

ARTICLE / ARAŞTIRMA

The Role of Media Practices in Urban Politics: The Case of Sinpaş Altınoran Housing/Residence Project

Medya Pratiklerinin Kentsel Politikadaki Rolü: Sinpaş Altınoran Konut/Rezidans Projesi Örneği

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the reason why media has recently subjected and represented “urban affairs” more intensely. Further, it argues the impact of the media practices which has expanded its urban discourses in the production of urban space and urban image throughout a political and economic perspective. To what circumstances media has succeeded in legitimization about certain urban politics (such as housing politics) is the main concern of this study. In order to (re)draw the relationship among the state, capital and civil society regarding the articulation of media in urban political context, the contemporary urban planning procedure and especially late urban space production practices are investigated. Namely, media has become a significant instrument in creating urban fantasies in housing / living environment. Alongside the aims at increasing the consumption of commodified housing and constructing hegemony; media is used to penetrate planning issues even in juridical progress related the local authority’s planning decisions. The struggle among the civil society, capitalist state actions obviously produce urban space. This assumption is unfortunately altered with media’ instrumental efforts through manufacturing the consent in the public. Hereby, the forms of state intervention in urban space has manipulated in this framework. This article illustrates the put forward premise with a housing project called “Sinpaş Altınoran” which is situated in an urban renewal project area in Ankara. Historical development of the project, jurisdiction process, media relevancies and the political actors/agents involved in this production of space is scanned within this context.

Key words: Civil society; hegemony; housing projects; jurisdiction; local authority; media; planning; production of urban space; urban discourse.

ÖZ

Bu yazı son zamanlarda medyanın neden “kentsel meseleleri” yoğun olarak konu edindiğini ve temsil ettiğini araştırmaktadır. Ayrıca, kentsel söylemlerini genişleten medya pratiklerinin kentsel mekan ve kentsel imge üretimine etkilerini ekonomi politik perspektif ile tartışmaktadır. Ne ölçüde medyanın birtakım kentsel politikaları (konut politikaları gibi) meşrulaştırmayı başardığı çalışmanın ana sorunsalıdır. Devlet, sermaye ve sivil toplum arasındaki kentsel politikalar bağlamındaki ilişkiyi medya eklemlenışı dikkate alınarak yeniden değerlendirmek için; günümüz planlama süreci ve özellikle güncel kentsel mekan üretim pratikleri incelenmektedir. Şöyle ki, medya konut/yaşam çevresi üzerine geliştirilen kentsel fantezilerin yaratımında önemli bir araç haline gelmiştir. Meta haline getirilmiş konutun tüketimini arttırma ve hegemonya inşası amaçlarının yanısıra; medya yargı sürecindeki planlama konuları dahi yerel yönetimlerin planlama kararlarını da etkilemektedir. Sivil toplum ile kapitalist devlet eylemleri arasındaki mücadele sonucu kentsel mekan üretildiği önsavı, medya araçsallıkları ile toplumsal rıza devşirilerek etkilenmektedir. Böylelikle, devletin kentsel mekana müdahale biçimleri de bu çerçevede değişmektedir. Bu makale söz konusu önermeyi Ankara’daki bir kentsel yenileme alanında yer alan “Sinpaş Altınoran” konut projesi ile örneklemektedir. Projenin tarihsel olarak gelişimi, yargı süreci, medya ilgisi ve mekan üretim sürecine dahil olan politik aktörler/kurumlar bu bağlamda irdelenmektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Sivil toplum; hegemonya; konut projeleri; yargı; yerel yönetim; medya; planlama; kentsel mekan üretimi; kentsel söylem.

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Toward A Discussion on New Fantasy of Housing Environment

“Creative subject of the urban fantasy inhabits a scene of production that is almost fully occupied by a multiplicity of economic and political actors, of practices other than architecture, and fails to recognize another possible location for the construction of the urban fantasy scene: the space of reception” (Gandelsonas, 1998, 132).

New Turkey’s agenda has mostly been characterized by the housing projects or commonly known residence projects which point to the most recent urban fantasies. In this context, the instrumental role of mass media shapes new perpetuating urban spatial forms or patterns for the sake of economic and political actors, so that media have become an instrument in this perception, conception and mediation. In other words, this study claims that media involvement in urban issues can be accounted as an emergent mean in determining the process of (re) production of space, materializing this fantasy.

At this point, the causes and consequences of cooperation between state, capital and media ambition, form a particular spatial pattern or a new urban fantasy which is of the main question. The civil society actions arouse to restrain these coalitions’ actions. This is a complementary part of the study. This study is intended to represent the struggle in a prominent fashion through mass media articulation.

The Role of Media in Urban Space and Urban Politics

The theoretical framework of the study indicates a relationship between the production of urban space, state and capital, and the engagement of media practices. Primary references are made to Gramsci’s conceptualization, the civil society, state and media rapports propounded. His contribution to the theory of the state is summarized as follows: “Gramsci saw the capitalist state as being made up of two overlapping spheres, a ‘political society’ (which rules through force) and, a ‘civil society’ (which rules through consent). This is a different meaning of civil society from the ‘associational’ view common today, which defines civil society as a ‘sector’ of voluntary organizations and NGOs. Gramsci saw civil society as the public sphere where trade unions and political parties gained concessions from the bourgeois state, and the sphere in which ideas and beliefs were shaped, where bourgeois ‘hegemony’ was reproduced in cultural life through the media, universities and religious institutions to ‘manufacture consent’ and legitimacy” (Heywood, 1994, 100-101). Mingione claims that for Gramsci, the concept of hegemony is very important because it avoids the use of functionalist methods. State or party policies must not be considered merely as mechanical consequences of specific class interests (1981). They should rather be seen as parts of complex hegemonic strategies or counter-strategies, as the consequences of the

need for dominant class to keep its control over society and of the attempts by other classes to break such control.

Relevancy of Media with Hegemony and Urban Hegemony

Furthermore, in Gramscian terms, hegemony is defined as the ideological domination of the bourgeois or ruling class’ values and norms over dependent classes. Moreover, hegemony can be a very important concept which decodes class relations into political organizations and institutions, and vice versa. Above all, hegemony is the ideological superiority of the prevailing classes in society over the dependent classes. It has an unbalanced and conflicting nature such as capitalist production relations. A primary aim of hegemony is the manufacturing or construction of consent in public. Manufacturing consent simply fills in capitalism’s parameters into the interests and necessities of classes. It reconciles classes’ requirements and it is realized through different apparatus. Media is regarded as one of these apparatuses. According to Althusser (1989) who contributes state theory through inventing ideological apparatus of state, triggers some features about relationship between media and ideology. Althusser enhances the ideological apparatuses in this sense. He proposes that in order to develop state theory, due to discrimination of power and apparatus of state being sufficient, to consider the concept of ideological apparatuses rather the apparatuses of state which are based upon coercion. The ideological apparatuses of state correspond to certain factors such as religion, education, family, legal, politics, unions, cultural and communication, namely media. Moreover, he accepts that every state instruments practices by both ideology and coercion. However, the state’s ideological instruments prioritize ideology entirely. In order to clarify, he asserts that each ideological instrument of the state, aims to reproduce the production forces, and production relations; in other words, reproduce the relations of capitalist exploitation. For him, emergence of ideology is always derived from instruments and the practices of instruments. This is a sort of materialist perspective of ideology (1989). In this regard, Eagleton affirms that ideology is a way of categorizing facts or conditions represented variously. For him, ideology is stenograph of the ideas/discourses scattered infinitely in time and space (1996, 270). Therefore, in addition to a materialist point of view, space, especially urban space is concerned with far-reaching elements.

“Reading Capital won’t help us if we don’t also know how to read the signs in the street” (Kipfer, 2008, 117).

To fix the role of media regarding space correctly, it requires a short discussion on hegemony and urban space. Thus, improving the hegemony with respect to spatial phenomena, Kipfer’s critical standing is useful, because he proposes an articulation of thoughts belonging to Gramsci and Lefebvre. His Neo-Gramscioan-Lefebvrian approach is grounded on “Gramscian reading of Lefebvre” and applies “Gramscian insights in a decidedly urban direction”. According to Kipfer, “linking

Gramsci and Lefebvre may help develop an understanding of the reorganization of capitalism by extending recent middle-range analyses of “urban hegemony” from state theory and urban political economy to everyday life” (2008, 119).

