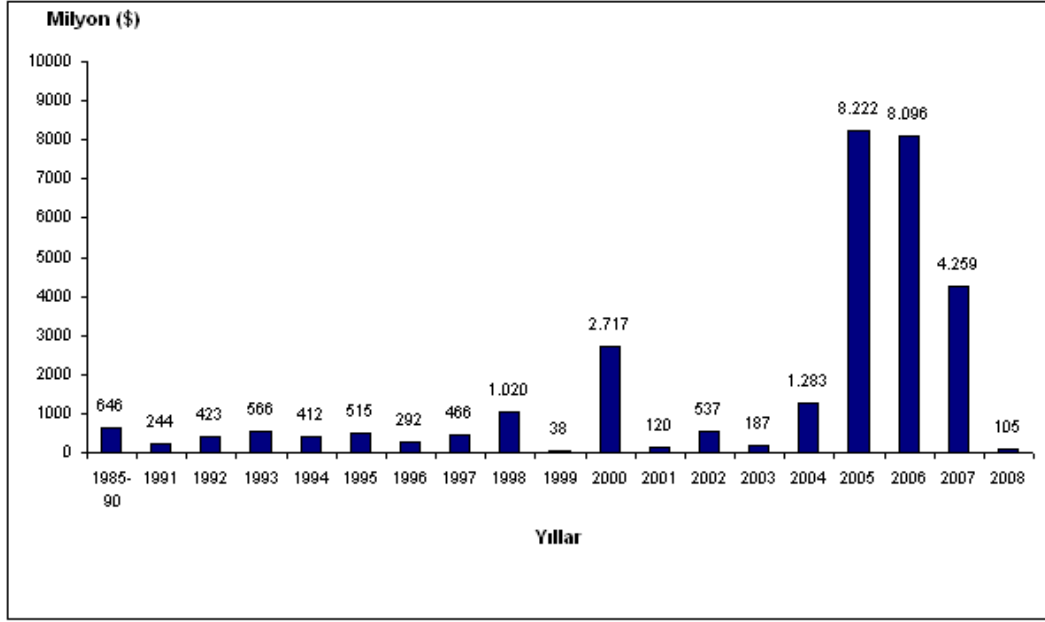
129) ÇANTAŞ Çankırı Tuz Üre.ve Değ.	25.00
130) Toros Zirai İlaç ve Pazarlama A.Ş.	25.00
131) SAMAŞ Sanayi Madenleri A.Ş.	25.00
132) Bandırma Yem Fabrikası Ltd. Şti.	24.62
133) Konya Şeker Fabrikası A.Ş.	24.00
134) TOFAŞ Türk Otomobil Fabrikaları A.Ş.	23.13
135) TOFAŞ Oto Ticaret A.Ş.	21.79
136) YEMTA A.Ş.	20.00
137) KÖY-TÜR Ana Dam.Tavuk San.Tic.A.Ş.	20.00
138) ETÜDAŞ-Erzincan Tarım Ürün.Üre.A.Ş.	18.76
139) Metal Kapak Sanayi A.Ş.	18.66
140) Tat Konserve Sanayii A.Ş.	17.27
141) ÖBİTAŞ İnşaat ve Tic.A.Ş.	16.74
142) Arçelik A.Ş.	16.37
143) Pancar Motor Sanayii A.Ş.	16.00
144) Yeni Çeltek Kömür ve Madencilik	16.00
145) Fruko Tamek Meyve Suları San. A.Ş.	15.66
146) Ataköy Marina ve Yat İşletmeleri	15.07
147) Manisa Yem Fabrikası A.Ş.	15.00
148) Isparta Yem Fabrikası A.Ş.	15.00
149) Tungaş Tunceli Gıda Sanayi A.Ş.	15.00
150) Olgun Çelik San.ve Tic. A.Ş.	15.00
151) Amasya Şeker Fabrikası	15.00
152) DİTAŞ Doğan Yedek Parça İmalat A.Ş.	14.73
153) Toros Gübre ve Kimya Endüstrisi A.Ş.	14,48
154) ABANA Elektromekanik San. A.Ş.	13.50
155) Şeker Sigorta A.Ş.	13.37
156) Kayseri Yem Fabrikası A.Ş.	13.33
157) Aymar Yağ Sanayi A.Ş.	11,06
158) Şekerbank T.A.Ş.	10.00
159) Pancar Ekicileri Birliği A.Ş.	10.00
160) Kömür İşletmeleri A.Ş.	10.00
161) Aroma Bursa Meyve Suları San. A.Ş.	9.17
162) Türkiye Sınai Kalkınma Bankası A.Ş.	8.24
163) Ege Et ve Mamulleri Ye San.ve Tic A.Ş.	7,71
164) Çanakkale Seramik Fabrikaları A.Ş.	5.80
165) Pınar Entegre Et ve Yem San. A.Ş.	5.76
166) Tamek Gıda Sanayii A.Ş.	5.54
167) Hektaş Ticaret T.A.Ş.	5.47
168) Layne Bowler Dik Türbin Pomp. A.Ş.	4.17
169) Ankara Halk Ekmek ve Un Fab. A.Ş.	3,80
170) Sivas Yem Fabrikası A.Ş.	3.57
171) Hascan Gıda Endüstrisi A.Ş.	3.40
172) Mars Ticaret ve Sanayi A.Ş.	3,33
173) MAKSAN Malatya Makina Sanayi A.Ş.	2.50
174) ÇESTAŞ Çukurova Elektrik San. A.Ş.	2.29
175) Balıkesir Pamuklu Dokuma San.	2,18
176) İMSA İstanbul Meşrubat Sanayi A.Ş.	1,01

**COMPANIES****% of  
Shares sold**

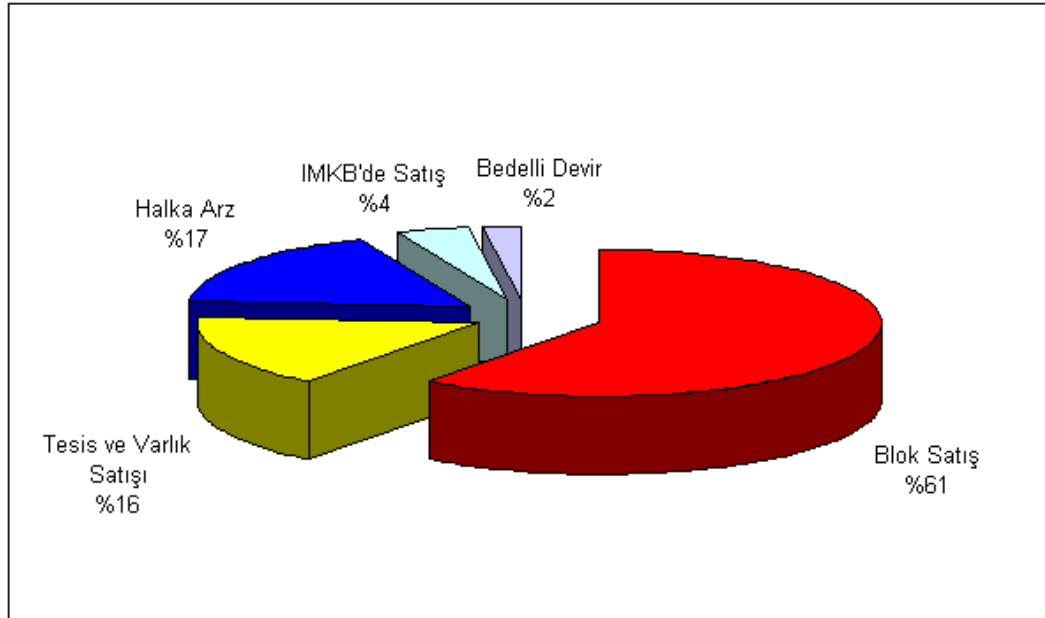
177) Liman İşletmeleri ve Nak.san. Tic.A.Ş.	0,85
178) Ülfet Gıda ve Sabun San.A.Ş.	0,68
179) MAN Kamyon ve Otobüs San.A.Ş.	0,37
180) OYTAŞ İç ve Dış Ticaret A.Ş.	0,05
181) Ceyhan Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş.	0,04
182) Dosan Konserve San. ve Ticaret A.Ş.	0,04
183) Aydın Tekstil İşletmesi A.Ş.	0.03
184) Karadeniz Çimento Kireç ve Ürün.San.	0.01
185) T.Elektromekanik San.A.Ş.	0.00029
186) T.Kalkınma Bankası A.Ş.	0.00009

**A.2 PRIVATIZATION IMPLIMENTATIONS BY YEARS****Table A.2-1. Privatization Implementations by Years** (www.oib.gov.tr)

Özelleştirme Yöntemi	Yıllar	1986-2006 (\$)	2007 (\$)	2008 (\$)	Toplam (\$)
Blok Satış		18.158.793.478	0	0	18.158.793.478
Tesis/Varlık Satışı		2.525.240.737	2.295.982.839	20.016.305	4.841.239.881
Halka Arz		3.341.559.629	1.838.642.981	0	5.180.202.610
İMKB'de Satış		1.261.053.768	0	0	1.261.053.768
Yarım Kalmış Tesis Satışı		4.368.792	0	0	4.368.792
Bedelli Devirler		491.726.230	124.003.839	85.237.765	700.967.834
TOPLAM		25.782.742.474	4.258.629.659	105.254.070	30.146.626.363



**Figure A.2-1. Privatization Implementations by Years** (Özelleştirme İdaresi Başkanlığı, [www.oib.gov.tr](http://www.oib.gov.tr), accessed 21 May 2008)



**Figure A.2-2 Privatization Implementations with Different Methods between 1986 and 2007** (Özelleştirme İdaresi Başkanlığı, [www.oib.gov.tr](http://www.oib.gov.tr), accessed 21 May 2008)



### A.3 COMPANIES IN THE PRIVATIZATION PORTFOLIO

Table A.3-1. Companies in the Privatization Portfolio

	NAME OF THE COMPANY	INDUSTRY	Share of PA (%)
1)	Sümer Holding A.Ş. (1)(2)	Textile, leather, ceramics, carpet	100.00
2)	Sümer Halı A.Ş.	Carpet	100.00
3)	T. Denizcilik İşletmeleri (1)	Maritime	100.00
4)	Tobacco, Tobacco Products, Salt and Alcohol Enterprises Inc. (TEKEL)	Tobacco Products, Salt	100.00
5)	Turkish Electricity Distribution Inc (TEDAS)	Electricity Distribution	100.00
6)	Ankara Doğal Elektrik Üretim ve Ticaret A.Ş.	Electricity	100.00
7)	Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A.Ş.	Sugar processing	100.00
8)	KBİ-Karadeniz Bakır İşlet. (1)	Copper	99.99
9)	T.Halk Bankası A.Ş.	Banking	99.99
10)	PETKİM Petrokimya Hold. A.Ş. (1)	Petrochemicals	61.32
11)	Doğusan Boru Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş.	Pipe Production	56.09
12)	THY-Türk Hava Yolları A.Ş. (1)	Airline	49.00
13)	Türk Arap Pazarlama A.Ş.	Marketing	12.50
14)	Kayseri Şeker Fabrikası A.Ş.	Sugar processing	10.00
15)	T.İş Bankası	Banking	0.000001

1): Some of the shares of these companies have been privatized

2) 15 Participation Shares have been transferred to Sumer Holding on March 12. 2001

### A.4 ENTITIES IN THE PRIVATIZATION PORTFOLIO

Table A.4-1. Motorways and Bridges

TOLL MOTORWAYS		BOSPORUS BRIDGES	
1.	Pozantı-Tarsus-Mersin	1.	Boğaziçi
2.	Edirne-İstanbul-Ankara	2.	Fatih Sultan Mehmet
3.	Tarsus-Adana-Gaziantep		
4.	Toprakkale-İskenderun		
5.	İzmir-Çeşme		
6.	İzmir-Aydın		
7.	Gaziantep-Şanlıurfa		
8.	İzmir ve Ankara Çevre		

**Table A.4-2. Other Entities**

	<b>PORTS</b>		<b>OTHERS</b>
1.	State Railway's Bandırma Port	1.	Foça Holiday Resort
2.	State Railway's İzmir Port		
3.	State Railway's Samsun Port		
4.	State Railway's Derince Port		
5.	İzmir-Çeşme		



# TURKEY MARKET



\* Türkiye pazarı

AKP, ne varsa satmaya hazırlanıyor. Elektrik dağıtım ve üretim şirketleri, köprüler, otoyollar, şeker fabrikaları, limanlar, hatta üniversiteler bile sırada

## ÖZELLEŞTİRME RÜZGARI ESTİRECEKLER

**M**aliye Bakanlığı özelleştirme programını genişletti. Buna göre, 2 yılda elektrik dağıtım ve üretim şirketleri özelleştirilecek. TIKEL ağarsa fabrikaları, Milli Piyango şans oyunlarını işletim lisans, limanlar, otoyollar, köprüler, özerklik tesisler, çevre otoyolu başlatılacak. Başbakan ve Fatih Sultan Mehmet köprülerinin bağlantı yollarının bölüm, işletme ve işletme toplama merkezleri özelleştirilecek.

