

A MODERNIZATION PROJECT IN A NEOLIBERAL
URBAN SETTING:
MUNICIPAL STATUES OF ESKİŞEHİR

A Master's Thesis

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Ankara
July 2019

To my family



A MODERNIZATION PROJECT
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The Graduate School of Social Sciences
of

İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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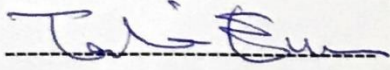
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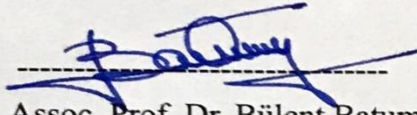
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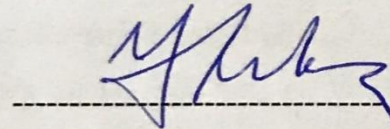
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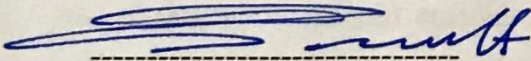
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ABSTRACT

A MODERNIZATION PROJECT IN A NEOLIBERAL URBAN SETTING: MUNICIPAL STATUES OF ESKİŞEHİR

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M.A., Department of Political Science and Public Administration

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July 2019

This thesis studies a municipally orchestrated modernization project in the city of Eskişehir, Turkey, in parallel to neoliberal urban trends. Showing the post-industrial characteristics of a neoliberal urban scene, Eskişehir's neoliberal city branding entails a specific discourse that is formed around the promotion of modernist/westernist values. Therefore, the theoretical assumption of this study is the contextual variability of neoliberal urban practices. As one of the most tangible aspects of this new urban fabric, municipally produced statues are selected as the research material of this study. In this respect, the research question is, how can municipally subsidized, produced and placed statues in Eskişehir urban center be interpreted in a neoliberal urban setting?”. Therefore, the statues are studied with an interpretive approach and textual analysis is employed as the method. Furthermore, selected statues are discussed in relation to two main themes, which are firstly, the municipal modernization/westernization perspective and secondly, the acculturation of urbanites into adopting proper urban behavior. Consequently, the discussion suggests that the statues deliver a westernist modernization perspective, reveal an early Republican influence, encourage urbanites to adopt proper urban behavior, reveal a contestation

against conservative/Islamist municipalities and utilize the modern image of the city as a neoliberal branding practice. The aim of this modernization perspective appears to be the construction of a modern city with modern urbanites and simultaneously make use of this particular branding of the city as a neoliberal urban strategy.

Keywords: Eskişehir, Modernization, Municipality, Neoliberal Urbanism, Statue.



ÖZET

NEOLİBERAL KENT ORTAMINDA BİR MODERNLEŞME PROJESİ: ESKİŞEHİR’DE BELEDİYE HEYKELLERİ

Durakoğlu, Ayşe

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Tahire Erman

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Bu tez, Eskişehir kentinde Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafından yürütülen modernleşme projesini, neoliberal kentçilik akımlarına paralel bir şekilde ele almakta ve aralarındaki ilişkiyi incelemektedir. Bu çalışmanın ön gözlemleri, neoliberal kentlerin sanayi-sonrası özelliklerine sahip olan Eskişehir’deki şehir markalaşması sürecinin, modernleşmeci ve batıcılık odaklı söylem ve değerler ekseninde geliştiğini işaret etmektedir. Bu bağlamda, bu tezin oturduğu kuramsal çerçeve, neoliberal kentçilik uygulamalarının bağlamsal çeşitliliğinin ön kabulüdür. Değişim altındaki kent dokusunun en göze çarpan unsurlarından olan ve Belediye tarafından üretilip dikilmiş olan heykeller, bu araştırmanın ampirik malzemesi olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, araştırma sorusu “Belediye’ce finanse edilen, üretilen ve şehre yerleştirilen heykeller, neoliberal kent ortamında nasıl yorumlanabilir?”dir. Çalışmanın yaklaşımı yorumsamacı yaklaşım, başvurulacak yöntem ise metin analizi yöntemidir. Heykeller çalışılırken iki temel tema merkeze alınmış olup bunlar; belediyenin heykellerle ifade ettiği modernleşmeci/batıcı bakış açısı ve kentlilerin kent yaşamına uygun davranışları benimsemesini öngören kültürleşme sürecidir. Sonuç olarak; heykellerin modernleşme/batılılaşma bakış açısı aşıladığı, erken Cumhuriyet dönemi etkisi taşıdığı, kentlileri ideal