Gramsci and Lefebvre, two philosophers, propose different theories; however, their distinct approaches intersect in hegemony. Kipfer perceives them as complementary. Similarities in the two theories can be observed, for example they both consider “hegemony as the contingent process through which capitalist totality is constructed.” While Gramsci creates an association “between popular culture and “relations of force” among socio-political forces”, Lefebvre establishes a relation “between everyday life, the state, capital and dominant knowledge”. From two perspectives, hegemony is granted a dependent blending of “macro- and micro dimensions of reality, a condensation of base and superstructure”. Moreover, they both regard hegemony as “cultural phenomena - common sense (Gramsci) and everyday life (Lefebvre) they are both preoccupied with contradictory lived experience”, and they mutually accept that “power as a social relationship has multiple, soft and hard, diffuse and centralized, tacit and coercive dimensions.” Besides, just like hegemony they assume counter-hegemony; and for them counter-hegemony is “a non-teleological practice with multiple time space horizons.” Gramsci and Lefebvre claim that urban hegemony associate “micro and macro-dimensions of reality” and “multiple dimensions of power”, which reproduce capitalism (Kipfer, 2008, 126-127).

Lefebvre deals with hegemony in his critique of everyday life. He portrays “everyday life as contradictory” and explains the reasons why he conceptualizes it as such and how he makes correlations with hegemony. Lefebvre assumes that everyday life is crucial to the reproduction of social relations of production, which originates the understanding of survival of capitalism. For him, daily life and reproduction of capitalism take a pivotal role in constructing hegemony. Since hegemony penetrates daily life practices (such as work, leisure, politics, language and so on) “routinized, repetitive, familiar”. Correlatively, he considers everyday life practices as “the best guarantee of non-revolution” (Kipfer, 2008, 131).

In order to clarify relevancy of hegemony with urban space, Lefebvre provides theoretical ground for us. He conceptualizes “urban as form and mediation”. Urban, a socio-spatial form, resolves everyday life with the social order, links past, present, and future and articulates multiple scales. Kipfer summarizes Lefebvre’s claim such that “As a mediation and form, urban space includes material practices of reproduction (spatial practices, perceived space), state-bound interventions of policy, planning and dominant knowledge (spaces of representation, conceived space), and subtle dimensions of symbolism, affect and experience (representational space, lived space)” (2008, 138).

Briefly, Gramsci and Lefebvre assert that since urban space,

more precisely production of space, is a medium and ground for survival of capitalism, an urbanized conception of hegemony should be taken into consideration. Therefore, hegemony over the housing environment or urban hegemony in housing is significant in this respect.

In conjunction, Keskinok (1997, 2) claims that “urban space is produced, reproduced, structured, restructured and transformed, neither merely by the global economic processes, nor simply by the private sector’s investment decisions and public sector’s decisions about the allocation of resources within the urban space”. For him, it is impossible to remark that all spatial forms or patterns are produced for the capital accumulation process. He asserts that all spatial decisions or developments are produced either consciously or unconsciously by actions of public sector, private sector and other agents (i.e. state, firms, companies, agents, actors, etc.). The mediation and struggle among them consequently shape the state intervention into urban space (1997).

Hence, engagement of media, as a smooth longstanding legitimization mean for state intervention, challenges urban hegemony construction. How media articulates or positions itself in this regard is of question. This study assumes that media take a significant role in the production of space, i.e. “... the media as a major cultural and ideological force, standing in a dominant position with respect to the way in which social relations and political problems were defined and the production and transformation of popular ideologies...” (Hall, 2005, 104). Hereby, what we attempt to indicate is that media practices enable the construction of a common sense, hegemony in terms of spatial organization in the society by producing certain images of urban space. By means of representing certain codes and discourses, the housing/living environment of urban fabric is prepositioned centrally as the object of media efforts. These can be described as the hegemonic projects engaged to the capitalist system.

Media practices subjecting urban issues have been emergent, since the mid19th century through photography; later on in the 20th century through cinema, newspaper and television; and recently electronic and digital media are concerned with urban issues. All means of communication more or less deals with the urban phenomena. As Macek (1965, 84) denotes “the representation of social life” (through film, television, political discourse, cartography and the media) and social life as “lived” are dialectically interwoven and they are spatially related. In the present decade, spatial representation has taken to the forefront. There is immense and intense focus on namely housing projects and urban renewal issues. This situation is far away from being coincidental. Moreover it has political and economic backing since becoming commonly accepted; mass media is subject to the dominant ideology of the ruling class. However, there are difficult problems aroused both from attempting to understand how the media played an ideological role in society and from conceptualizing their complex relationship to power; their ‘relative autonomy’ (set-

ting aside the simpler notions of the media as the 'voice of a ruling class', which were clearly inadequate) (Hall, 2005, 106).

Ideology in media awakes people creating instinctive fear and strong emotions of desire through the use of imagery and mini narratives. It works successfully in this way. As Mcquire says modern media are not simply forms of "representations", in the sense of providing images that either reflect or distort a social reality already established elsewhere. Rather, he suggests that new media platforms have consistently contributed to the formation of new modes of perception and knowledge, as well as the production of new forms and sites of social action (2008, 72). In addition with respect to media, as a visual, aural and symbolic representation, Althusser's definition of ideology is one of use, i.e. "ideology as 'a "representation" of the imaginary relationships of individuals to their real conditions of existence'. The 'imaginary' character of this relation references the distorting character of ideology" (Hall, 2005, 110). It is rather complex and becomes an integral of social dynamics and urban environment. Thus, it reproduces the production relations, productive forces in the daily life in the sense of the ideological framework. As ideology is "site of popular struggle" and "commonsense constructions in these struggles." identified by Gramsci and Laclau, Eagleton denotes that ideology corresponds a process of masking, rationalization, naturalizing, universalizing and legitimizing certain kinds of benefits on behalf of political power (1996). Through materializing the ideology, by means of semiotics, media has a key role. Moreover, Sönmez (2013) declares that media, which are institution counterparts somehow similar to instruments such as education and cultural institutions, serve to the ideological reproduction of the system. It shows forth that neoliberal policies on urban affairs are observed in the media scapes imposing ideological features. There is a quite concentrated overlapping of daily life signs and megacities signs since the 1980s.

Fermentation of Urban Discourses via Media

It is necessary to expose how media operates and has become crucial for urban space conceptualization of society. Perception and conception of urban space is one of the main inquiries of urban studies. Media relevancies with urban space, embracing increasing numbers of urban discourses, are seen as a mean of constituting urban hegemony. In this sense, urban discourses are crucial. Sönmez et al. propose that there are several resources, systems and relations constituting the urban/spatial discourse. Urban discourses are nourished not only from the texts produced by the constructors of the urban space, but also from the representations of the print media of popular culture and their fermentation in the memory of the society (2009, 57).

In order to understand this assumption clearly, this part requires one to question the relationship with discourse and ideology, whether discourses are fermented or not; even if they are fermented, what determines their success?

First of all, Valoshinov who enhances the field of semiotics propounds that there would not be ideology without indicators/representations/semiotics. For him, ideological communication is the logic of semiotic interaction of society. There would be nothing for consciousness in deprive of ideological contents (Eagleton, 1996, 272). For Eagleton, ideology would not be reduced to a reflection of economic substructure; rather it meets a baseline of materialist manner through materiality of representations and context of discourses. In fact, to him, ideology is a concern of never ending interpretation, process and fixation of the individual among the semiotics subjectively assimilated with (1996).