## HEDEF TİCARİ ÜNİVERSİTE

**K**ükmes, Milli Eğitim ve üniversiteler komisyonunda köklü değişikliğe gidecek. Üniversitelere giriş sınavının uygulanma biçimiyle ilgili yeni yöntemler geliştirilecek, ÖSS'de tekrarlanan başarıların azaltılması amacıyla üniversiteler ve programlar arasındaki geçişlerin esnek hale getirilecek, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, YÖK ve üniversitelerin yeni den yapılandırılacağı bildirildi. **17-8'ye**

## Enflasyon hesabı şaşı

**2008**'de yıllık enflasyonda hedefi tutturamayın AKP'nin hesabı bu yıl de şaşın. Hükümet 2007 enflasyon hedefini yüzde 5 olarak açıkladı. Ancak Merkez Bankası'nın yıl sonu tahmini 7,9. Merkez Bankası Başkanı Darımcıoğlu, vergi ayarlamaları, enerji, gıda ve kamu masraf artışlarını da içeren fiyat ayarlamaları nedeniyle yıl sonu enflasyon hedefinin tutamayacağını açıkladı. **17'ye**

## Cari açık 39.2 milyar dolar

**2008**'de yıllık enflasyonda hedefi tutturamayın AKP'nin hesabı bu yıl de şaşın. Hükümet 2007 enflasyon hedefini yüzde 5 olarak açıkladı. Ancak Merkez Bankası'nın yıl sonu tahmini 7,9. Merkez Bankası Başkanı Darımcıoğlu, vergi ayarlamaları, enerji, gıda ve kamu masraf artışlarını da içeren fiyat ayarlamaları nedeniyle yıl sonu enflasyon hedefinin tutamayacağını açıkladı. **17'ye**

2008-2010 DÖNEMİNDE, ÖZELLEŞTİRME RÜZGARI HIZLI ESECEK

# Sata sata kamuyu bitirecekler

Önümüzdeki 2 yılda öncelikle elektrik dağıtım ve elektrik üretim şirketleri özelleştirilecek. Köprü, otoyollar, şeker fabrikaları, Bandırma, Samsun ve İskenderun limanları da sırada

**M**aliye Bakanlığı özelleştirme programını genişletti. Maliye Bakanlığının 2008 Yılı Bütçe Gerçekleşenlerinden ödünce bölümlere göre, halkın yararına öncelik verilmesi ile sermayenin tabana yayılması ve sermaye piyasalarının derinlik kazanmasını sağlamak amaçlanıyor. Önümüzdeki 2 yılda önce elektrik dağıtım şirketleri özelleştirilecek, ardından elektrik üretim şirketlerinin özelleştirilmesi süreci başlayacak.

Bu kapsamda, Anıyaz, Kankale, Zonguldak, Bartın, Karabük, Çankırı ve Kastamonu'ya için alan Başkent Elektrik Dağıtım A.Ş., Sakarya, Bozü, Düzce ve Kocaeli Enerji için alan Sakarya Elektrik Dağıtım A.Ş. ile İstanbul Anadolu Yakasına elektrik sağlayan AYEDAS özelleştirilecek.

Elektrik dağıtım şirketlerinin özelleştirilmesi tamamlandıktan sonra, elektrik üretim şirketlerinin özelleştirilmesi süreci başlayacak. Yasal düzenlemelerin tamamlanmasından ardından da, Milli Piyango İşletimi Şans Oyunlarını İşletim Lisansının verilmesi ile lisansları da çıkılacak.

## KÖPRÜ VE OTUYOLLAR

Önümüzdeki dönemde, Karayollar, Genel Müdürlüğü'nü (İSGM) yapım, bakım, onarım ve işletimini üstlendikleri hizmet alan



birimleri olan otoyollar, köprüler ve demirde yer alan tesislerden, Edirne-İstanbul-Ankara, Pozantı-Tarsus-Mersin, Tarsus-Adana-Gaziantep, Topraklı-İskenderun, Gaziantep-Şanlıurfa, İzmir-Çeşme, İzmit-Ayazma Otoyolları, İzmir ve

Anıyaz Çevre Otoyolunun bağlantı yollarını da başbakan ve Fatih Sultan Mehmet Köprüsü'nün bağlantı yollarının bölüm, işletme ve işletme toplama merkezleri, işletme hakkı verilmesi sistemiyle özelleştirilecek.

Özelleştirme işlemleri tamamlanmaya kadar her türlü bakım, onarım, işletim işle-

mi ise İSGM tarafından yürütülecek, bu tesisleri özelleştirme süreci derinleşecek yapılmamış bakım, onarım, işletim gibi işlere yönelik yükümlülükler, İSGM ve Özelleştirme İdaresi Başkanlığı tarafından belirlenecek. Devrim ve kontroler İSGM tarafından yerine getirilecek. Özelleştirme işlemlerinin de 2008 yılı sonuna kadar tamamlanması hedefleniyor.

## KISA SÜREDE TAMANLANACAK

Önümüzdeki dönemde ayrıca, şeker fabrikalarıyla, Bandırma, Samsun ve İskenderun



limanları da özelleştirilecek. Varlık satışlarıyla özelleştirilecek olan ve serüveni yeni tarihi 23 Ocak olarak belirlenen Yekü Sigara Fabrikasının özelleştirme süreci de en kısa zamanda tamamlanacak.

## 2008'DE HEDEF 11,8 MİLYAR YTL

Öte yandan, 5,2 milyar YTL olarak öngörülen 2007 özelleştirme geliminin Türk Telekom'un 2007 bedelinin peşin ödemesi nedeniyle 11,8 milyar YTL'ye çıkması beklenirken, 2008 özelleştirme gelir hedefi ise 11 milyar 798 milyon YTL olarak belirlendi.

# Göz göre göre zarar!

Köy Hizmetleri'ni tasfiye etmek adına kurumun bölge altyapısına hizmet üreten fabrikası çürümeye terk edildi

Mehmet Aslanoğlu

**K**öy Hizmetleri'ne kilit vurulması, köyleri hizmet alanından mahrum bıraktığı kadar ülke ekonomisine de zarar veriyor. IMF direktifleri ve Dünya Bankası Yapısal Uyum Programları gereği Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü'nün kaldırılması arından, kurumun birçok hizmet birimi işsiz kaldı. Bu durum örneklerinden birini, aklî durumda bırakılan, Diyarbakır Köy Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü bünyesinde 8 yıl önce kurulan ve 500 mîlyara mal olduğu belirtilen buz fabrikası oluşturmaktadır.

Köy Hizmetleri bünyesinde köylerin yol yapımında kullanılmak üzere kurulan buz fabrikası, işçilerinin tasfiyesinin ardından kaderine terk edildi. Çünkü Köy Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü'nün kapatılarak İl Özel İdaresi'ne bağlanması arından Diyarbakır'da, kurumun işçileri Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü emrinde okullarda hizmetli olarak çalışıyor.

Yol İş Sendikası Diyarbakır 2 Nolu Şube Mali Sekreteri Mehmet Bayram, günde 250 adet buz üreten fabrikanın aklî durumda olmasına, ihtiyaç duyulan altyapı hizmeti, nitelikli işgücünün değerlendirilmemesi, ekonomik marj ve benzeri açıklardan kabul edilemez olduğunu vurguluyor. Köylerin yol yapımında kullanılan buz ihtiyacını karşılamak amacıyla kurulan fabrikanın, üretim durunca aklî hale geldiğini belirten Bayram, "İsrafil tedbirlerinden söz edildiği bir dönemde ihtiyaç olmasına rağmen tesisin çürümeye terk edilmesini yadırgıyoruz" diyor.

## İhtiyaç var

Diyarbakır Buz Fabrikası'nın bir dönem Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nin buz ihtiyacını karşıladığını ve burada 80 işçinin çalıştığını söyleyen Bayram, fabrikanın Türkiye'nin sayılı fabrikaları arasında olduğunu dikkat çekiyor.

Bayram şunları anlattı: "2 yıl öncesine kadar fabrikada 80 kişi çalışıyordu, ancak Köy Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü'nün İl Özel İdaresi'ne bağlanması arından, 427 işçi okullarda hizmetli olarak çalışmaya başlandı. Fabrikada sadece 2 bekçi bulunuyor, üretim durdu. Şu anda köy yollarının buz ihtiyacı dışardan karşılanıyor. Bu zihniyete anlam veremedim. Elinizde kullanılmaya elverişli fabrikalar var, ancak siz buz ihtiyacınızı dışarıdan karşıyorsunuz. Ben buna yazık görebilirim."



## Kurumun işlevi

Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Anavatan Partisi'nin tek başına iktidar olduğu 1984 yılında, kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarına yönelik yeniden düzenleme çalışmaları kapsamında, "kamu yönetimi içinde etkinliğin artırılması ve kırsal alana hizmetlerin bir bütün olarak görüldüğü" gerekçesiyle, Toprak, Yol Su Elektrik (YSE) ve Teknik İşler Genel Müdürlüğü'nün 3282 sayılı Yasa ile feda edilerek birleştirilmesi sonucu kurulmuştur.

Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, ülke açısından çok önemli olan şu hizmetleri yerine getirmektedir:

- Köy ve bunlara bağlı yerleşim birimlerinin yollarını yapmak,
  - Bu yerleşim birimlerini yeterli ve sağlıklı içme suyuyla kavuşturmak,
  - Toprak ve su kaynaklarını geliştirmek ve yararlı hale getirmek, bu amaçla çiftçilere kredi vermek, teknik yardım projeleri hazırlamak,
  - Köy içi sosyal tesisleri yapmak, sivilizasyon yapan vatandaşlara konut kredisi vermek,
  - Yurtdışından ülkemize göç eden vatandaşlarımızın iskân sağlamaktır,
  - Sulama ve hayvan içme suyu temini amacıyla gölet, bent, kanal gibi tesisler yapmak ve toprak mülakata tedbirleri yapmak,
  - Arazi topraklaştırma, tarla içi geliştirme hizmetleri ve çeşitli drenaj tesisleri yapmak,
  - Toprak ve su kaynaklarının geliştirilmesi ile ilgili araştırma çalışmalarını yapmak.
- Dağırdıkları kırsal faaliyet yürütmeyen, ancak kamusal hizmetler veren birçok kamu kuruluşunun kapatılması yönünde kararlar doğrultusunda, 2002 yılından itibaren Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü kapatıldı.

rim ihtiyaç varken, fabrika halen neden aklî durumda bekliyor?"

## Asıl işlerine dönmek istiyorlar

Yıllardır Köy Hizmetleri İl Müdürlüğü'nde görev yapan makine gelci, TR ş-

ferci, elektrikçi ve daha birçok vasıflı işçilerimiz Diyarbakır'daki çeşitli okullarda hizmetli ve bekçi olarak görev yapıyor. Yol İş Sendikası, İl Valisi Hüseyin Avni Mutlu'dan işçilerin eski görevlerine dönmelerini talep ediyor. (DiyarbakırEVRENSEL)

## APPENDIX C

### THE STATISTICS EXTRACTS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE ECONOMY OF THE CITY OF ANKARA

#### C.1. STATISTICS OF THE CHAMBER OF INDUSTRIES IN TURKEY

Table C.1-1. Comparison of the Chamber of Industries in Turkey in 2006 (Ankara Sanayi Odası, <http://www.aso.org.tr>, accessed 21 May 2008)

SANAYİ ODALARI	Üretimden Satışlar Net (YTL)	Satış Hasılatı Net (YTL)	Brüt Katma Değer (YTL)	Öz Sermaye (YTL)	Net Aktifler (YTL)	Dönem Karı (YTL)	İhracat (1.000 \$)	Ücretle Çalışanlar Ortalaması
ADANA	1,50	1,40	0,54	2,13	1,82	2,04	1,58	1,97
<b>ANKARA</b>	<b>6,09</b>	<b>4,80</b>	<b>5,55</b>	<b>13,04</b>	<b>11,26</b>	<b>12,18</b>	<b>4,44</b>	<b>8,72</b>
BALIKESİR	0,83	0,65	0,32	0,69	0,63	0,33	0,18	1,30
DENİZLİ	1,80	1,42	0,75	1,10	1,37	1,03	2,10	2,57
EGE BÖLGESİ	5,77	4,57	4,51	7,05	6,92	4,48	6,36	7,91
ESKİŞEHİR	0,81	0,71	0,58	1,18	0,96	1,16	1,04	2,27
GAZİANTEP	1,75	1,51	0,48	3,58	1,32	0,41	1,54	4,52
<b>İSTANBUL</b>	<b>60,24</b>	<b>65,00</b>	<b>58,35</b>	<b>57,22</b>	<b>61,76</b>	<b>61,71</b>	<b>68,40</b>	<b>59,81</b>
KAYSERİ	2,11	1,75	1,16	1,98	2,34	2,15	1,18	4,75
<b>KOCAELİ</b>	<b>18,09</b>	<b>17,38</b>	<b>26,84</b>	<b>9,79</b>	<b>9,79</b>	<b>12,38</b>	<b>12,80</b>	<b>4,90</b>
KONYA	1,01	0,81	0,90	2,25	1,82	2,14	0,38	1,28
TOPLAM	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