kentli davranışlarına yönlendirdiği, çevredeki muhafazakâr/İslamcı belediyelere karşı muhalif bir duruş sergilediği ve bu modern imajdan bir kent markası olarak yararlandığı yönünde anlamlandırmalara varılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Belediye'nin kentçilik yoluyla modernleşme çabalarının, modern bir kent ve kentli dokusu yaratmayı hedefliyor olduğu ve bunu yaparken eş zamanlı olarak modernlik imajını şehir markası olarak neoliberal bir kent stratejisi olarak benimsendiği yorumuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Belediye, Eskişehir, Heykel, Modernleşme, Neoliberal Kentçilik.



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CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION

This thesis studies the case of a municipal modernization project in the city of Eskişehir, Turkey, carried out through neoliberal urban tools and dynamics.

Neoliberal urbanism is a series of interconnected creative and destructive developments in western cities since 1980s, including the decline of welfare policies, the rise of competitive market rules in urban governance, urban redevelopment and transformation, de-industrialization of urban centers, privatization and commodification. Witnessing these developments, this thesis approaches Eskişehir as a neoliberal urban scene, or a neoliberal city. As the engine of urban management, the Metropolitan Municipality plays the central role in the neoliberal transformation of Eskişehir from an industrial town towards a post-industrial city, which has become increasingly better-known with its cultural events, museums, tourist attractions and universities in the last two decades.

My preliminary observations of contemporary Eskişehir consisted of the new outlook of the urban center; the once contaminated and now rehabilitated Porsuk River with gondolas and touristic boats travelling around, a convenient and extensive inner-city railway transportation system, abundance of parks and recreational areas spreading around the city, renovated historic neighborhood and the golden/bronze colored statues placed in the urban center. What drew my attention was its resemblance with the general outlook of middle-sized European cities, and how the changes in Eskişehir were framed, presented and promoted with reference to modernization and

Europeanization by the Metropolitan Municipality. Intrigued to unravel this motivation of modernization in a neoliberal urban setting, I selected the municipally produced and placed statues as my empirical material. The reason why I decided to select them as my primary material is their undeniable presence in the urban center and how they are promoted as one of the important symbols of modern and European/western appearance of the city of Eskişehir (Appendix B).

The underlying theoretical assumption of this study is the multiplicity of neoliberal urban experiences depending on their contexts, also referred as “actually existing neoliberalisms” in the literature (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a). This perspective allows me to trace the contextual particularities of neoliberal practices in a given setting. It also acknowledges different dynamics and motivations of neoliberal practices beyond their market-oriented ends. In this respect, the research question of this study is “how can the municipally subsidized, produced and placed statues in Eskişehir urban center be interpreted in a neoliberal urban setting?” Guided by my preliminary observations about the modernization perspective of the Municipality, my inquiry focuses on the functions and meanings of these statues both as neoliberal urban objects and as tools of a modernization project.