Means of media sources, commonly discourses, are merely ideological entities. Hall also says that "Discursive 'knowledge' is the product not of the transparent representation of the 'real' in language but of the articulation of language on real relations and conditions. Thus there is no intelligible discourse without the operation of a code" (2005, 117). For him, all signs or codes "appear to be open to articulation with wider ideological discourses and meanings". Obviously, discourses are used to draw maps of meaning. Signs involved in discourses are peculiar. It differentiates according to maps of social reality; Hall describes them as a "range of social meanings, practices, and usages, power and interest." While assuming the distinctiveness of perception and conception of codes or signs, Hall explains using the terms "coding" and "decoding" in production -distribution- reproduction process of communication. Within communicative exchange, there are variances, derived by different degrees of 'understanding' and 'misunderstanding'. Hall categorizes this understanding into three typical 'conditions of perception'. These are dominant-hegemonic position, negotiated position and misunderstanding position. The first one is based upon perfectly transparent communication which encodes message with all hegemonic matters; the second one is grounded on "a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements", and endorses "the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations"; the third one refers to imparity or mismatch of coding, which is obtained from contradictory content of hegemonic message (2005).

Articulation of these perception-types and media enthusiasm in urban phenomena is one of the major tasks of this study. Hall's conceptualization, dominant-hegemonic position and negotiated position are of interest here, since it is acclaimed that media has produced certain codes which have concrete relevancy with urban issues and constituting the urban image of the public mind/society. Urban codes, survive through the texts produced by their own living environments. For instance, physical environment, media and maps are the sources of these codes. Understanding and using the language attribute social actions, through carrying responses ad judges. This reproduces beliefs, relations, values and spaces. The dialectical relationship between the discourse and space is highly conflicting and antagonistic (Sönmez et al., 2009, 57). In societal production of space, class conflicts determine the form

of production of space. Within this space, architecture, urban politics, environmental problems, land speculations, cultural production, ideology are comprised matters. They have actual dialectic and dynamic intensity. Discourse is tackled with utilization of language in cultural and societal context. Discourse does not sequester the producer of the text or the structure generating the text, context or social condition. As ideology is product of power relations, discourse which is formed through power relations, is effective in the formation of social identity, societal relationships, information and belief arrangements (Sönmez et al., 2009, 57).

Ideologically manufactured discourses definitely construct certain kinds of representations of urban image; texts (newspaper or municipality bulletins), advertisements, urban textual maps or posters subjecting urban phenomena are illustrations of this idea. These can be used as instruments for describing or emphasizing the urban politics which maintain the urban reality or the desired urban developments, through masking deficits, rationalizing or legitimizing the urban projects to which are approved.

The analysis of the relationship between the urban discourse and popular culture is still difficult to formulate. There is not sufficient evidence or advanced study in this regard. However, Sönmez et al., denotes that texts involving commentaries, compliments and criticisms of the current urban projects, popular bulletins and journals which have a notable mass of readers, are effective media measures generating the urban discourse (2009, 58). Urban discourses do not only originate through data produced by the designer of the spatiality and the text producing urban space structurally, but also through the representations laid out in the popular media, as well. Lately, themes of the discourses could be sorted as globalization, metropolitan and nostalgia in the neoliberal age. According to Barthes studies, Hall denotes that “myths are connotations which have become dominant hegemonic” (2005, 114). Thus, typical keywords as mentioned above can be admitted as the myth of discourses.

Rethinking ‘False (Urban) Consciousness’

Commodification, reification, decentralization, placeless, histories, alienation, concentration, discrimination, sense of not belonging, urban disruption, over-consumption, ghettoization, displacement, dispossession, speed and mobility concepts, make it difficult for people to understand the city comprehensively. What stands behind these mottos as new dynamics is the changing aspect of urban sense. Lefebvre touches on these issues in the well known work *Critique of Everyday Life*. He tries to understand changing aspects of this everyday life process of capitalism and he assumes that this process provides a strategic terrain upon which hegemonic power of capitalist classes succeeds. Creating consent in a society operates with distinct features, for instance with designing the conceived, perceived and lived spaces promoting capitalism and power. The ideological facts are imposed in

the designation of everyday life, consumption and production forms. Hegemonic discourses in this context are embedded centrally in mass media discourses. The urban consciousness dramatically draws on these, through the use of media imaged circumstances. This consciousness is deliberately under the influence of economic and political relations, thus resulting in false or distorted urban consciousness in the society. Distorted formation is reasoned by ideology, representations and tiny narrations in the popular media. Because they cause people to react with instinctive fear, feeling and desire level is to somehow irrelevant tough.

Since it seems difficult to state all discourses prepositioned in media sources, an outright false consciousness is created. Poulantzas asserts that “...ideology is involved in the functioning of this social-imaginary relation, and is therefore necessarily false; its social function is not to give agents a true knowledge of the social structure but simply to insert them as it were into their practical activities supporting the structure” (Hall, 2005, 110). However, Hall proposes that “Ideology is indeed a system of representations, but in the majority of cases these representations have nothing to do with consciousnesses” (2005, 111). Reducing all discourses to create such consciousness would not be fair or correct. However, it is obvious that the media distort the social realities and mediate pursuing the ideology of dominant class. Embedded ideological manners in discourses can be composed of an “over-determined” real and imaginary relation of individual with its environment or world (Hall, 2005). The consciousness (re) developed by semiotic and semantic features points out the significance political aspects of media practices.

For instance, in each semiotic map of language, there are some authentic connotations. Recently, (today's) advertisements and media industries use the contemporary discourses produced in the junction of global scale economies; in this way they exceed their cultural edges and become fluid (Sönmez et al., 2009, 60). It can be accepted that hegemony is materialized throughout these, the big scaled urban projects and the housing projects, which are indeed to be posed in the public mind more or less as the welfare projects, investment or development. Media would be accounted a significant instrument in this lexicon.

Arguably, the acts of media create the public mind and common conscious with regard to housing/residence and living environment in a comprehensive manner. It leads to a “false or distorted urban consciousness” in public awareness. Even though it is a critical aspect of this study, searching the kind of consciousness does not immediately generate a primary ambition of this article, as it would require an in-depth analysis. Instead, this study attempts to show this in a general way.

This study accepts that unfortunately there are many different media groups. Superficially, media can be distinguished into two categories, assuming all media effort is ideological. On the one side, there is media with limited capital aiming to

represent reality and publicize it. On the other side, media, as usually called mass media, are corresponding to a promoter of capitalist purposes. It is obvious that this study criticize the second one, mass media practices.

Interest of Media in Housing Environments or Projects

Contradictions between land and labor, labor and capital and capital and land, span in capitalism. Harvey's claim is that the rationalization of urban space depended on the mobilization of finance capital –on a new prominence for money, credit and speculation– which installed both “spaces as commodities” and “commodities in space”.

This part of the study explores the media's strong interest in housing environment and housing industry. The Marxist geographer Harvey indeed understands the capital accumulation and he interprets it within spatial context. This theoretical conceptualization enables us to foresee the reason why media have attained certain urban discourses. Pursuant to Harvey, it is to be noted that the basic dynamics of the capitalist urbanization are formed within the framework of the capital accumulation concept and the role of production of built environment in this process. For the continuity or sake of capital accumulation defeating the crises that is inherent to capitalism, the built environment has key importance. Harvey analyzes production of spaces and the relations between the capital accumulation processes. His conceptualization on how accumulation crisis occurred resolves in three circuits of capital.

For Harvey, surplus value raised in the first circuit of capital accumulation, triggers the shift on second circuit. This critical shift tends towards to urban space. In the second circuit of capital, the investment of fix capital comprises the production of urban built environment. The capital transformed to second circuit allows the physical spatial base for production and consumption. Components of urban space are reproduced constantly. In the third circuit, the state intervention comes to the forefront. Attempts of state are intended for private rent seekers. State provides for the reproduction facilities of labor and capital directly. Harvey's functionalist explanations unfortunately establish the economic context of the built environment; however, it should be evaluated through a wider perspective of political processes, and social and political dynamics. Reproduction of urban space would be realized peculiar to each different geographical and socio-spatial variable. Capitalist urbanization practices are implemented through differentiated political, social and cultural factors. In accordance to them, the built environment is of major of interest reproduced by distinct regulations and forms of socio-political relations (Gottdiener, 1994).