**Table C.1-2. The List of Ankara Firms which are Top 500 Firms of Turkey** (Ankara Sanayi Odası, <http://www.aso.org.tr>, accessed 21 May 2008)

Sıra	Sıra No 2006	Sıra No 2005	Firma ve Müesseseler	Bağlı Bulunduğu Oda/KT	Kamu /Özel Firma Sıra No
1	3	4	EÜAŞ ELEKTRİK ÜRETİM ANONİM ŞİRKETİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ	KAMU	1
2	7	6	EREĞLİ DEMİR VE ÇELİK FABRİKALARI T.A.Ş.	ANKARA	6
3	12	11	TÜRKİYE ŞEKER FABRİKALARI A.Ş.	KAMU	3
4	19	19	TÜRKİYE KÖMÜR İŞLETMELERİ KURUMU GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ	KAMU	4
5	35	46	TÜRKİYE PETROLLERİ ANONİM ORTAKLIĞI	KAMU	6
6	43	32	ÇAY İŞLETMELERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ	KAMU	7
7	55	74	MAN TÜRKİYE A.Ş.	ANKARA	48
8	58	65	ETİ MADEN İŞLETMELERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ	KAMU	8
9	68	53	TÜRK TRAKTÖR VE ZİRAAT MAKİNELERİ A.Ş.	ANKARA	60
10	75	68	ASELSAN ELEKTRONİK SANAYİ VE TİCARET A.Ş.	ANKARA	67
11	97	125	NOKSEL ÇELİK BORU SANAYİ A.Ş.	ANKARA	88
12	139	108	PARK TERMİK ELEKTRİK SAN.VE TİC.A.Ş	ANKARA	130
13	148	159	YİBİTAŞ LAFARGE ORTA ANADOLU ÇİMENTO SANAYİ VE TİCARET A.Ş.	ANKARA	139
14	152	197	OYAK BETON SAN. VE TİC. A.Ş.	ANKARA	143
15	184	191	PARK TEKNİK ELEKTRİK MADENCİLİK TURİZM SAN. VE TİC. A.Ş.	ANKARA	175
16	205	287	HİDROMEK HİDROLİK VE MEKANİK MAKİNA İMALAT SAN. VE TİC. LTD. ŞTİ.	ANKARA	196
17	214	304	TUSAŞ- TÜRK HAVACILIK VE UZAY SAN. A.Ş.	ANKARA	205
18	225	294	HAVELSAN HAVA ELEKTRONİK SAN. VE TİC. A.Ş.	ANKARA	216
19	235	351	MİTAŞ ENERJİ VE MADENİ İNŞAAT İŞLERİ TÜRK A.Ş	ANKARA	226
20	307	312	ORTADOĞU RULMAN SANAYİ VE TİCARET A.Ş.	ANKARA	297
21	315	309	DEMİR EXPORT A.Ş.	ANKARA	304
22	327	420	METEKSAN MATBAACILIK VE TEKNİK SANAYİ TİCARET A.Ş.	ANKARA	316

**Table C-2. The List of Ankara Firms which are Top 500 Firms of Turkey** (Ankara Sanayi Odası, <http://www.aso.org.tr>, accessed 21 May 2008) (Continued)

23	346	401	BAŞTAŞ BAŞKENT ÇİMENTO SANAYİİ VE TİCARET A.Ş.	ANKARA	335
24	386	382	ŞAHİNLER METAL SANAYİ VE TİCARET A.Ş.	ANKARA	375
25	387	359	YAKUPOĞLU TEKSTİL VE DERİ SAN. TİC. A.Ş.	ANKARA	376
26	394	403	ERKUNT SANAYİ A.Ş.	ANKARA	383
27	400	494	MESA MESKEN SANAYİİ A.Ş.	ANKARA	389
28	404	383	ANKARA UN SANAYİİ A.Ş.	ANKARA	392
29	415	404	NUH'UN ANKARA MAKARNASI SANAYİ VE TİCARET A.Ş.	ANKARA	403
30	427	407	ŞA-RA ENERJİ İNŞAAT TİC.VE SAN.A.Ş.	ANKARA	415
31	431	465	EMEK BORU MAKİNA SAN. VE TİC.A.Ş.	ANKARA	419
32	460	0	BAŞTAŞ HAZIR BETON SANAYİ VE TİCARET A.Ş.	ANKARA	447

### **ÖZET DEĞERLENDİRME:**

- 2006 yılında, 6'sı kamu - 26'sı özel sektör firması olmak üzere toplam **32** firma Türkiye'nin en büyük 500 firması içinde yer aldı.
- 2005 yıl sıralamada Ankara Sanayi Odası üyesi 8'i kamu firması olmak üzere, 37 firma yer almıştır.
- 2005 yıl sıralamada yer alan 6 firma;
  - Baymina Enerji A.Ş.
  - Birlik Pazarlama Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş.
  - Et ve Balık Ürünleri A.Ş. Genel Müd.
  - Isparta mensucat sanayi ve ticaret A.Ş.
  - Makina ve Kimya Endüstrisi Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü
  - Nabay Tekstil Sanayi ve Tic. A.Ş.

2006 yılı sıralamasında yer almazken;

2005 yılındaki sıralamada yer almayan 1 firma - Baştaş Hazır Beton Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. - 2006 yılı sıralamasında yer almıştır.

- Üretimden satışlara göre 500 büyük firma içinde aso üyelerinin payı; 2005 yılında % 8,6 iken, 2006 yılında % 10 olmuştur.
- 500 büyük firma içinde;
  - Birinci sırayı Tüpraş-Türkiye Petrol Rafinerileri A.Ş almıştır.
  - İkinci Ford Otomotiv Sanayi A.Ş'dir.

Retrieved from [www.aso.org.tr](http://www.aso.org.tr) in 21 May 2008



## C.2. TOP 100 URBAN AGGLOMERATION GDP(Gross Domestic Products) RANKINGS IN 2005 AND ILLUSTRATIVE PROJECTIONS TO 2020

Rank	Cities ranked by estimated 2005 GDP at PPPs	Est. GDP in 2005 (\$bn at PPPs)	Cities ranked by projected 2020 GDP at PPPs	Est. GDP in 2020 (\$bn at 2005 PPPs)	Real GDP growth rate (% pa: 2006-20)	GDP growth ranking (out of 151)
1	Tokyo	1191	Tokyo	1602	2.0%	140
2	New York	1133	New York	1561	2.2%	135
3	Los Angeles	639	Los Angeles	886	2.2%	134
4	Chicago	460	London	708	3.0%	92
5	Paris	460	Chicago	645	2.3%	129
6	London	452	Paris	611	1.9%	144
7	Osaka/Kobe	341	Mexico City	608	4.5%	63
8	Mexico City	315	Philadelphia	440	2.3%	128
9	Philadelphia	312	Osaka/Kobe	430	1.6%	147
10	Washington DC	299	Washington DC	426	2.4%	124
11	Boston	290	Buenos Aires	416	3.6%	78
12	Dallas/Fort Worth	268	Boston	413	2.4%	125
13	Buenos Aires	245	Sao Paulo	411	4.1%	69
14	Hong Kong	244	Hong Kong	407	3.5%	82
15	San Francisco/Oakland	242	Dallas/Fort Worth	384	2.4%	116
16	Atlanta	236	Shanghai	360	6.5%	8
17	Houston	235	Seoul	349	3.2%	87
18	Miami	231	Atlanta	347	2.6%	105
19	Sao Paulo	225	San Francisco/Oakland	346	2.4%	123
20	Seoul	218	Houston	339	2.5%	111
21	Toronto	209	Miami	331	2.4%	122
22	Detroit	203	Toronto	327	3.0%	93
23	Madrid	188	Moscow	325	4.0%	72
24	Seattle	186	Mumbai (Bombay)	300	6.0%	35
25	Moscow	181	Madrid	299	3.2%	89
26	Sydney	172	Detroit	287	2.3%	127
27	Pheonix	156	Istanbul	287	5.2%	44
28	Minneapolis	155	Seattle	269	2.5%	113
29	San Diego	153	Beijing	259	6.6%	4
30	Rio de Janiero	141	Metro Manila	257	5.9%	36
31	Barcelona	140	Rio de Janiero	256	4.1%	70
32	Shanghai	139	Sydney	256	2.7%	100
33	Melbourne	135	Jakarta	253	6.5%	9
34	Istanbul	133	Delhi	229	6.2%	26
35	Denver	130	Pheonix	228	2.5%	107
36	Singapore	129	Guangzhou	227	6.9%	2
37	Mumbai (Bombay)	126	Minneapolis	224	2.5%	114
38	Rome	123	Kolkata (Calcutta)	224	5.9%	37
39	Montreal	120	San Diego	220	2.4%	115
40	Milan	115	Singapore	218	3.6%	79
41	Baltimore	110	Cairo	212	5.3%	43
42	Metro Manila	108	Barcelona	201	2.4%	117
43	St Louis	101	Melbourne	200	2.6%	101
44	Beijing	99	Denver	190	2.6%	106
45	Calro	98	Rome	187	2.9%	95
46	Jakarta	98	Bangkok	180	4.8%	54
47	Tampa/St Petersburg	97	Montreal	180	2.8%	98
48	Pusan	95	Milan	174	2.8%	97
49	Kolkata (Calcutta)	94	Tehran	172	4.5%	61
50	Vienna	93	Riyadh	167	5.0%	47

Figure C.2-1. Top 50 Urban Agglomeration Gdp Rankings In 2005 And Illustrative Projections To 2020 (PriceWaterHouseCoopers,2007, UK Economic Outlook, March, 2007, England,[http://www.rhsmith.umd.edu/ciber/pdfs\\_docs/pwcukeconoutlookmarch2007.pdf](http://www.rhsmith.umd.edu/ciber/pdfs_docs/pwcukeconoutlookmarch2007.pdf))

Rank	Cities ranked by estimated 2005 GDP at PPPs	Est. GDP in 2005 (\$bn at PPPs)	Cities ranked by projected 2020 GDP at PPPs	Est. GDP in 2020 (\$bn at 2005 PPPs)	Real GDP growth rate (% pa: 2006-20)	GDP growth ranking (out of 151)
51	Delhi	93	Pusan	165	3.8%	77
52	Tel Aviv-Jaffa	92	Bogota	163	4.3%	66
53	Santiago	91	Santiago	160	3.8%	76
54	Cleveland	90	Monterrey	157	4.8%	55
55	Bangkok	89	Baltimore	157	2.4%	121
56	Tehran	88	Tel Aviv-Jaffa	153	3.5%	80
57	Portland	87	St Petersburg	151	3.9%	75
58	Bogota	86	St Louis	146	2.5%	112
59	St Petersburg	85	Tampa/St Petersburg	142	2.5%	109
60	Guangzhou	84	Johannesburg	131	3.4%	84
61	Pittsburgh	80	Lisbon	130	3.3%	85
62	Riyadh	80	Cleveland	129	2.4%	119
63	Lisbon	79	Belo Horizonte	129	4.6%	58
64	Vancouver	79	Portland	128	2.6%	102
65	Johannesburg	79	Vienna	127	2.1%	137
66	Monterrey	78	Karachi	127	5.8%	39
67	Stockholm	76	Dhaka	126	6.1%	30
68	Cape Town	75	Lima	123	4.2%	68
69	Berlin	75	Vancouver	121	2.9%	94
70	Athens	73	Cape Town	121	3.3%	86
71	Birmingham	72	Stockholm	121	3.2%	90
72	Fukuoka	72	Guadalajara	119	4.6%	57
73	Manchester	69	Pittsburgh	115	2.4%	120
74	Lima	67	Tianjin	112	6.3%	14
75	Belo Horizonte	65	Jiddah	111	4.8%	53
76	Guadalajara	60	Bangalore	110	6.2%	25
77	Hamburg	58	Dublin	99	4.8%	56
78	Turin	58	Ho Chi Min City	98	6.5%	7
79	Lyon	56	Birmingham	96	2.0%	143
80	Jiddah	55	Wuhan	96	6.4%	13
81	Karachi	55	Fukuoka	96	2.0%	142
82	Dhaka	52	Manchester	96	2.2%	132
83	Munich	50	Hyderabad	92	6.1%	28
84	Dublin	49	Chennai (Madras)	91	6.0%	34
85	Leeds	48	Athens	91	1.5%	148
86	Warsaw	48	Berlin	88	1.1%	150
87	Tianjin	45	Ankara	87	5.0%	48
88	Bangalore	45	Chongqing	87	6.3%	22
89	Porto Alegre	44	Lyon	85	2.8%	96
90	Helsinki	43	Turin	84	2.5%	108
91	Naples	43	Porto Alegre	82	4.3%	67
92	Budapest	43	Brasilia	82	5.1%	45
93	Zurich	42	Warsaw	80	3.5%	81
94	Ankara	42	Ahmadabad	78	6.2%	24
95	Amsterdam	42	Hamburg	78	2.0%	141
96	Auckland	41	Recife	77	4.4%	65
97	Copenhagen	41	Pune	76	6.3%	16
98	Recife	41	Lagos	76	6.2%	23
99	Rotterdam	40	Salvador	75	4.6%	60
100	Brussels	39	Munich	73	2.6%	104