Furthermore, Molotch describes cities as the “growth machines”. He states that cities have become the large scale agglomerations of fixed capital that lubricate circulating capital and enhance the accumulation of capital (1979). Merri-

field (2002, 161) concludes by stating “cities are compelled to compete each other for relative advantage, trying to lure high-income earners or spenders, command and control functions, cutting-edge corporations and high-tech firms, imploring them all to settle (or stay) in their city, promising goodies in return. In fact, city governments have done almost anything to put their city on the map, anything that makes the city appear tougher and more entrepreneurial.” It explains more or less why local authorities cooperate with the media in advertising the goodies and pulling away the investment. Through housing projects, they generate an urban coalition. Public amenities, which local authorities have a responsibility to serve, are provided privately in project developments. It can be described as an extension of neoliberal urban hegemony, privatization of each public service one by one, commoditization of public assets and so on.

Afterwards the theoretical groundwork dealt with economic, political and social aspect of the urban spatial development in association of mass media, a case study presents the practical aside of the discussion. To affirm above assumptions, the following part investigates Sinpaş Altınoran Housing Project in Ankara. With respect to drawn framework, the process of urban spatial (re) development, attempts of state, capitalist and civil society are considered. The particularity of this area, is the display of a discrete kind of media-engagement to urban space production process.

Analysis of Urban Discourses Used in Media in Turkey

In recent times, media and urban phenomena strongly intersect in “new” Turkey's agenda. Urban jargons have become common discourses used in media sources for the past two or three years. This part of the paper intends to gather and critique this phenomenon. It can be stated that since the head of Housing Development Administration of Turkey hailed 2011 as the country's “year of urban transformation”, and following law numbered 6306 progressed this, the urban renewal projects have been triggering media. From another point of view, we should note that the economic crises are converging, and this urban construction assists the accumulation of capital.

One of the most successful recent studies called “Deposition Web” (Mülksüzleştirme Ağı) enables the understanding of the political and economic web of mass media in a holistic way. This web indicates the relationships/connections between the construction companies, local authorities, public authorities, big - scale urban projects, shopping malls, large infrastructure projects, housing/residence projects and urban renewal projects, with media companies. At the same time, it represents that mass media make visible the circuits of capital in some manner. Representation of these cooperations/relations impacts on public minds and dramatically enhances critical thought. It almost maintains counter-hegemony. That is to say, popular media practices, representations have power;

influence publicity, perception and sense-making. Additionally, it is required to indicate that “Depossession Web” was founded in a workshop held in Gezi Park. It is a sharp juxtaposition. Urban social movement discovers the hegemonic partnerships, and tries to comprehend the frames of urban politics. It renews a critical outlook on urban phenomena. Although Gezi movement has been a crash, it is puzzling that the established organization has not been affected. This organization is still in progress among media as the visual and audio facet of capital; local authority as the administrative facet of the capital; and capital itself as profit seeker. In this regard, dispossession web principally comprises projects and organic relations held in İstanbul, where accumulation of capital is fast and enormous. However, dispossession map quietly makes connections to Ankara projects. This paper both benefits from this work and aims to strengthen this webs’ main argument (See. www.mulksuzlestirme.org).

TWOFOLD NATURE OF URBAN DISCOURSES IN MEDIA

“Urban Development based upon Housing Projects” and “Urban Renewal” as Complementary Discourses

Media have significant role in legitimizing the necessity of new urban development areas and urban renewal implementations in certain ways and prepare the site for housing/residence projects, just as a land speculator. There are some actors in producing space, for instance state, local authorities, capital, media, civil/societal actions, all associate. Tight junction between them performs basically in two assertive ways.

One is the precipitation of depression through insufficient public amenities and infrastructure provided by local authorities. Local authorities consciously reasons urban problems in somehow. So that, the emergent urban problems sign the necessities urban renewal and residence projects as compounding matter. Hereby, capitalists (investors, constructors, real estate agents/companies and etc.) employing the designers and mass media (an organ of capitalists) take positions. They consciously scratch away red tape on urban space, regarding both possible urban renewal districts and new development of urban space, due to the fact that housing areas are the most profitable urban industry.

Figuring the reasonable ground for the renewal, the keywords commonly used in media are such that; “for the prevention of disaster”, “risky areas”, “increasing economic welfare”, “construction companies”, “economic domino effect”, “rent”, “clearance of gecekondü area”, “depression of the city or city center”. Urban renewal is put forth as the mere solution for all these problems. Media definitely use these immensely in all mediascapes. Urban renewal is stressed as an unfolding issue while presenting the associated problems.

Second point mostly initiated via media (news, articles, tv,

advertisements and etc.) creating typical imaginary urban space, especially typical spatial configuration for housing environment. Media produces twofold and complementary discourses. One side represents “the good living environment”, and uses relevant discourses/languages, subliminal messages within, to emphasize the public utilities and space. These discourses comprise investment, better place, livability, prestige, public realm, living in city center, technology, ownership, safety, proximity to natural and environmental assets, aesthetic, art, design, social activities, modern life, civilization, family, work/life balance, cities of the future, housing environment of the future, royalty, cultural centers, and so on, favoring the new housing development by imposing a new neighborhood or lifestyle organization. These media discourses immediately create a new perception of living. In accordance to Hall’s categorization of perception condition, there are two positions, dominant-hegemonic position and negotiated position, seemingly concerned in manufacturing hegemony. Since these positions are the product of class based differentiation, discourses are determined according to their joint interest. All mediascapes should be noted as hegemonic discourses, because in reality these are not true, for example the advertised style. It has obvious economic and political relevancies. Moreover, it leads to public-private limbo, problematic conception of space as new urban consciousness of criticism. These two complementary discourses reassure one another. The case study is one of these integral areas.

Another question arises in the context of discussion. The question is whether or not the media is causing the current fashion of the local authorities neglecting to provide public space. Although serving public amenities and spaces in housing areas is main responsibility of the local authority, it is steadily transferred to private sectors. The commoditization of public amenities and space is restrained by media discourses. The common message about public space is such that “Once it is commodity, it would be very qualified.” However, in reality it is not as such. This would depend on the extended feature of privatization of local authorities’ responsibilities.

Injunction of these discourses prepositioned in media attempt to be successful in commoditizing the urban space. The local authorities’ planning practices are of particular interest, because they interconnect each other. The planning practices sustaining these urban spatial formations are critically assessed. Urban political actors and the agents’ role of producing the space also matter foremost.

The knotting point is the conflicting planning procedure of the case study area. It is examined from two contrary perspectives; one from the collaboration of the local authority with the construction company and the other from an opposite angle, the Chamber of the City Planners the Branch of Ankara (CCPBA) as a member of the civil society. CCPBA’s Chamber of city planners reacts to some planning decisions of local authority, which spirit away public benefit. This struggle has been carried on judgment. There are interesting

intersection phases once media efforts take place profoundly or intensively. This study portrays this phenomenon, the planning process as urban spatial determination process in a sequential form and it aims to indicate the relationship of state, capital, civil society actions and media in (re)producing urban space.

Urban Context of Ankara

Ahead the case investigation, brief information about the macroform of Ankara is necessarily explained with respect to housing development issues. Since 2000s, Ankara has been figuring a sprawling urban form, which is an urban political affair. Substantially, it is exactly related with housing politics. Yaşar points out that “the general indicators of urban sprawl in Ankara can be summarized as the relation between population increase and the change in and the heterogeneous and irregular distribution of density; the deformations in the macroform; the difference between housing supply and housing need; the forms and scale of planned and unplanned growth; fragmented urban pattern; decreasing accessibility and increasing car-dependency depending on the decrease in accessibility. These are all together indicating that city of Ankara is suffering from urban sprawl problem. All of the indicators to some degree are intervened politically by the related actors, such as state, municipality and metropolitan municipality (2010, 188).” The transportation, infrastructure and center policies are all interwoven consciously to sprawl the urban space. According to it, new developing housing areas, built environments are developed for the accumulation of capital. Politically the civil actions should be considered in the urban arena. The sole subject of the state intervention is on the housing environments. Contradictory forms of (re)producing space, indicate that there are various dynamics in this process. Media constitute one of these dynamics. Hereby, the case study is evaluated as one of the urban sprawl triggers, a housing project in this politic economic framework.

The Housing Project of Sinpaş Altınoran or New Southern Park Urban Transformation Project

Firstly, this work aims to represent the spatial characteristics and planning history of the site. The reason why this project area has been chosen is obvious. It is a crucial example, as being both an urban transformation project area and a big scaled housing/residence project area. Secondly, media impact on this project area is examined as mass media intervention on this urban (re)production has been distinctive in creating a common sense in the public mind, in terms of association to local authority in planning.

New Southern Park (Yenigüney Park) Urban Transformation Project within which Sinpaş Altınoran housing project is ranked is located in the southern part of the city. The Site is well known with the project name Altınoran rather than

New Southern Park Urban Transformation area. This is the primary issue that media consciously creates peoples opinion.

The project area conditions a side of Imrahor Valley, which is one of the main environmental assets of Ankara. Imrahor valley has originated in the watershed of the Lake Eymir and Mogan. At the time, it was claimed that the river which originates in Imrahor Valley feeds the basin of Mogan and Eymir.

In the master plan of Ankara, 2023 Metropolitan Urban Development Plan (1/25000 scaled, approved in 2007), this area is noted as the “afforestation” area to protect/conservate its natural values and the water system. Such valley base areas should be conserved, as declared in the plan. Notably, this site is assigned as “compulsorily to be conserved”, and special conservation approaches must be developed in this regard. It remains in “Gölbaşı Special Environment Conservation/Protection Zone”. It is also essential to prepare basin plan in particular to this site aiming to protect the natural living environment (Figure 1).

In 2023 Urban Master Plan, some part of the site is described as urban renewal project area due to the existing gecekondu settlement. However, at that time, researches specify that only a little part is suitable to be built up. Approximately 80-85% of the site is not suitable to be built up for reasons of geological inconvenience for settlement and being exposed to disaster. Therefore this site is decided as a “specific project area” in order to revive the city with these properties.

As mentioned above it is an urban transformation area since there were unauthorized houses (gecekondu settlement) present on site. There were approximately 500 gecekondu until 2010. During the 1970s there was much uncontrolled development, and the regular properly authorized urban fabric has become necessary for the qualified and approved housing, sufficient infrastructure and social amenities. Only this part of the plan area is about the urban transformation.

Another significant note is the property relations and ownership pattern. Subject planning area is 185 hectares, 74 hectares had been owned by the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, and 23 hectares had been owned by the Treasury. Remaining area was in private ownership. Once this project was approved, according to contract orders all the property was publicized and transferred into the ownership of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara.

Some specific properties are summarized. Hereupon, the progress of urban planning sets and expresses the shifting and chaotic character of planning.

Planning History

Planning history is distinguished into two periods. The first part spans the period until Sinpaş company (Sinpaş Co.) involvement, the second part involves the period since then.

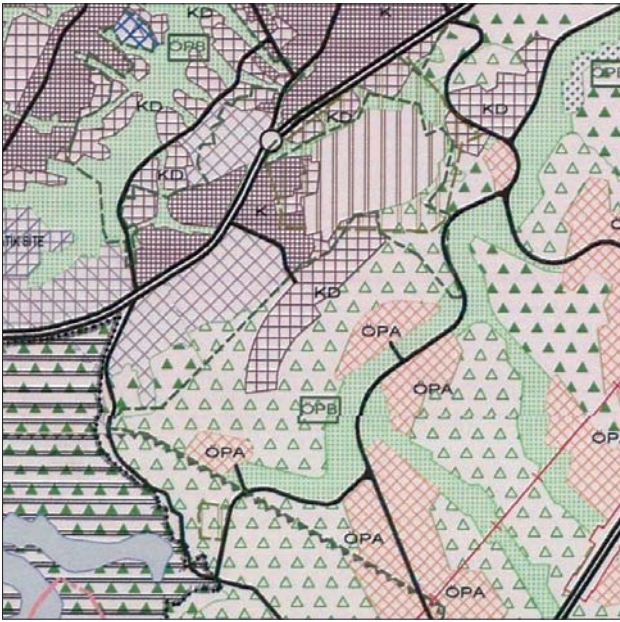


Figure 1. Project area in 2023 metropolitan urban development plan.

The first period is already out of agenda and the second part involves specifically gathering all questions in this study, as theoretically outlined above.

The first part is mentioned only to represent the historical development of the planning critically, however, the 15 plans certified in this period (1996 - 2009) consisting of different scales of plans, somehow all comprise almost the same planning decisions. All of them were cancelled in consequence (Appendix 1).

Fifteen executive operations of The Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara have already been cancelled. They composed of different scaled plans, revisions of plan notes different planning boundary approvals or transformation area boundary approvals. Four of them were cancelled after the objections of the Chamber of the City Planners' Branch of Ankara.

The second part is typically of interest in this study. The period since 2010 involves the current problematic issue; there is judiciary assessment in progress. Significantly, the struggle of civil society towards/against the media, capital and local authority figures from this point onward.

Certainly, the scope of all plans in 2nd period of planning is more or less the same. The planning site is 185 hectares, yet in the latest plan approved in 24.01.2014 (See G, in Table 1), the area has expanded to 210 hectares. The planning site is usually completely declared as the urban transformation area. In all plans, the project involves housing, commerce, infrastructure, landscape, social facilities and project development in the same area. In accordance to building rights, an agreement was carried out. This transformation project was contracted out Sinpaş Construction Industry and Trade Company by Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara in 2010. Since 2010, Sinpaş Company has been working and realizing the Sinpaş Altınoran Housing Project (Figure 2).

According to the Chamber of City Planners' case requests (2012), the main objections essentially comprise these aspects as follows.

None of these plans accord to the master plan decisions since they all rupture the inclusive settlement systems of density pattern and natural and open spaces. Dense housing settlement presciently destroys the spatial comprehensive and coherence of the site. On all accounts, the environmental concerns take major importance. Notwithstanding natural thresholds and geological settlement, appropriate borders are not considered. In absence of the catchment basin plan of the area, the planning decisions are against to the liabilities of Ramsar Agreement, Biological Diversity Agreement, Climate Change frame agreement, Agreement of struggle for the dissertation. Similarly, project area is of immense natural value, as it is in the wind corridor of the city (Figure 3).

Although a significant amount of site is enacted as "special



Figure 2. The layout of the project Sinpaş Altınoran (Source: Sinpaş Altınoran web site, 2014).

Table I. Planning period 2 (2010 -2014)

Code	Approval date	Planning issue	Authority certified	Case number	Status of case
A	13.07.2010	Announcement of the New Southern Park (Yenigüney Park) Urban Transformation Project Area in official gazette (Decision of board numbered 27640)	Council of Ministers Decision (number 2010/661)	Council of State 6 th Board 2010/9732	Stay of Execution until the Expert Report
B	16.07.2010	1/5000 scaled New Southern Park Urban Transformation and Development Project Area Boundary Approval (Decision of board numbered 2196)	Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara	Council of State 6 th Board 2012/1196	Stay of Execution until the Expert Report
				Formerly 2 nd Administration Court of Ankara 2010/1936	
C	13.08.2010	New Southern Park Urban Transformation and Development Project Area 1/5000 and 1/1000 scaled Master and Implementation Plan & Revisions Approval (Decision of board numbered 2495)	Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara	Council of State 6 th Board 2011/9112	Stay of Execution until the Expert Report
				Administration 2 nd Court of Ankara 2011/461	
				Formerly 10 th Administration Court of Ankara 2010/2596	
D	14.03.2011	New Southern Park Urban Transformation and Development Project Area 1/5000 scaled Master Plan Approval (Decision of board numbered 802)	Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara	Council of State 6 th Board 2011/9113	Stay of Execution until the Expert Report
				Formerly 13 th Administration Court of Ankara 2011/1235	
E	14.03.2011	New Southern Park Urban Transformation and Development Project Area 1/1000 scaled Implementation Plan Approval	Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara	Council of State 6 th Board 2012/2974	Stay of Execution until the Expert Report
				Formerly 11 th Administration Court of Ankara 2011/2518	
F	14.12.2012	New Southern Park Urban Transformation and Development Project Area 1/5000 and 1/1000 scaled Master and Implementation Plan&Revisions Approval (Decision of board numbered 2195)	Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara	Council of State 6 th Board 2013/2072	Stay of Execution until the Expert Report
G	24.01.2014	Çankaya New Southern Park Urban Transformation and Development Project Area 1/25000 and 1/5000 scaled Master Plan Revisions Approval (Decision of board numbered 148)	Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara	Council of State 6 th Board 2014/3595	

Source: Prepared by the author, 2014.

project area” since possessing such environmental values, latterly developed planning efforts are not related for this purpose. There is no correspondence to the master plan decision (Figure 4).