**Figure C.2-2. Top 50-100 Urban Agglomeration Gdp Rankings In 2005 And Illustrative Projections To 2020** (PriceWaterHouseCoopers,2007, UK Economic Outlook, March, 2007, England,[http://www.rhsmith.umd.edu/ciber/pdfs\\_docs/pwcukeconoutlookmarch2007.pdf](http://www.rhsmith.umd.edu/ciber/pdfs_docs/pwcukeconoutlookmarch2007.pdf))

C.3. DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING AREAS OF ANKARA IN 2023  
MASTER PLAN

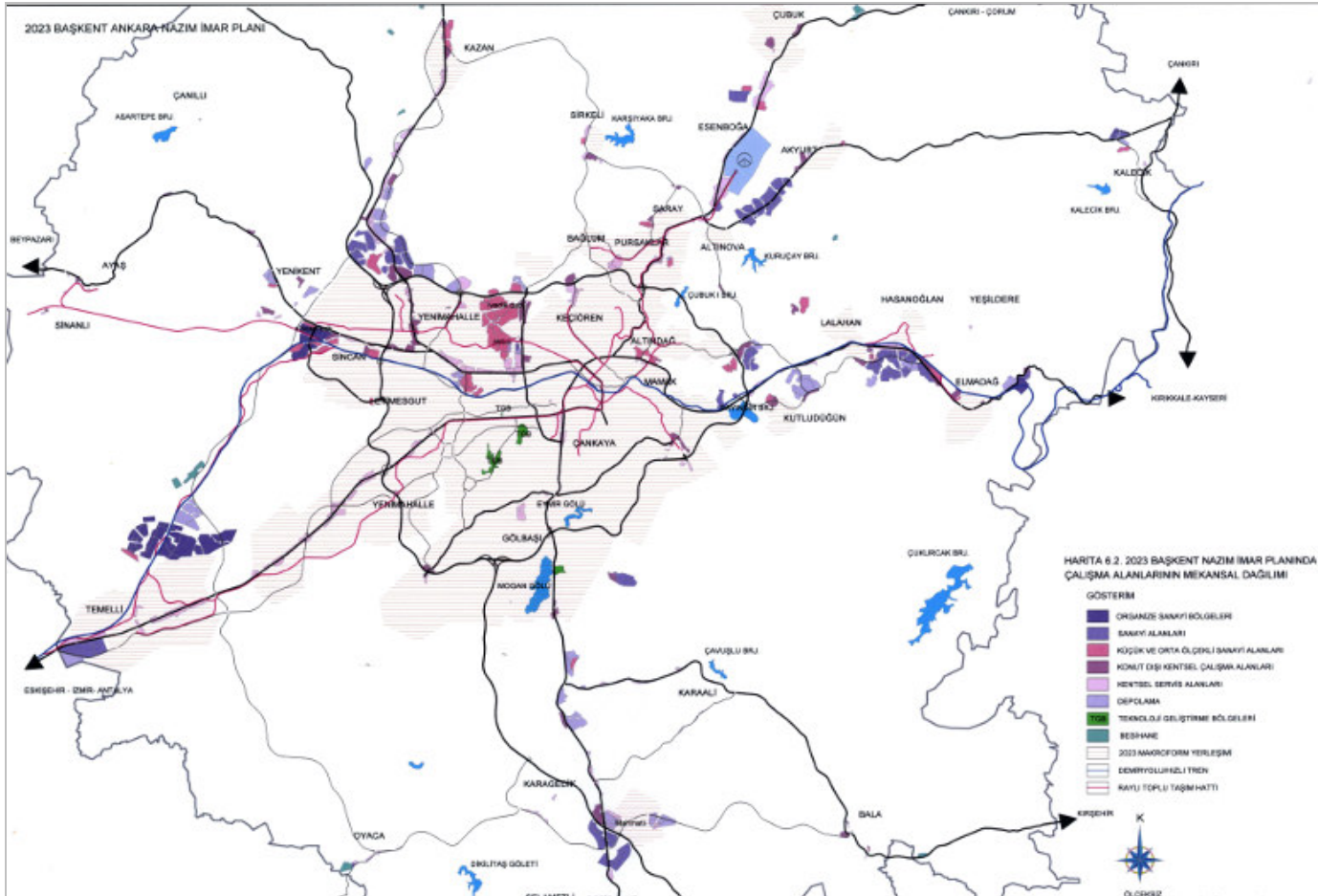
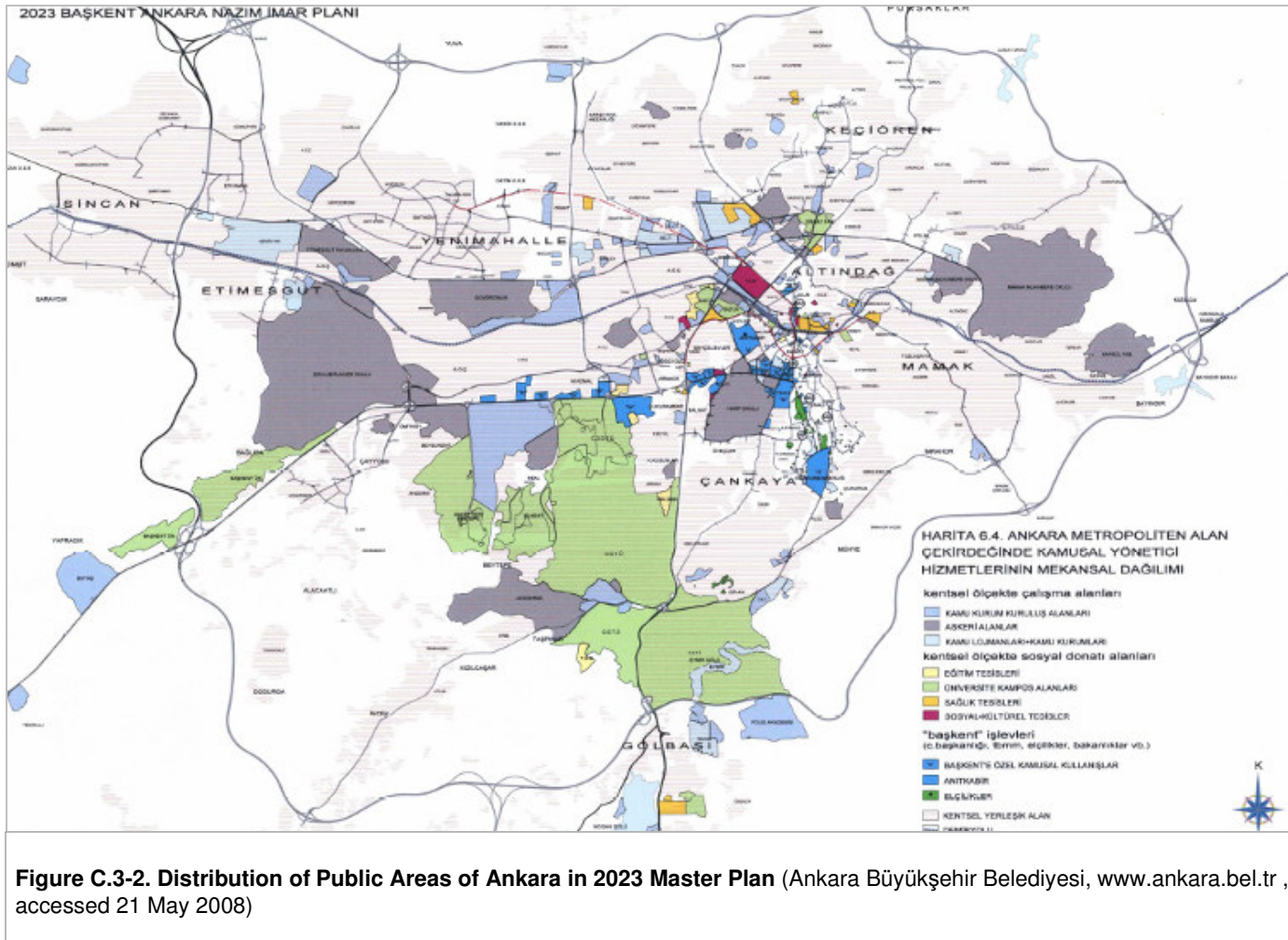


Figure C.3-1. Distribution of Working Areas of Ankara in 2023 Master Plan (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, [www.ankara.bel.tr](http://www.ankara.bel.tr) , accessed 21 May 2008)



## APPENDIX D

### NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS ABOUT ANKARA

#### D.1. 19 MARCH 2007-HURRIYET ANKARA NEWSPAPER

# Ankara 42 milyar dolarla dünyada ilk 100'ün içinde

**U**LAŞILARARASI danışmanlık şirketi PricewaterhouseCoopers'in (PWC) "Dünyada En Büyük Şehir Ekonomileri Hangileri ve Bu 2020 Yılında Nasıl Değişecek" başlıklı Mart 2007 tarihli raporuna göre, Ankara dünya ekonomisine yön veren, en büyük ekonomiyi sahip yüz şehir içinde 42 milyar dolarla 94'üncü sırada yer aldı. Ankara, Amsterdam (Hollanda), Auckland (Yeni Zelanda), Kopenhagen (Danimarka), Recife (Brezilya), Rotterdam (Hollanda) ve Brüksel (Belçika) şirketlerinin önemli kentleri arasında yer aldı.

**ANKARA YÜZDE 5 BÜYÜYEK**  
Raporunda, 2020 yılına yönelik tahminler de yer alıyor. Buna göre, 2020 yılında da ilk üç sıra Tokyo, New York ve Los Angelesi değiştirecek. Londra, 6'ncıdan 4'üncüye yükseliyor, Chicago 4'den 5'e, Paris 5'iden 6'ya iniyor. 2020'den Tokyo'nun GSYİH'si 2005 fiyatlarıyla 1 trilyon 612 milyar dolar, New York'unki 1 trilyon 561 milyar dolara çıkacak. PWC'nin tahminlerine göre, 2020'de İstanbul 27., Ankara 87. büyük ekonomisi şehir olacaktır. Sıranın altına göre Paris ve 2005 fiyatlarıyla, 2020 yılında İstanbul'un GSYİH'si 287 milyar dolar, Ankara'unki ise 87 milyar dolar yükselcek. 2005-2005 döneminde İstanbul yıllık ortalama yüzde 5,2, Ankara ise yüzde 5 büyüyerek, Tokyo yüzde 2, New York yüzde 2,7. Bu büyüme hızlarıyla ilk 100 ilke içinde İstanbul 22., Ankara ise Suda Arabistan'ın başkenti Riyad ile birlikte 24. sırada yer alacak.

**İZMİR 2020'DE 114'ÜNCÜ OLACAK İKİ**  
100'e girmeyen Türkiye'nin ikinci büyük şehri İzmir ise 2020 yılına kadar yıllık ortalama yüzde 4,9 büyüyerek, PWC'nin tahminlerine göre, İzmir'in sıralama sırası partisiyle GSYİH'si 2020 yılında 62 milyar dolara çıkacak. İstanbul 117'nci sırada yer alan İzmir, 2020 yılında İstanbul'un ardından 114'üncü sırada olacak. 2020 yılında 100'üncü olan Almaty'nin 100'üncü sıradan 73'üncüye düşecek. İzmir'in 2020 yılında ilk 100'e girmemesi için yıllık ortalama büyüme hızının yüzde 5,9'a çıkması gerekiyor.

## Yetkin'den şeker pancarı açıklaması

**■ TÜRKİYE** Ziraatçılar Derneği Başkanı Ibrahim Yetkin, Şeker Kurumu'nun, (Hükümetin ve Sanayi ve Ticaret Bakanlığının pancar fiyatları konusunda belirleyiciliği bulunmamaktadır) açıklamasının kamuoyuna yansıtılmasını bekliyor. Yetkin, satışın güdülmesi fiyatlarındaki enflasyonun ortadan kalkması nedeniyle şeker pancarı alan fiyatının bu yıl Türk Şeker A.Ş tarafından yüzde 10 düşürüldüğünü, bu durumda, PANKOBİRLİK başta olmak üzere üretici kesimin temsilcileri tarafından değerlendirildiğini ifade etti.

**ANKARA**, dünya ekonomisine yön veren, en büyük ekonomiyi sahip yüz şehir içinde 42 milyar dolarla 94'üncü sırada yer aldı. Uluslararası danışmanlık şirketi PricewaterhouseCoopers'in (PWC) "Dünyada En Büyük Şehir Ekonomileri Hangileri ve Bu 2020 Yılında Nasıl Değişecek" başlıklı Mart 2007 tarihli raporuna göre 2020 yılında Ankara 87 milyar dolar satın alma gücüyle dünyada 87'nci büyük ekonomi olacak.