Gecekondu settlement made the urban renewal reasonable or legitimate since it has definite necessities. However, in this case the concept and decision of “urban renewal” or “urban transformation” is considered definitely different. Site is as-



Figure 3. Photo from the project site (Source: the author, 2014).

signed as the urban transformation project area, whereas the gecekondu area was only specified on certain part of the site. Deciding the whole site area as urban transformation is the basic controversy. This is important because it brings very high dense settlement and construction to the site, despite its specific spatial characteristics.

The majority of the public land is developed with transferring property rights in this project. Public land owned by the treasury is transferred to the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. According to the agreement made with the private company, Sinpaş Company is more profitable in this project. Its gain is much more than its construction expenses. It should be underlined that there is a convincing property problem. Moreover, an issue against the public benefit, as high-density housing settlements and areas allocated to education and health institutions, are often on slopes and risky areas. However, there is a delusion about the public uses equation. Whatever the consequences are, the public land belongs to all citizens in Ankara. Unfortunately, this public land is issued for a market entity as if this area is a commodity.

The determination of the project boundary does not depend on scientific research and fastening. Similar to the other objections, there is not any planning decisions developed in time to ensure the requirements, researches indicate.



Figure 4. Photo from the project site indicating its preservation area (Source: the author, 2014).

Besides, once there is a decision approved for the urban transformation, the forms of intervention to the urban space should be determined particularly. It is an urban reproduction process and operation. There are variety of spatial intervention forms to such areas; renewal, regeneration, reappropriation, redevelopment, rehabilitation, revitalization, improvement, reconstruction and etc. However, these approaches are not of regard. Instead, a well-known, simplistic way “clearance and the dense built up” is implemented as usual form.

Tricky Stitching Planning Process Pattern

This part of the paper portrays the relationship among urban planning practices, media which is engaged to capital, capital accumulation and state authority. The main purpose is to exhibit state intervention in planning urban space. Besides, contributing to the backward of the study, research beholds another condition. Media are used as an instrument for compensating public opinion when a challenging legal decision occurs. More precisely, they manage public sense, they trick the reality. In brief, media have gained a different role even trying to cheat decisions of jurisdiction. By means of media, advertisements, news, articles, and so on, intensive influential efforts are made with the intent to cover the deficits of huge housing project developments, adjudged numbers of times. Regarding to its affinity with planning practices, such media orientations and operations result in time for the state to prepare a new plan, by-passing the legal decisions. The principles of urbanism and planning, and the essence of producing public benefit have been eradicated.

Media are not only an instrument used to increase consumption and to define consumption patterns. They are not limited to the determination of individuals’ consuming practices and the choice of living environment. Integrative properties of media are such that; sustaining the survival of capital accumulation, manufacturing public consent and tricking legal decisions, etcetera.

The purpose is to highlight how extensive conceptualization of “the media” might penetrate into urban politics more. It can be concluded that the analysis of new forms of urban hegemony is necessary.

Regarding the potential impact of different sources of me-

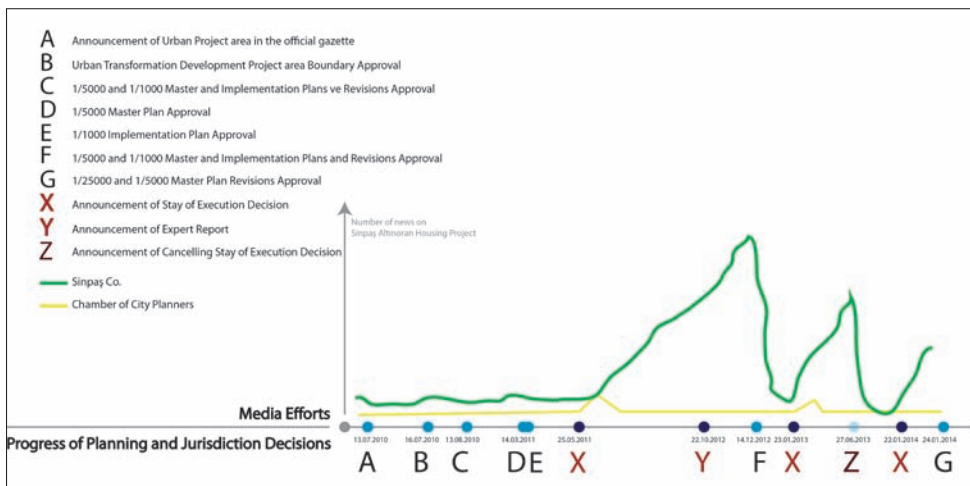


Figure 5. Intersections of planning and judiciary process with media practices (Source: Prepared by the author, 2014).

dia on public minds (fusing counter-hegemony in some), this study discriminates the sources into two components and sides. The first discrimination is based upon the types of sources; it analyzes news/articles and advertisements separately. The second one is tackled with the contrary perspectives on dispute, project development. By media pool, this analysis considers news or articles in two sides; Construction Company and Chamber of City Planners.

Hereby, there are two types of media sources, namely newspaper articles and advertisements. They are taken into consideration separately, but they piece together in the end. First, news about the housing project with respect to planning procedure is expressed. Timeline schema (Figure 5) sets the planning process and juridical decisions engaged to planning practices on the one side of the schema, and sets media efforts about Sinpaş Altınoran housing project on the other side. Here, media efforts distinguish into two lines; construction industry Sinpaş Company and the complainant civil public agent, Chamber of City Planners. Moreover, it is fundamental to detail the source of news. News belongs to Sinpaş co. are assigned to its project’s official web site (www.sinpasaltinoran.com.tr). On counter view, news in which Chamber of city planners presents the defects of the housing project and the development articles about the project, belong to its annual endeavoring report.

There are some breaking points regarding the periods of publishing news and advertisements about Sinpaş Altınoran with respect to juridical decisions and planning actions. I intend to discuss these breakpoints (See X, Y and Z points in the Figure 5) as fundamental issue of this work. Four diagnostic points lighten up. First one is after the decision of stay of execution captured in 25th May 2011 by the council of state. It can be noted that after this decision there are immense news or advertisements about the project in media. Media tend to aggregate the contrary views and trivialize the judiciary decisions. They represent certain features

manufacturing consent in the public mind as if it is an irresistible and remarkable project.

Second point is repeatedly after a decision about the “execution of stay” captured in 23th January 2013. It specifies that there is similar intense media attack in this period with similar objectives until the cancellation of the stay of execution decision captured in 27th June 2013. Afterwards, despite being the time for advertising housing fashion / trends (usually common in mid-summer), its number of news and advertisements drop down (Figure 6). It can be concluded that it was not necessary to produce any more advertisements; hence costs are avoided when the juridical decisions are on behalf of the Sinpaş Company.

Last point occurred recently after the repeated decision of stay of execution captured in 22nd January 2014. The Council of State decided the same decision for all the ongoing cases. It is notable that two days later after this decision, on the 24th January 2014 the Council of the Municipality certified a new plan comprising almost the same problematic planning decisions, even extending planning area and granting huge building rights within. In the formative evaluation, media attacks about the project have been plentiful during the following days.

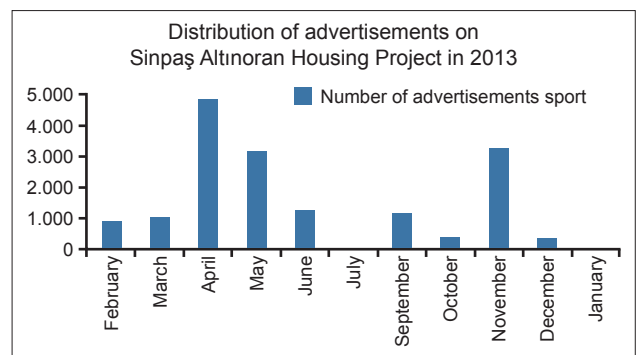


Figure 6. Advertisement spot number of the Sinpaş (Source: Interpress, 2014).

Second source of media, advertisement conditions in Figure 6, which shows the number of advertising spot of Sinpaş Company. This data is of importance. When the juridical decision about the project is negative, namely stay of execution, then the advertisements began to increase significantly. Once they manipulate the planning procedure and overcome the juridical decision (partially) then, it seems that there is no necessity for media assistance, except for trade expectations.

The ariel photography of the site since 2007 till 2013 is captured in Figure 7. Despite the jurisdiction decisions against build-up, planning practices are made up and the housing project is constantly growing.

Criticism of Planning Procedure

The stitching pattern of planning is a series of plans which constitute easy outlook to convince the public and jurisdiction. In order to continue the operation, especially construction, facilities aiming to profit and accumulate from the built environment, the planning authority and the council of the municipality take their precautions with certifying or approving a new plan involving the previous planning decisions. In case of the decision comprising cancel or stay of execution which reduce the construction or capital, they make a new plan to bypass the public and the law. State intervention in determining the urban spatial development cannot be described as democratic; rather it solely serve the construction industries engaged to capital.

For the stitching pattern of the planning process, Atalay who is lawyer of the Chamber of Architects, states that it makes it impossible to control the authority in the context of coherence to the legal system. In the state of law, it is difficult to say that “this implementation belongs to the authority” (Ince, E, 2014). If recent plan does not cancel the contradictory aspects of the original plan, which the council of the state had canceled, is still valid. This is a significant judgment that all public authorities conform to.

Hereby, the media is creating a perception throughout posing positive and shining properties of the project, despite the fact that it has contradictory settlement decisions with respect to scientific assumptions and principals. It has a role of being a shield in this phenomenon in urban political affairs. It mediates the conception of the public mind in this struggle recruiting the local authority to operate the ‘Growth Machine’.



Figure 7. Historical Development of the Site since 2007 to 2013 (Source: prepared by the author).

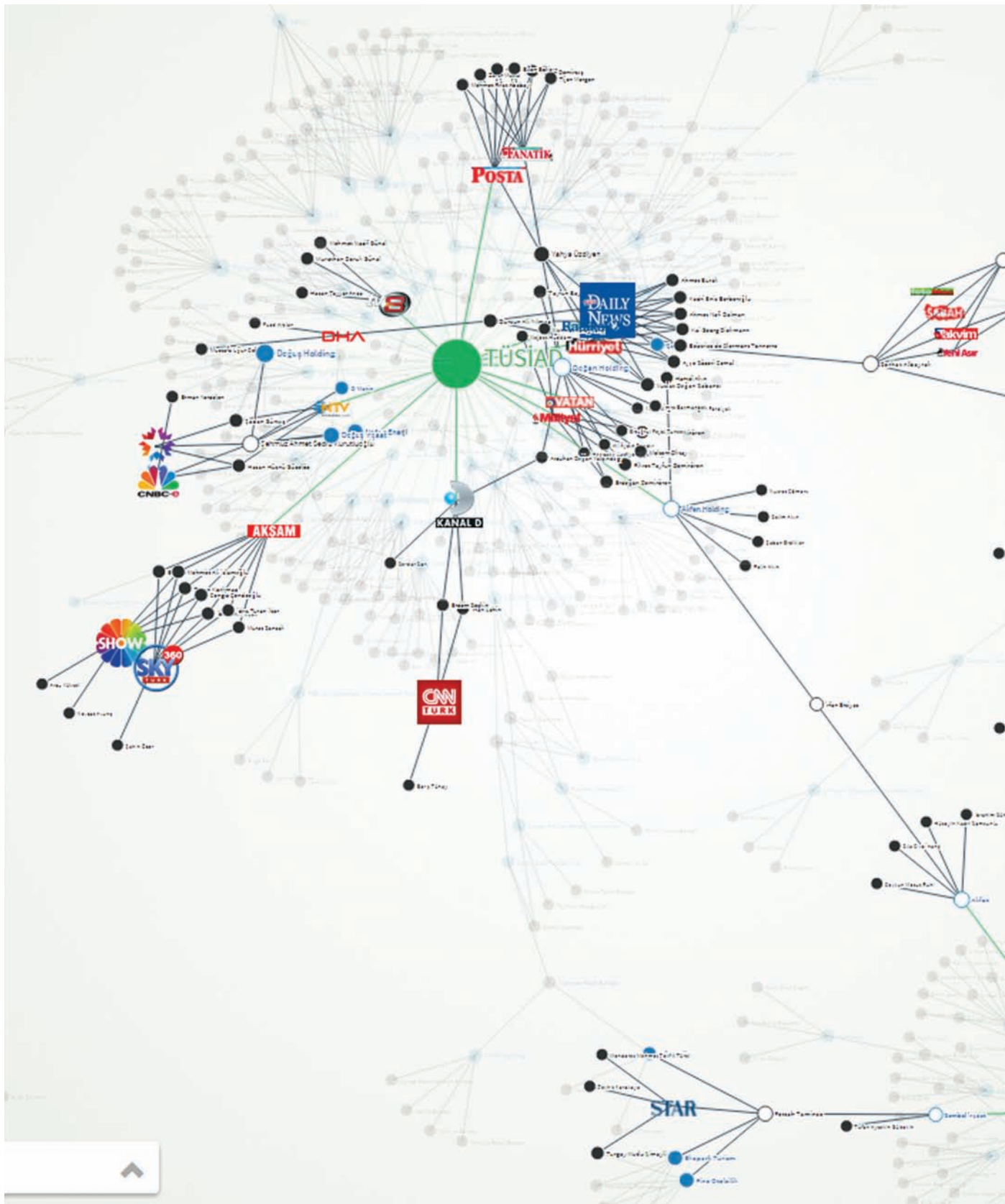
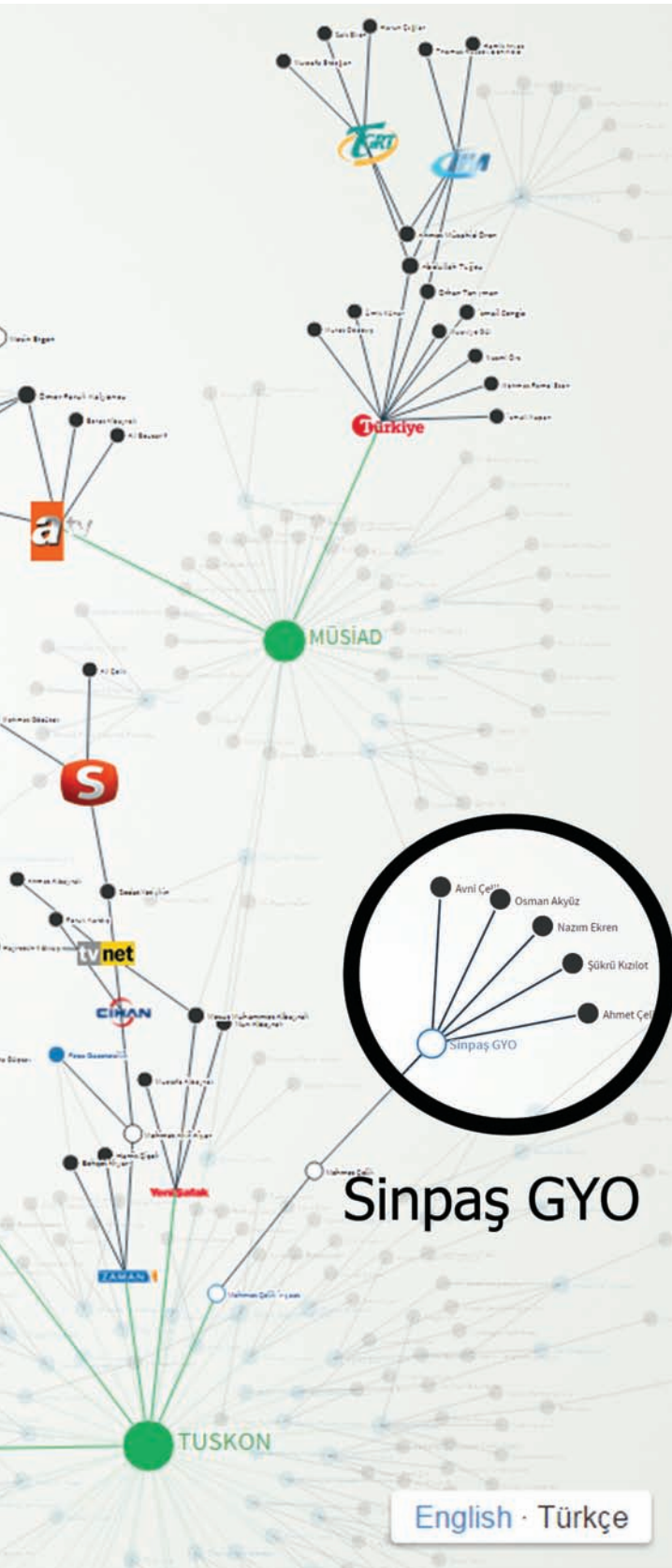