## Savunma sanayi ve yazılım sektörlerinde bir numarayız

**O**STİM Sanayi ve İnovasyon Derneği'nin (OSIAD) Dernek Meclisinde yapılan 16. Olağan Genel Kurul toplantısında konuşan Ankara Sanayi Odası Başkanı Zahir Çalğayan, Ankara'nın savunma sanayi, yazılım sektörü ve elektronik sektörü alanlarında bir numaralı okulağına belirterek, bunda sanayi ve inovasyon enstrajilerinin de önemli bir rol oynadığını ifade etti. ASIAD'da bir ilki gerçekleştirilen OSIAD'da bir ofis kurdularını anlatan Çalğayan, büyüklük sanayinin Odaya geleneksel birimleri buradan bulduklarını ifade etti. Türkiye'de nitelikli insan yetiştirilmesinin önemine vurgu yapan Çalğayan, "başka önemli nokta, milli bir politika olması" dedi. Milliğin öneminin yüksek olduğunu, milli bir politika olması dedi. Milliğin öneminin yüksek olduğunu, milli bir politika olması dedi.



## KOBİ'ler sahihsizlikten kucülüyor

**■ OSIAD** Başkanı Nihat Güllü de Türkiye'de bu sektörlerin büyüyen KOBİ'lerin sahihsizlikten kucülüyor. Çalğayan, büyüyen KOBİ'lerin sahihsizlikten kucülüyor. Çalğayan, büyüyen KOBİ'lerin sahihsizlikten kucülüyor. Çalğayan, büyüyen KOBİ'lerin sahihsizlikten kucülüyor.

**55'İ BİR 2023 (ALTIYAS)**  
Türkiye'de bütün problemleri kısa süren programlar yapmak okulağına vurgu yapan Çalğayan, ilkbir 2008, 2009 programları yerine 2025 yılı gibi uzun dönemli programlara önem verileceğini söyledi. Bu kapsamda ilerletilecek Ankara'nın "2025 Stratejik Gelecek Tasarımı" çalışmalarını

Çalğayan, "büyükşehir gelişmelerini ilkbir 2023 (ALTIYAS) olarak tanımladığını ifade etti. Çalğayan, "büyükşehir gelişmelerini ilkbir 2023 (ALTIYAS) olarak tanımladığını ifade etti. Çalğayan, "büyükşehir gelişmelerini ilkbir 2023 (ALTIYAS) olarak tanımladığını ifade etti.



## “Ankara turizm kenti olabilir”

Turizm Geliştirme Vakfı Başkanı Ayça Adalılar, Ankara’da turizme yeterince önem verilmediğini belirterek, kentin sağlık ve kongre merkezine dönüştürülebileceğini söyledi

**TÜRKİYE’NİN** öz değerleri, kültür eserleri ve organik gıdalarıyla dünyada sesini duyurabilmesi amacıyla 1983’te Cumhurbaşkanlığı emriyle kurulan Turizm Geliştirme Vakfı, tüm ülkede olduğu gibi Başkent’te de turizmin nabzını tutuyor. Vakıf Başkanı Ayça Adalılar, Ankara’da turizme yeterince önem verilmediğini savunarak, kentin sağlık ve kongre merkezine dönüştürülmesi gerektiğini söyledi. Eğitimli personelin turizmdeki önemini vurgulayan Adalılar, Başkent’in turizm kapısının açık olduğunu belirtti. Vakıf Başkanı Adalılar, sektörde dikkat edilmesi gerekenleri SABAH Ankara’ya anlattı.

### SAGLIK KENTI OLMALI

Başkent’teki üniversite ve hastanelerin Türkiye’deki en donanımlı kurumlar olduğunu belirten Adalılar, “Başkent, Londra ve Brüksel gibi sağlık merkezine dönüştürülmelidir. Yeterli donanımlara sahip olan şehrin turizm kapasitesi açık” dedi. Ankara’nın Başkent olması nedeniyle de iş ve kongre turizminin burada ağırlık kazanması gerektiğini belirten Adalılar, “Şehirde butik oteller yok. Yurtiçinden ve yurtdışından gelen iş adamları istedikleri standartlarda kalacak yer bulamıyor. İstanbul ve İzmir, bu konuda Ankara’yı geçti. Kent içine yığılan oteller, şehir dışına taşınmalı, teknolojiyle donatılmalı” diye konuştu.

Başkent otellerinde ağırlanacak misafirler için gıdanın çok önemli olduğunu belirten Ayça Adalılar, konukların organik gıdada ısrarcı olduğunu, bu nedenle Vakıf olarak organik tarıma önem verdikleri anlattı. Nallıhan, Ayaş ve Beypazarı tarım arazilerinde kardinal üzüm ve böğürtlen fidanlarının yetiştirildiğini söyle-

yen Adalılar, “Vakfın işletmesi çiftçilere fidan dağıtımını yapıyor. Her türlü organik sebze ve meyve yetiştiriciliği destekleniyor. Otellerde de bu ürünler kullanılıyor” dedi.

### PLASTİK YASAKLANMALI

Başkent otellerinde denetim yaptıklarını anlatan Adalılar, “Otellerde naylon kullanımına karşıyız. Gıdalara önem veriyoruz. Plastik torbali yiyecekler otellere girmez. Yoğurtlar cam ya da toprak kase içinde olmalı. Deterjan kesinlikle tüketilmemeli, renksiz sıvı sabun kullanılmalı. Müstehri memnuniyetini sağlamalıyız. Havluların sentetik olmaması gerekiyor. Dünya standartlarına göre de çarşaf döşemelerinin 81 tel patiskadan yapılmış olması lazım” diye konuştu. Otel personelinin dörtte birinin sertifikalı olmasına dikkat çeken Adalılar, “Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı belgeli sertifikalı veriyoruz. Eğitimlerimizi Valilik ve Kaymakamlık ile ortaklaşa yürütüyoruz. Lise ve üniversite mezunlarına 11 aylık personel eğitimi veriyoruz” diye konuştu. **Serpil UYGUN**









1. Metro 6 yıldır tamamlanmadı

2. Gençlik Parkı harabeye döndü

3. Ankara hâlâ karanlık

# Projeler başka bahara kaldı!

Ankara Belediye Başkanı Gökçek, 2001 yılında çıkarılan ve hayata geçirilmesi için hazırlanan önceki 2004 tarihli ve 2009'un tamamlanacağı söylenen 'Yüksek Hızlı Demiryolu' projesinin, 2009'da da bir başka bahara ertelendiğini açıkladı.

**Ankara hâlâ karanlık**

2006'da enerji ve su için yapılan çalışmaların, Ankara'da karanlık ve su sıkıntısı yaşanmaya başlamasına neden olduğu bildirildi. Ankara'da karanlık ve su sıkıntısı yaşanmaya başlamasına neden olduğu bildirildi.

**50 yeni altgeçit sözü**

Ankara'da 50 yeni altgeçit sözü verildi. Ankara'da 50 yeni altgeçit sözü verildi.

4. Tarihî Kent Projesi belirsiz

5. AOC'ye yatırım plana takıldı

6. Kuşulu Kavşağı ertelendi

### Metro 6 yıldır tamamlanmadı

2001'de başlatılan Ankara Metro projesi, 6 yıldır tamamlanmadı. Proje, 2001 yılında başlatılmıştı. Ancak, 2004'te çıkarılan yeni kanunla, projenin tamamlanması için süre uzatıldı. Şu anda, projenin tamamlanması için çalışmalar devam ediyor.

### Kuşulu Kavşağı inşaatı baktırdı

Ankara'da Kuşulu Kavşağı inşaatı baktırdı. İnşaat, 2006'da başlamıştı. Ancak, inşaatın ilerlemesi yavaş oldu. Şu anda, inşaatın tamamlanması için çalışmalar devam ediyor.

### 50 yeni altgeçit sözü

Ankara'da 50 yeni altgeçit sözü verildi. Ankara'da 50 yeni altgeçit sözü verildi.

### Ankara hâlâ karanlık

2006'da enerji ve su için yapılan çalışmaların, Ankara'da karanlık ve su sıkıntısı yaşanmaya başlamasına neden olduğu bildirildi. Ankara'da karanlık ve su sıkıntısı yaşanmaya başlamasına neden olduğu bildirildi.

### Ulus belirsizliğini koruyor

Ulus bölgesinde belirsizlikler devam ediyor. Bölge, 2006'da belirsizliğini koruyor. Bölge, 2006'da belirsizliğini koruyor.

### Gençlik Parkı harabeye döndü

Ankara'da Gençlik Parkı harabeye döndü. Park, 2006'da harabeye döndü. Park, 2006'da harabeye döndü.

### AOC'ye yatırım plana takıldı

AOC'ye yatırım plana takıldı. Yatırım, 2006'da takıldı. Yatırım, 2006'da takıldı.

# Ankara'da satış değeri yüzde 32 düştü

**T**APU ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü'nün 2006 yılı verilerine göre, Türkiye genelindeki emlak satışları 2006'da hızla düşerken, toplam satış değerinde artış gözlemlendi. Emlağın en değerli olduğu il yine İstanbul olurken, Ankara'da "toplam satış değerinde" düşüş gözlemlendi. Ankara Tüm Emlakçılar Meslek Odası ve Müşavirleri Federasyonu Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Ali Taylan, bu düşüşün nedenini şöyle yorumladı:

**NEDEN ANLAŞILMIŞ KONUT KREDİSİ**

Satış sayısındaki artış 2 nedene dayanabilir. Birincisi, "konut kredisi" kullanılabilirliği için "anlaşılmalı konut satışı" yapılması. İkincisi de önceki yıl satılan ancak inşaat tamamlanmadığı için tapu işlemleri 2006'ya sarkan gayrimenkuller. Satış değerlerindeki artış da "fiyatların yükselmesinden" kaynaklanıyor. Bunun temel gerekçesi 2006 yılı itibarıyla emlak vergisinde bazı alınacak metre kare birim değerlerin artması ve banka kredileri için değerler yüksek gösterilmesi.



**BÖLGE BAZINDA ANALİZ YAPILMALI**

Ankara'da "toplam satış değerinde" düşüş gözlenmesinin nedenini yorumlamak için önce bölge bazında kapsamlı bir analiz yapmak gerekiyor. Ankara'daki asgari metrekare birim değerleri mantıklı belirlenir. Arkadaşlarımız her yılki yeniden değerlendirme oranlarını baz aldılar, ona eşdeğer bir artış yaptılar. Dikkat edin Ankara'da hiçbir yerde doğru dürüst dava da açılmadı.

**SATIŞ DEĞERİ YÜZDE 32 DÜŞTÜ**

Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü'nün 2006 yılı verilerine göre, emlağın en değerli olduğu il yine İstanbul oldu. İstanbul'da geçen sene 188 bin 578 gayrimenkul satıldı. Odenen toplam tutar da 12,4 milyar YTL oldu. Buna göre, kentte bir önceki yıla oranla satışlar yüzde ,7 geriledi ancak toplam satış değeri yüzde 30 artış gösterdi. Ankara'da ise bunun tersi bir tablo oluştu. Başkent'teki satışlar önceki yıla oranla yüzde 5,7 azalırken, 134 bin 735'e indi. Ancak toplam satış değerindeki düşüş, yüzde 32'yi buldu ve 3 milyar 992 milyon YTL olarak gerçekleşti.

## APPENDIX E

### NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS ABOUT SÜMERBANK

E.1. 29 AUGUST 2003 - TUMGAZETELER NEWS PORTAL

# tüm gazeteler

file:///C:/Documents%20and%20Settings/ozge/Desktop/TEZ/GAZETE%20HABERLERI/S%  
30 Ocak 2008 Çarşamba 20:25:26

## Sümerbank tarihe karışıyor

ANKARA - Cumhuriyetin kuruluşunun ardından başlatılan sanayileşme hamlesinin sembol isimlerinden biri Sümerbank oldu. 1933 yılında kurulan Sümerbank'ın temel hedefi ülkenin yer üstü kaynaklarını değerlendirmektir. Atatürk Merinos tesisinin açılışını bizzat yaparak Sümerbank'a ve sanayileşmeye verdiği önemi ortaya koymuştu. Sümerbank özelleştirme kapsamına alındığı 1987 yılına kadar da yerli sanayinin simge isimlerinden biri oldu. Üretimini iki yıl önce durduran Sümer Holding, son mağazalarını da kapatıyor. Ankara'daki son mağazada stoklardaki son ürünler satılıyor.

Sümer Holding Genel Müdürü'nün verdiği bilgiye göre 4 milyon YTL'lik stokun eritilmesi için halen tek açık mağaza olan Ankara Ulus'ta satış yapılıyor. Satılmayan ürünlerin ihtiyaç sahiplerine dağıtılması için Çocuk Esirgeme ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Fonu gibi kurumlarla da görüşülüyor. Ulus mağazası, ürünler tükenene ya da devredilene kadar açık kalacak. Daha sonra mağaza ihaleyle kiraya verilecek.

2006-10-04 19:20:05 NTV-MSNBC

# tüm gazeteler

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30 Ocak 2008 Çarşamba 16:59:51

## Sümerbank` ı tarihten sileceğiz

Maliye Bakanı **Kemal Unakıtan** , `Efendim kar edeni de satıyorsunuz, zarar edeni de satıyorsunuz) Satacağız tabii. Kar edeni de satacağız, zarar edeni de satacağız. Neden, devlet sanayici olmaz ondan` dedi. Unakıtan, **İSO` nun Türkiye` nin 500 Büyük Sanayi Kuruluşu 2004 yılı sonuçları ve ekonomideki son gelişmelerin ele alındığı temmuz ayı Olağan Meclis Toplantısı` na katıldı. Bakan Unakıtan** , şöyle konuştu: `Ekonomik faaliyetleri devlet idare edemez. Onun için de özelleştirme çok mühim. Özelleştirme bir devlet için, daha doğrusu Türkiye için... Devleti ekonomik faaliyetlerden kurtarıncaya kadar devam edilmesi lazım. Hiçbir ekonomik faaliyetin devletin üstünde kalmaması lazım. Çünkü ekonomik bir yaklaşım değil. Devlet işletmeci olamaz. Devlet sanayici olamaz.`

**Bakan Kemal Unakıtan** , buna ilişkin Sümerbank örneğini vererek, yakında Sümerbank` ın tarihten silineceğini kaydetti. Unakıtan, `Yakında Sümerbank tarihten siliniyor artık, bitirdik. Elinde bir şey kalmadığı gibi ismini de kaldırıyoruz. İsim hakkını satarsanız o başka` dedi. Unakıtan, Sümerbank , Karadeniz Bakır , SEKA gibi işletmelerin hepsinin bir ad altında toplanacağını ve bitirileceğini söyledi. Koç` la görüştü

**Bakan Unakıtan** , sigaraya getirilecek vergi düzenlemesi konusunda, bu hafta içerisinde,tahminlerine göre bugün bir açıklama yapılabileceğini belirterek, `Maktu ve nispi iki türlü vergi sistemi geliyor` dedi. **Bakan Unakıtan** , Koç Holding Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı **Mustafa Koç** ile yaptığı görüşmede, Yapı Kredi Bankası konusunun mu gündeme geldiğinin sorulması üzerine, `Bu yasayla ilgili yakın ilgisi var. Neden? Sandıklar bakımından. Bu sandıklar meselesi Cumhurbaşkanı` nin vetosundan sonra belirsizliğe girmiş gibi durum oldu. Halbuki burada biz hükümet olarak belirsizliği kabul etmiyoruz. Bir an önce bu kanunu aynen, tekrar kabul edeceğiz` diye konuştu.

2005-07-28 14:18:01 HO Terdiman



# tüm gazeteler

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Güngör URAS

## Sümerbank'ı 17 yıldır sata sata bitiremedik

Sümerbank'ı özelleştiriyoruz diyerek, hükümetlerimiz Sümerbank'ı doğradı, biçti ve de parça parça satışa çıkardı. Hükümetlerimiz 11 yıldır Sümerbank'ı satıyor. Sümerbank ne dev bir kuruluşmuş ki, hala bitmedi. Şimdilerde bu kuruluşun başında olan yönetici de, "Elimizden geleni yapıyoruz ... Satıyoruz satıyoruz bitmiyor" diyerek dertleniyor. (Dünya, 17.5.2004, sayfa 9) Mustafa Kemal, Sümerbank'ı 1933 yılında kurdu. Türk halkı Sümerbank fabrikaları sayesinde, basmayı, divitini, patiskayı, kefen bezini öğrendi. Doğru dürtüst "iskarpın" giydi. Daha sonra da Sümerbank fabrikalarının deneyimine ve kadrosuna dayalı olarak özel sektörümüz iplik, dokuma ve tekstille giyim sanayiinde gelişme imkanı buldu. Sümerbank'ın pamuklu sektöründe 20, yünlü ve halı sektöründe 10, deri ve kundura sektöründe 4, kimya sektöründe 6, toprak ve seramik sektöründe 6, ticaret sektöründe 4, çimento sektöründe 1, kağıt sektöründe 3, demir - çelik sektöründe 1 işletmesi ve araştırma ve geliştirme yapan 1 kuruluşuyla toplam 56 tesisi mevcuttu. Ayrıca 49 şubeli bir bankası vardı. Bunların hepsi satışa çıkarıldı. Sakarya Traktör Sanayi İşletmesi, Adıyaman ve Malatya Pamuklu Sanayi işletmeleri satıldı. Banka satıldı. Nazilli Basma Fabrikası ile İzmir Basma Fabrikası bedelsiz olarak devredildi. Adana Çırçır İşletmesi tasfiye edildi. Beykoz Deri Kundura Fabrikası'nın Tümösan Motor Sanayi'nin, Bakırköy Konfeksiyon Fabrikası'nın, Diyarbakır Pamuk İpliği Fabrikası'nın satışı yapıldı. Devir için "onay" bekleniyor. Sümerbank tesislerinde 62 bin kişi çalışıyordu. Çalışan sayısı 3 bin 500'e indi. Satılmayan 13 fabrika kaldı. Bunlardan en önemlisi Bursa'nın kalbi olan Merinos Fabrikası. Sümerbank'ın satışa çıkarılan gayrimenkulleri üzerindeki tüm hacizler Merinos Fabrikası'na aktarıldığından Merinos satışa çıkarılmıyor. Yoksa o da satılacak... Sümerbank'ın 24 iştiraki ve 14 de mağazası vardı. Onlar da satışta... Sümerbank'ın batıdaki tesislerine talip çıkıyor da doğudaki tesisleriyle kimse ilgilenmiyor... Kuruluşun tepe yöneticisi yakınıyor. Diyor ki, "Sümerbank'ı satıp bitiremememizin önündeki en büyük engel doğudaki fabrikalara talep olmaması. Halbuki doğudaki fabrikalar hem bina olarak hem de makine ve teknoloji olarak batıdakilerden daha yeni... Sümerbank fabrikalarını alanlar gayrimenkul yatırımı olarak alıyor. Fabrikalar fabrika değerinden değil, gayrimenkul değerinden satılıyor." Sayın okuyucularım, ben bu yazıyı özelleştirmeye karşı tavır almak, Sümerbank'ın özelleştirilmesini eleştirmek için değil, "durum tespiti" için yazıyorum. Sümerbank bir "tarih"ti. Türk ekonomisinin önemli bir kurumuydu. Ekonominin ve özellikle tekstil ve giyim sanayinin temeliydi. Yıllar geçince şartlar değişti. Özelleştirilmesine karar verildi. Bunların hepsi doğru... Yanlış olan, özelleştirme adı altında Sümerbank'ın kamuya ait değerlerini, ekonomi için önem taşıyan üretim tesislerini, gayrimenkul spekülâtorlerine peşkeş çekmektir. Yanlış olan, Sümerbank şemsiyesi altında yılların birikimi olan yatırımları, makineleri, yetişmiş insan gücünü, pazan "yok etmek"tir. \* \* \* Başka ülkeler de özelleştirme yaptı. Yapıyor. Ama, o ülkelerde kamuya ait değerler, ekonomi için önem taşıyan üretim tesisleri şartlı olarak satılıyor. Bu tesisler, tesisleri modernize edecek, yaşatacak, büyütecek, istihdamı sürdürececek, üretimi koşturacak - coşturacak alıcılara satılıyor. Tesisleri yaşatacak ve üretimi sürdürececek olanlara özelleştirilecek tesisler gerekirse bedelsiz olarak veriliyor. Bizdeyse özelleştirilen fabrikaların alanlar, makineleri hurdacıya satarak, arsalarının üzerine site inşa ediyor, market açıyor. "Hazine"ye para girsin de, satın alan tesisleri ne yaparsa yapsın şeklinde özelleştirmeyle ekonomi kan kaybediyor. (Dikkat buyurunuz: "Özelleştirme"yi değil, bizim "özelleştirme" adı altında yaptığımız yanlışları eleştiriyorum.) guras@milliyet.com.tr

2004-08-31 21:00:00 Milliyet



# tümgazeteler

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Haluk Şahin

## Hüzünlü bir kapanış

Siz hiç bir dönemin sona erişine kendi gözlemlerinizle tanık oldunuz mu? Ben oldum. Dün, bir hayat tarzına damgasını basmış olan Sümerbank mağazalarından en sona kalanlardan birisinin kapanışını izledim. Anılar denizine dalıp çıkarak ve hüzün içinde... Söylentisi akşam üzeri çıkmıştı. `Yarı sabah vapuruyla Sümerbank`ı kapatmaya geliyorlarmış. Biraz önce telefon edip haber vermişler!` `Bu kez hiç ümit yok mu?` `Öyle görünüyor.` 1999 yılında bir kez daha gelmişlerdi kasabanın Sümerbank mağazasını kapatmaya. Ama kasabalılar Ankara`ya protesto mesajları gönderip: `Yapmayın, etmeyin. Kefen alacak yerimiz yok!` diye feryat etmişlerdi. Bunun üzerine karar dondurulmuş, götürülen mallar geri getirilmişti. Bu kez kimsede protesto edecek güç kalmamış. Oysa, kasabada hala manifaturacı dükkanı açılmadı. Yani, kefen satan yer yok! Belediye, kapatma haberini duyunca ne olur ne olmaz diye dört kefenlik bez almış Sümerbank`tan. Ve hesabını kapatmış! Adalı bir kadın: `Okulların açılmasına şurada ne kaldı. Nereden önlük bezi alacağız?` diye homurdanıyor. Bitkisel hayata girişinden bu yana yıllar geçmesine rağmen Sümerbank mağazalarının bazı yerlerde hala işlevsel olduğunu anlıyorum. Demek ki, bazı konularda hala aşılamamış. Belki hiçbir zaman aşılmayacak. Yo, merak etmeyin, devletin `şu zamanda` manifaturacılık ve kunduracılık yapması gerektiğini savunacak değilim. O bir dönemdi, geride kaldı. Ama, Sümerbank`ın da hakkının yenmemesi gerektiğini kasabalılarla konuştukça daha iyi anlıyorum. Onlara göre, Sümerbank malları piyasadaki rakiplerinden daha sağlam, dayanıklı ve ucuzdu. Sağlam, dayanıklı ve ucuz... Tüketim ekonomisi dönemine uygun düşen sıfatlar değil bunlar... Elbette birileri kasabadaki kefen ve önlük bezi boşluğunu dolduracak... Ama, güvenilen bir kurum olarak Sümerbank`ın yeri doldurulacak mı? İkinci Dünya Savaşı yıllarının çocuğu olarak, Sümerbank`ın patiskasından donlar, pazeninden gömlekler, kösesinden pabuçlar giymiş olan biri olarak, çağın ruhuna aykırı düşen hüznümü mazur görün. Hayat arz ve talep yasalarından ibaret değil ki! Hamiş: `Sümerbank mağazaları çoktan özelleştirilmemiş miydi?` diye soranlar olabilir. Bankadan ayrılarak tasfiye için Sümer Holding A.Ş.`ye aktarılmış son mağazalar kapatılmakta. Dün Bozcaada`nı kapatıldı. Şu sıralar Sivas, Diyarbakır, Van gibi büyük yerlerdeki il mağazalarının kapılarına kilit asılıyor... Sıra Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir ve Bursa`dakine geliyor. Dedim ya, bitmiş bir dönemin son törenleri yapılıyor...

2003-08-29 21:00:00 Radikal





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01 Ağustos 2005 / Pazartesi

## Sümerbank'a saygı duruşu

İmparatorluğun fabrika mirasını günümüze kadar taşıyan ve özelleştirilen Sümerbank'ta, "Uğurlar olsun kurtulduk" sloganıyla değil, çelenklerle hüznümlü bir vedalaşma gerekiyor



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Sümerbank özelleştirildi. Bazı binaların devlet kuruluşları alıyor, bazılarının ne olduğunu bilmiyorum. Sümerbank'tan artan tesisler ve işyerlerinde kullanımdan çıkmış tezgah ve eşyalar, artık kullanılmayan kırtasiye çeşitleri sandık ve dolaplara yığılı. Maliye Bakanı Kemal Unakıtan, "Sümerbank tarihe gömüldü" diyor. Biz sloganları severiz. Sümerbank'ın kapatılması ve devredilmesi iktisadi bir gereklilikse, şüphesiz bu gerek yerine getirilir. Muhtemelen bu tip bir üretim artık piyasanın taleplerine cevap veremiyordur ve yapısal yenilenme de mümkün olmamaktadır, o takdirde tesisler kapatılır ama bu özelleştirme furcasında nelerin açılıp kapatılacağına toptancı zihniyetle değil, ayrıntılı incelemelerle karar verilmesi gerekir. Mesela taşrada 20 küsur yeni üniversite açmak da, bazı yanlış kapatmalar kadar vahim sonuçlar getirebilir.