Figure 8. Map indicating the organic relationship media and Sinpaş Company (Source: author, 2014; generated from dynamic web site www.mulksuzlestirme.org).



The map, as depicted above (Figure 8) comprises a little part of the “Depossession Web”. In relation to our concerns and sensations, this map reveals the organic connection of owners of the Sinpaş company and mass media companies. Figure

8 is another document that confirms the idea asserting close relationships of capitalists and media. Implicit dependencies of these actors matters in understanding the urban policies that they involve.

Furthermore, according to the research done by Nar Company, an advertisement company bound to the Interpress, which is a well-known media company, Sinpaş Company took the presence stances. This research depends upon the advertisement of the construction industries in the period from 1st October to 15th November in 2013. In printed media, there were 3681 announcements or advertisements, Sinpaş’s advertisements are 160 in number and it is third one in the list. Also Sinpaş is again the third in the research of advertisements conditioned in television (Source: http://www.marketingturkiye.com.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=7548:reklam-sektoeruene-qinaatq-dopingi&catid=65:guencel-haberler&Itemid=16, accessed in 5th April 2014).

A Short Discourse Analysis

This part concludes the typical discourses used in the Sinpaş Altınoran Housing Project. It claims that all discourses and visuals used in the media related to this project are solely signifying power of the state ideology. The major themes can be classified in four subjects such as; “The biggest” is the prevalent adjective used in the media. Similarly buzzwords are used in the housing projects as well; “golden project”, “the biggest project”, “huge investment”, “2 billion investment”, “huge housing attack”, “houses run short” “intensive attention” terms used frequently. It stresses the welfare and validates the valuable investment in the public by the state. Furthermore, the “employment” created in this project is expressed aggressively in the mediascapes (Figure 9).

Communal areas are marketed and represented as outstanding aspects in a project in the media. Terms and visuals indicate “variety of social facilities”, “new center of attraction”, “location and landscape”, “public space”. Authentic outdoor living spaces and the fascinating views underline the uniqueness of the housing environment. Additionally, it underlines the “prestige”, “luxury housing” and “elegance” that give to an air of distinguished living. Complementarily, the appearance of the expression “this project redevelops Ankara” affirms the discussion above. It portrays the compounding urban problems, and stresses the development as a project of superior quality for Ankara (Figure 10).

Symbolic features are used in media contribute to state ideology. These features resemble exactly the AKP’s main urban discourses. In the project, there are towers called 1923 and 2023. 2023 is the target date, and commonly used by the prime minister. Moreover, there is rope railway in the project, a desire of the Mayor of Ankara. It is his personal adventure, defending an unfolding transportation system for Ankara. Last one are the prominent discourses on “Selcuqianinspi-



Figure 9. Project 3-dimensional view 1 (Source: Sinpaş Company web site, 2014).



Figure 10. Project 3-dimensional view 2 (Source: Sinpaş Company web site, 2014).



Figure 11. Project 3-dimensional view 3 revealing the Towers 1923 and 2023 (Source: Sinpaş Company web site, 2014).



Figure 12. Sinpaş Altınoran Housing Project (Source: the author, 2014).

ration” about the site and housing design. This is absolutely concomitant to the AKP’s discourse (Figure 11).

Specific marketing terms – fashioning terms have been produced, such as “home-office”. This is advertised as if it is a new, innovative concept. Similarly, housing project advertisements need distinctive terms reaching people, customers in different manners.

The total project area is usually used in the media such that 1850000m², 1230000m² of it is allocated construction site and the remain 620000m² is allocated for the landscape. However, this area is the absolute valley area, and it cannot be accounted as the public space, it is solely for those who live on this project site.

9800 dwelling units are involved in the project. However, in the media sources it states that 2450 units are owned by the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara in return for the property value. 2650 units are said to be owned by the Sinpaş Company for the construction costs. It is obvious that there is some untrue information in the media, as if it seeks equity, public benefit in project area. Planning decisions put forth the reality, which point toward how much the company is enjoying the rent reaped on this public land (Figure 12).

In conclusion, this research portrays the actor and agents in (re)producing the urban space and association of the media in this context as an emergent crucial phenomenon for the urban policy studies. Keskinok states that “It is known that the urban development is seemingly a peculiar combination of private investment decisions in the built environment with public political decisions about the allocation of resources (1997, 3)”.

The first concluding remark I claim is that Chamber of City Planners is an agent, a component of civil society, which aims to solve the crises of the production of space. Their efforts with urbanism principles can be described as the preservation or conservation of the public spaces, public amenities, and commonalities in name of environmental, historical and cultural values. The Chamber of City Planners struggles with public authorities for public goods and spaces. This cannot be observed even in high capitalist countries, thus this dispute is challenging for sure. As a component of civil society, chambers are limited to the use of mass media. However,



Figure 13. The Photograph of the housing project from the İmrahor valley basin (Source: the author, 2014).

increasing use of social media, which is formerly powerful in communication, enables to sprawl this struggle. The second point is that media as a compelling agent should unquestionably be examined. It does not advertise the housing commodity; rather it has insecure influences in constructing the urban hegemony, legitimizing the phenomenon and power, managing the public perception and conception respective to space. Urban hegemony is regarded with both reproducing of production relations and securing the conditions for the reproduction. Housing environments are the latest hegemonic projects as an integral of capitalist state practitioners and survival of capital accumulation. The ultimate claim is that mass media have become a central means of hegemonic projects. Since media enables us to analyze the political and economic circumstances in certain ways, attention should be brought to the emanating factor (Figure 13).

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APPENDIX

Appendix I. Planning Period I (1996-2009).

Date	Issue	Authority certified	Status
13/06/96	1/5000 scaled Master Plan Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
18/02/05	Decision of Urban Renewal/Transformation Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
17/05/05	Decision of extending the borderline/boundary of urban transformation site Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
20/01/06	1/5000 scaled Master Plan Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
20/01/06	1/1000 scaled Implementation Plan Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
12/05/06	1/5000 scaled Güneypark Urban Transformation Development Project Area boundary	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
15/06/06	Subdivision plan Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
18/08/06	Urban Transformation Area Boundary extension plan Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
15/12/06	1/1000 scaled Implementation Plan Revision Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
17/08/07	1/5000 and 1/1000scaled Master and Implementation Plan & Revision of Urban Transformation Boundary Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
28/11/07	Plan Note Annex	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
20/04/09	1/5000 and 1/1000scaled Master and Implementation Plan & Urban Transformation Boundary Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
14/09/09	1/5000 scaled Urban Transformation Area Boundary Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
14/09/09	1/5000 scaled Master Plan Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation
14/09/09	1/1000 scaled Implementation Plan Approval	Greater Municipality of Ankara	Cancellation

Source: Expert report (2012), and revised by the author.