### Eski bir zirhinin hurdaya çıkarılması kadar hüznümlü

Sümerbank dayı en az, bir zamanın savaşlarında denizleri tutmuş eski bir zirhinin hurdaya çıkarılması kadar hüznümlü ve tahammülü zor bir olaydır. Bazı zaruretlere boyun eğsek de zor kabul etmemiz gerekir. İmparatorluğun 19uncu yüzyılında, yeni ve acımasız dünyaya intibak savaşlarından birinin kalesi olan Beykoz Deri-Kundura Fabrikası orduyu modern biçimde donatan modern sanayi tesislerindedir. Sümerbank'ın cam tesisleri en gerekli tüketimi karşılayan, sanatları teşvik edip besleyen ve sanayinin temellerini oluşturan kurumlardan biriydi.

Sümerbank elbette cumhuriyet bankasıdır ama onun sahip olduğu tesislerin temelleri imparatorluktan kalmaz. O temeller üstünde beslenip çalışan mühendisler bugünkü Türkiye'nin yüzünü güldürüyor. 19uncu yüzyılın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu sanayinin öncü uluslarından değildi; ama yaşamak ve ordusunun savaşabilmesi için sanayiye izleyen uluslardan olmak zorundaydı.

### Türkiye'yi inşa edecek mühendisler buradan çıktı

Ordunun donanımı için kumaş ve fes üreten feshane, deri-kunduraları için Beykoz tesisleri, Tersane ve Tophane derken Maliye'nin sanayinin gelişmesi için beslediği porselen fabrikaları ile Türkiye'de bacalar tütmeye başladı ve belki Batı Avrupa'daki gibi sanayici burjuvazi ve geniş işçi sınıfı ortaya çıkmaya başladı; geleceğin Türkiye'sini inşa edecek mühendis ve teknik elemanlar ordusu ortaya çıktı. Üretim ilk anda bir tek müşteriye, orduya ve bahnyeye yönelikti. Ordu için üretilen malzeme özellikle sıkıntılı savaş yıllarında kitlik içindeki halka da yaradı.

Sümerbank'ın varlığı yetersiz de olsa savaş sıkıntılı içindeki alt sınıf ve fakir insanlara bir nebze ferahlık getirdi. Mektep bitiren mühendis, sanat okulu mezunu ustalar iş buldu, sonraları özel sektörün gelişen fabrikaları buralardan mühendis ve teknik elemanlar sağladı. İmparatorluğun fabrika mirasını bugüne taşıyan Sümerbank için, "Uğurlar olsun kurtulduk" sloganıyla değil, çelenklerle hüznümlü bir vedalaşma gerekir.

Bizim toplumda insanlar köşeli düşünmeyi sevmeyiz; kolay düşünce ilginç slogan ve yargılamalar ortaya çıkarır. Geçenlerde bir hanımefendi şehrin ortasında hele deniz kıyısında karakol ve Selimiye gibi kışlaların artık modern dünyaya pek uyum sağlayamadıklarını; bunların otel olması gerektiğini söylüyordu. Şu anda İstanbul'da, gelen turistten vazgeçtik, beynelmül kongreler için dahi rezervasyon yapmak mümkün değil, 2007 yılına gün veriliyor. Bu durumda, böyle laflar edenlerin sayısı kalabalık olsa gerek. Hiç kulak asmayın... Burası eski bir imparatorluğun başkenti, kıyılarında otel de olur, okul da, kışla da, hatta St. Petersburg'da olduğu gibi en hoş kıyıda hapisane bile olur. Bu görünüm bir şehrin hafızası ve tarih içinde olmuş silüetidir. O yüzden Galatasaraylılar, Kabataşlılar, hoş meşrutalar yani imamevleri olan Beylerbeyi, Ortaköy, Dolmabahçe gibi camilerin cemaatleri yerine sahip çıksınlar.

### Çirkin binalar yıksınlar, yerlerine otel yapsınlar

Otel elbette gerekli ve otelcilere de son derece saygımız var. İşini iyi yapan otelciler milletin yüzünü güldürür, uygarlığımızı temsil eder ve Maliye'nin kesesini doldurur. Semaye sahiplerine bir tavsiyemiz var; Üsküdar'ın tepelerini dolduran veya sur içinde biten çirkin binaları satın alıp bloklar halinde yıksınlar ve etrafa uyumlu projelerle şık oteller yapsınlar. Eski bina ve müesseseleri otelleştirmek, bunlardan bazılarının altına garaj yaparken kazılarda çıkan eski eser, mozaik ve sarnıçları betonla doldurmak yerine bu daha ehven ve hayırlı bir iştir.

Estetik "iki kere iki dört" gibisinden herkes için zorunlu ve geçerli kurallar ve yaklaşımlar içermiyor. Mülk çizgilerde anlaşınlar kadar, garip ayrıntıların üzerine takılanlar da var. Nitekim bir eğitim ve tecrübe noksanlığı, kültürel mirasa sahip olmadan maddî imkanlar edinmek bazı ahvalde yanlış karar ve uygulamalara neden olur. İstanbul bunu acı bir şekilde yaşayan dünya başkentidir.

## APPENDIX F

### NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS ABOUT *TEKEL*

#### F.1. 20 SEPTEMBER 2007 – *HÜRRIYET ANKARA* NEWSPAPER



## Tarihi *TEKEL* binası restore ediliyor

**A**NKARA'nın Cumhuriyet dönemi yapılarından tarihi Tekel Başmüdürlüğü binasının restorasyonu, 1 Ekim 2007 tarihinde yeniden ihale edilecek.

Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü yetkilileri, 15 Mayıs 2006 tarihinde ihale edilen ve 20 Haziran-26 Kasım 2006 tarihleri arasında tamamlanması öngörülen tarihi Tekel Başmüdürlüğü binasının onarımı işinin, yeniden ihale edileceğini ifade ederek, ihalenin 1 Ekim'de açılacağını belirttiler. Bugüne kadar binanın restorasyon çalışmaları için 295 bin 825 YTL 23 Ykr harcadığını, restorasyon uygulamalarının tamamlanması için de 4 milyon 902 bin 691 YTL 12 Ykr ödenek gerektiğini aktaran yetkililer, şunları kaydettiler:

"15 Mayıs 2007 tarihinde ihale edilen iş kapsamında, söz konusu binada restorasyon projesi doğrultusunda öncelikli olarak çatı, sıva raspaşı, sükküm işleri ile yapının temel-kiriş bağlantılarının araştırılmasına başlanmıştır.

### STATİK YAPI DEĞİŞTİRİLİYOR

Eski Tekel Başmüdürlüğü binası onarımı işi içerisinde yüklenici firma ile yapılan sözleşme gereği uhdesinde olan statik projelerin hazırlanması aşamasında, ODTÜ İnşaat Mühendisliği Bölümü ile Gazi Üniversitesi Mühendislik-Mimarlık Fakültesi Dekanlığına müracaat edilerek, yapıda servis ve deprem yükleri açısından gerekli incelemeler yaptırılmış ve söz konusu birimlerce hazırlanan statik ön raporlarda binanın statik yapısını değiştirilmesi gerektiği ortaya çıkmıştır.

Söz konusu binaya ait statik raporlar doğrultusunda iç duvar ve döşemelerin yıkılarak rekonstrüksiyon yapılmasına yönelik hazırlanan mimari projeler Ankara Kültür ve Tabiat V kararı ile onaylanmıştır. Rekonstrüksiyon yapılmasına yönelik hazırlanan mimari projelerin yapıya uygulanabilmesi için gereken imalatların maliyetinin mevcut sözleşme ile yapılamayacağı ortaya çıktığından dolayı anılan iş karşılıklı olarak tasfiye edilmiştir." ■ A.A.



## "Tekel Özelleştirmesi Yüz Binlerce İnsanı Olumsuz Etkileyecek"

*Tek Gıda-İş Genel Sekreter Yardımcısı Özerman, Tekel özelleştirmesinin sosyal maliyetinin getirisinden çok daha büyük olduğunu vurguladı. Tütün-Sen "Tütüncülük bitiyor" dedi.*

Türkiye Tütün Müskirat Gıda ve Yardımcı İşçileri Sendikası (**Tek Gıda İş**) Genel Sekreter Yardımcısı **Tülay Özerman**, "Tekel özelleştirmesi alıcı firmaların önemli bir kâr sahasını ele geçirme çabalarını yansıtıyor. Tekel'in yüzde 30'lar civarında pazar payı var. Bu çok önemli bir gelir kaynağı" diye konuştu.

"Sigara her zaman kârlı bir sektördür. Tekel'in birtakım verimlilik ve kârlılık sorunları varsa bu kötü yönetiliyor olmasındandır. Tekel yönetimini kastetmiyorum. Tekel'in yatırım kararlarını zamanında ve yerinde almasına izin verilmiyor."

Tekel'in sigara bölümünün özelleştirilmesiyle ilgili ihaleye 18 Şubat'ta dört grup teklif verdi.

### "Çalışanlar işsiz kalacak"

Varlık satışı yoluyla gerçekleştirilecek özelleştirmeye Tekel'e ait altı fabrikanın arazileri (arazisi Milli Emlâk'a ait olan İstanbul'daki hariç), makineleri, hammadde stokları ve toplamda 10 bin tonu bulan tütün stoklarıyla birlikte satılacağına dikkat çeken Özerman, bunun bu fabrikalarda çalışan 3 bine yakın işçi için işsizlik anlamına geleceğini vurguladı.

"Yaprak tütün işletmelerini de sayarsak özelleştirmeden etkilenecek işçi sayısı 13-14 bin civarında olacak. Bu işletmeler alınan tütünü işleyip yarı mamul olarak sigara fabrikalarına yahut ihracat kanallarına aktarıyordu. Sigara fabrikaları kapanınca onları çalıştırmaya devam etmenin de bir esprisi kalmayacak. İki yıl içinde onlar da kapatılır."

### "Tütün üreticisi dibe vuracak"

Özerman, özelleştirmenin tütün üreticilerine etkisiyle ilgili sorumuzu ise şöyle yanıtladı:

- Tekel'in tütün alım piyasasında fiyat tanzim rolü var. Alıcı kimliğiyle rekabet oluşturuyor. Yabancı firmalar satın alırken Tekel'in fiyatı çevresinde dolanıyorlar. Tekel kamu işletmesi olduğu için fiyatı üreticiyi de gözeterek oluşturuyordu. Tekel devreden çıkınca rekabet ortadan kalkacak. Zaten sözleşmeli üretime yönlendirilen üreticilerin fiyatı pazarlık etme şansı kalmayacak.
- En çok tütün ihraç eden Ege'de bunun çarpıcı sonuçları olacak. Doğu ve Güneydoğu daha da kötü etkilenecek. Bu bölgelerde üretilen tütünün tamamına



yakınını Tekel alıyor. Tekel devreden çıkınca 110 bin üretici aile, yani tütünden geçinen yaklaşık 650 bin insan aç kalır.

- Öte yandan, fabrikaların olduğu yerler genelde gelişmişlik sıralamasında aşağılarda. Bu fabrikalar bu illerin ya tek sanayi yatırımı ya da bir başka kamu kuruluşuyla birlikte az sayıdaki sınaî kuruluşlarından. Bunlar o çevrelerin ekonomisini ayakta tutuyor. Kapatıldıklarında esnafın da gelir kaynağı gidecek. Kısacası özelleştirmenin sosyal maliyeti getirisinden çok daha büyük.

### **Tütün-Sen: Tütüncülüğe son darbe**

Tütün Üreticileri Sendikası (**Tütün-Sen**) ise bir basın açıklamasıyla tarım ve gıda sektöründeki hükümet politikalarının çiftçilerin değil çokuluslu şirketlerin çıkarlarını kolladığını ileri sürdü, Tekel özelleştirmesinin durdurulmasını istedi.

Hükümetin daha önce Tekel'in alkol bölümünü özelleştirerek üzüm üreticilerini açlığa mahkum ettiğini savunan sendika, sigara bölümünün özelleştirilmesiyle tütüncülüğe de son darbenin vurulduğunu iddia etti.(KM/EÜ)

**BİA Haber Merkezi - İstanbul**

20 Şubat 2008, Çarşamba

**Kerem MORGÜL**



## **Tekel, Özelleştirmeye Hazır**

### **Tekel'e Ait Sigara Fabrikalarının 'Blok Satış' Yoluyla Özelleştirilmesine Dönük Teknik Hazırlıklar Tamamlandı.**

Tekel'e ait sigara fabrikalarının "blok satış" yoluyla özelleştirilmesine dönük teknik hazırlıklar tamamlandı.

Edinilen bilgiye göre, Özelleştirme İdaresi Başkanlığı tarafından yürütülen çalışmalar sonucunda, Tekel'e ait sigara fabrikaları bir bütün olarak satılacak.

Buna ilişkin şartnameye son şekli verilirken, yetkililer, siyasi otoritenin karar vermesi halinde sigara fabrikalarının özelleştirme ihalelerine 15 gün içinde çıkılabileceğini belirttiler.

Ancak, genel seçimler nedeniyle Tekel'in özelleştirilmesinin seçim sonrasına kaldığına da işaret eden yetkililer, şu değerlendirmede bulundular:

"Biz 6 sigara fabrikasının özelleştirilmesine yönelik bütün teknik çalışmaları tamamladık. Şartnamemiz de hazır. Sadece son değerlendirme rötuşları olabilir.

Halen ikisi yabancı yatırım fonu, biri hem fon hem yatırımcı, ikisi de Türkiye'de yerli ortaklarla farklı alanlarda faaliyette bulunan toplam 5 yatırımcı, Tekel'in özelleştirilmesi ile yakından ilgileniyor.

Söz konusu özelleştirmeye ilgilenen yabancı yatırımcıların fazlalığı da, daha yüksek bir fiyat beklentisi yaratıyor."

Bu arada, Tekel'e ait gayrimenkuller, sigara işletmelerinden ayrı olarak satılacak.

Söz konusu gayrimenkullerin satışını gerçekleştirecek olan Özelleştirme İdaresi, bu gayrimenkuller için de, İstanbul Zincirlikuyu'daki Karayolları arazisi ile İETT'nin Levent'teki arazi satışındaki yöntemi izleyecek.

Gayrimenkullerin satışı için yürütülen çalışmalarda, bu taşınmazlardan daha yüksek rant elde edilmesi için Belediyeler nezdinde girişimde bulunularak, imar planı tadilatına gidiliyor.

İdare, Tekel'e ait gayrimenkullerden en yüksek geliri, Kartal Cevizli'deki işletme sahasından bekliyor.

Hazırlanan Satış Programına göre, özelleştirme sonrası Tekel'i alan firmaya, Cevizli'deki makina ve ekipmanı taşıması için intifa süresi verilecek.

Daha sonra burası, turizm ve ticaret merkezi alanı olarak satışa sunulacak. Satış geliri de Hazine'ye irat kaydedilecek.

Beykoz'da Mey'in boşalttığı Paşabahçe İçki Fabrikası'nın alanı da, intifa süresinin dolmasının ardından turizm tesisi olarak satışa çıkarılacak. Yetkililer, boğaza nazır bu alanın butik otel şeklinde değerlendirilebileceğini belirtiyorlar.

İzmir'de yaprak tütün ve içki fabrikasına ait Alsancak'taki 2 gayrimenkulün de yine imar planı değişikliği yapılarak ihaleye çıkarılması planlanıyor.

Ankara İncek'teki arazi için de proje geliştirilmesi çalışmaları devam ediyor.

Özelleştirme İdaresi yetkilileri, gayrimenkullerin satışına ilişkin proje çalışmalarının 2 ay içinde tamamlanmasının ve daha sonra ihaleye çıkılmasının beklendiğini ifade ettiler.

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## Adanada İşçiler Üretmek İçin Direniyor

*Adana Tekelin kapatmaya direnen kadın işçileri konuşuyor: Çalışma hakkı yaşam hakkı kadar kutsal, bunu öğrendim ben diyor Sevcan. İşçilerin Nazmiye Anası konuşuyor: Kâr eden fabrikayı kapatmak istiyorlar. IMFye söz vermişler. Üretmek istiyoruz biz.*

"İki aydır makine yığınlarına bakmaktan psikolojimiz bozuldu" diyor **Nazmiye Sayın**. "Çalışmak, üretmek istiyoruz biz." Biraz sonra Nazmiye'nin "Sen asıl bununla konuş" diye işaret ettiği **Sevcan Altaş'la** konuşuyoruz. "Ekmek davası hiçbir şeye benzemez. Bunu yaşamayan bilmiyor. Milletvekiline de söyledik bunu."

Nazmiye'yle Sevcan, hükümetin kapatmak istediği Adana Tekel Fabrikası'nın kadın işçileri. 700 işçi, iki ayı aşkın bir süredir, fabrikayı kapattırmamak için işyerini terk etmiyorlar. Maaşlarını almaya devam ediyorlar. Fabrikada Türkiye Tütün, Müskirat, Gıda ve Yardımcı İşçileri Sendikası (TEKGIDA-İŞ) örgütlü. Fabrikanın lokalinde, işçilerle gazeteciler konuşuyor. Biz arkada, Nazmiye'yle ve Sevcan'la sohbet ediyoruz. Nazmiye fabrikanın en eski işçisi; 20 yıldır burada çalışıyor. Erkek işçilerin de, kadın işçilerin de "Nazmiye Anası". "Sadece 700 işçi diye düşünme. Aileleriyle birlikte 4 bin kişi eder bu" diyor Nazmiye.



## 250'sinin kocası çalışmıyor

Biraz önce dışarıydık. Çocuk Hakları ve Haberciliği eğitimine katılan yerel medya temsilcileriyle birlikte Adana'nın İstanbul'un baharını andırır şubatında, fabrikanın bahçesindeydik. Önce sloganlarla karşıladı işçiler bizi; sonra **Ertuğrul Kürkçü** kürsüye çıktı, işçilerle konuştu, yeni liberalizmin basın emekçilerinin de üzerine geldiğini söyledi.

Tütün ekicisi bir ailenin kızı Sevcan. Fabrikaya beş yıl önce gelmiş. Hatay Yayladağ'daki tütün işleme fabrikasından. "Bize ya mevsimlik işçi olarak çalışacaksınız ya da sizi Adana'ya göndereceğiz; orada kadrolu olacaksınız dediler. Üç dört ay süre verdiler düşünmek için. Zor karar verdik; Adana büyük şehir, diye düşündük. Geldik." "Burası toplama kampı gibi" diyor Nazmiye. "Arkadaşlar Tekel'in kapatılan diğer fabrikalarından, alkollü içki fabrikalarından, tütün işleme fabrikalarından, Hatay'dan, Nevşehir'den, Antep'ten buraya geldiler."700 işçinin yaklaşık 300'ü kadın.

"250'sinin kocası çalışmıyor" diyor Nazmiye. "Kadın işçiler gelince, mecburen eşleri de geldi. Kapatma meselesi ortaya çıkınca, evlerde aileler birbirine düştü. Benim eşim de çalışmıyor. Çocukların psikolojisi bozuldu. 4 çocuğum var; okuyorlar."Sevcan'ınsa 12 ve 11 yaşında iki oğlu, 5 yaşında bir kızı var. Kocası marangoz. Beş yıldır işsiz. Kızı kronik bronşit. Evin tek geliri Sevcan'ın geliri. "Önce özelleşecek demişlerdi. 'Özelleştirme durduruldu' denince çok sevindik. Şimdi kapatılacak diyorlar. Onun için direniyoruz. Çalışma hakkı yaşam hakkı kadar kutsal; bunu öğrendim ben."



## "Kâr eden fabrikayı kapatıyorlar"

Önce gece vardiyası kaldırılmış. İki aydır da üretim için mal gönderilmiyor fabrikaya. Nazmiye, "Günlük 50 ton sigara üreten bir fabrika burası" diyor; "4 trilyon değerinde."2000-2005 arasında fabrikanın yüzde 70'i yenilenmiş, 10 trilyon yatırım yapılmış. 2003'teki kârı 13,5 trilyon; 2004'te 14 trilyon.İşçiler, "2005'te üretim kasıtlı olarak sınırlandırıldı. Buna rağmen fabrika 4,5 trilyon kâr etti. Burası Adana'ya ayda 3 trilyon para sağlıyor" diyorlar. Nazmiye'ye kâr eden fabrikayı neden kapatmaya çalıştıklarını soruyorum."IMF'ye söz vermişler" diyor."6 fabrikanın 3'ünü kapatmak için söz vermişler. Bitlis'i, Malatya'yı, Adana'yı. Bunlar kapatılınca, kalanların özelleştirilmesi kolay olacak

çünkü."Ama Bitlis milletvekilleri ağır bastı; bir iki yıldan sonra fabrika yeniden vardiyalı üretime geçti."Mesele yabancı sigara şirketlerinin pazarını açmak. Yoksa 'devlet sigara üretmesin' falan diye düşünen yok. Burası kapanınca bak bakalım; sigara üretiminde, pazarında daralma mı olacak sanıyorsun? Önce kaçak sigarayı önlesinler."Bir paket Maltepe'nin maliyetinin 250 bin lira olduğunu anlatıyor. Satış fiyatıysa 1 milyon 900 bin. "Ama devlet 4 buçuk milyonluk Marlboro'dan da Maltepe'den de aynı özel tüketim vergisini alıyor. 1 milyon 200 bin lira."Sen bu askeriye, polise giden yardımların parası nereden geliyor sanıyorsun? Hep Tekel'in gelirleri bunlar."

### "Çocukları uyurken görüyoruz"

Sevcan, "Adana AKP milletvekili gelip bizi dinledi. Anlatınca ağladı" diyor. "Ama ona 'anlamak için asıl yaşamak gerek' dedik. Başbakan bu sorunu çözecek, dedi. Bana biraz göz boyama gibi geldi; ama inşallah iyi olur."Sevcan milletvekili seçimlerinde de, belediye seçimlerinde de AKP'ye oy vermiş."Ben şimdi burada 'AKP hesap verecek' diye bağıriyorum, ama asıl dert ekmek davası. Sadece üretim istiyoruz."Sevcan'ın maaşı 600 milyon. 150 milyon kira veriyor. 50 milyon iki oğlunun dersane parası. Kızı içinse her ay 100 milyon harcaması gerekiyor."Kızımın tedavisi için bankadan kredi çekmiştim. Bu işyerine güvenerek çektim o krediyi."Direniş için sürekli fabrikada; eve günde yalnızca iki üç saat gidebiliyor."Çocukları ancak uykularında görüyorum. Halimiz ecelini bekleyen hastadan daha kötü. Sosyal yaşantı diye bir şey kalmadı. Önce çocukların karnını doyurmak geliyor. Psikolojimiz berbat. Hale bak; çocuklar bile slogan atıyor, oradan anla."Benim oğlanlar hep takdir teşekkür getirirdi bu seneye kadar. Şimdi karnelerinde zayıflar var."Bir umut bekliyoruz. Sabah bir haber çıkıyor seviniyoruz, akşam bir haber çıkıyor üzülmüyoruz. Nasılız dersin?"Umutla geldik buraya" diyor Sevcan. "Mücadele ede ede sonuna kadar gideceğiz. Başka alternatifi yok bunun. İşçi savaşına döndü."Bu sözden sonra zor, ama "Kapanırsa ne yapacaksınız" diye soruyorum."Herhalde memlekete döneceğiz" diyor. Gözleri buğulanıyor.

"Helalinden, alinteriyle para istiyoruz biz" diyor. "Bunu başbakan iyi bilir; yaz bunu."Ellerini vicdanlarına koysunlar. Birazcık insan sevgisi varsa, kapatmasınlar burayı. Öbür dünyada haram lokmanın hesabını vermek istemiyoruz biz." (TK)

\* Fotoğraflar: **Ahmet Şık**

**BİA Haber Merkezi – Adana 07 Şubat 2006, Salı**  
**Tolga KORKUT**

**Hürriyet**

# Ekonomi

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2 Mayıs 2008

## **BAT: Tekel'i 1932'de düşündük 76 yıl sonra aldık**

Merve ERDİL / ANKARA

**TEKEL sigaranın özelleştirme ihalesini 1 milyar 720 milyon dolar ile kazanan British American Tobacco'nun (BAT) Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Jan de Plessis, firmanın Tekel'i almaya 1930'lu yıllarda karar verdiğini söyledi.**

BAT Başkanı Plessis, British American Tobacco'nun 30 Nisan'da Londra'da düzenlenen yıllık toplantısında (2008) yaptığı konuşmada, Tekel ihalesiyle ilgili ilginç bir detayı açıkladı. BAT firmasının internet sitesinde yayınlanan konuşmaya göre Plessis, BAT çalışanlarına sabır ve uzun vadeli hedeflerden söz ederken, Türkiye'yle ilgili şu örneği anlattı:

### **1930'lara dayanıyor**

"Sabır ve uzun vadeli hedeflerden bahsederken, arşivlerimizden çıkan 1932 yılında yapılan bir Yönetim Kurulu tartışmasını bilmek isteyeceğinizi düşündüm. Burada BAT'ın yaptığı bir teklifi, tartışma tutanaklarından tırnak içinde aktarıyorum, 'Yıllık gideri 10 bin pound olan Türk Tütün Monopolisinin idaresini üstlenmeliyiz.' O tarihte bunun tatmin edici bir anlaşma olacağı düşünülüyordu. Bence yaptığımız modern anlaşma daha iyi ve her ne kadar bazı şeyler daha pahalı olsa bile, kesinlikle 76 yıl beklemeye değer..."

### **Payı 5'e katlanacak**

Plessis, Tekel'i 860 milyon İngiliz pound'uyla satın aldıklarını ve bunun, Türkiye sigara pazarındaki paylarını beşe katlayacağını belirtti. Plessis, Türkiye'deki yatırımlarının uluslararası markalarını genişletmek için daha güçlü bir platform oluşturacağını da bildirdi.