Therefore, this thesis concentrates on an interdisciplinary area of social inquiry by combining two phenomena I detected in this contemporary city: the neoliberal urban management led by the Metropolitan Municipality and the modernization perspective adopted by the same Municipality. These two components come from two large literatures: urban studies and modernization studies (mainly in reference with political science and sociology). Moreover, the statues being the main research material, public art and material culture also constitute a dimension, though not much elaborated in this thesis. The literature about neoliberal urbanism and the related

phenomena such as new urban governance and city branding possess a global perspective with references to cases from different countries, especially United Kingdom and United States for their early industrial heritage. On the other hand, the literature on modernization particularly in urban scene focuses more on the Turkish context, attempting to display Turkey's journey of modernization in relation to changes in urban fabric. Bringing these two literatures together, I aim to present a layered interdisciplinary perspective that combines a contemporary urban framework that can be observed across borders with a modernization perspective that is closely tied with social, cultural and political dynamics rooted in Turkish history.

The contribution I wish to make to academic literature with this study is to show the possibility of reconciling a global political economic structure with a culturally and ideologically loaded concept of modernization and investigate their unique dynamics in Turkish context. My review of the academic literature in Turkey suggests that neoliberal urban framework is studied with a focus on the developments that define said framework such as gentrification. On the other hand, the studies on modernization, particularly classical modernization with heavy connotations to westernization, are limited to the late Ottoman and early Republican eras, and do not receive much attention in a contemporary context. In this context, my thesis appears as one of the few studies that brings neoliberal urbanism in contact with a modernization process and shows how political, historical and ideological dynamics matter even in market-oriented political economic developments in Turkey.

Regarding the research approach and design, this thesis adopts a qualitative social research design with an interpretive approach. Interpretive approach "aims at understanding events by discovering the meanings human beings attribute to their behavior and the external world" (della Porta & Keating, 2008, p.26). Interpretive

social research concentrates on the meanings, motivations and web of relationships surrounding human behavior rather than the causal relationships between variables and numerical analysis. Along similar lines, the qualitative research, in terms of data collection and research design, is a respectively flexible approach of design with its emphasis on for instance the understanding of phenomena in their own right, an open and exploratory research design as opposed to the closed-ended hypotheses and an unlimited, emergent description options instead of predetermined choices or rating scales (Elliott, 1999, cited in Elliott & Timulak, 2005). Since this study aims at understanding both visible and underlying meanings, messages and motivations of the municipal statues in Eskişehir, the interpretive approach will provide the tools for unraveling these layers through interpretation.

The method employed in this study is textual analysis. In a broad sense, any attempt of an interpretation leads to the textualization of the object of inquiry, therefore anything that can be made sense of can also be approached as a text (McKee, 2003). Therefore, a textual analysis is an educated guess and interpretive activity in order to reveal the most likely interpretations of a given text. With this inclusive approach to text, cities and landscapes have also been approached as a text to read and interpret (Rossi, 1984; Duncan, 2004). In this thesis, I will approach my empirical material, the selected pieces of municipally produced statues in downtown Eskişehir, as texts to interpret and extract meaning from. With its heavy emphasis on interpretation, this method is also organically in line with the interpretive approach in the first place.

Regarding the data collection process, I observed and photographed my empirical material from a close physical distance in Eskişehir, in a period between October 2018 and July 2019, perceiving them in their real-time urban setting. For further elaboration and information about the statues, the way they are framed by the

municipality and their delivery on media, I consulted online resources, including official online periodical and website of the Municipality and online news media. Furthermore, in the cases I could not take high quality photographs due to the inconveniences caused by the statues' location or my camera, I used "wowturkey", which is an online forum and archive of travel and photography, and other online sources to provide better quality photographs.

In my analysis, I came up with two main themes in which I discuss and interpret the selected set of statues. These categories are, firstly, a westernist type of modernization perspective and early Republican influence, and secondly, the acculturation of urbanites to adopt proper urban behavior. While the exact number of municipally produced statues in Eskişehir is not known, I limited my selection to a number of statues that are placed in the most central locations in Eskişehir, such as Köprübaşı and Doktorlar Street. As a city that is still predominantly dependent on old city center (Akarçay & Suğur, 2016), these statues are the most visible ones because of their constant exposure to residents and visitors as well as media organs. Therefore, this study focuses on thirty-six statues in Eskişehir urban center.

In terms of the structure, the thesis consists of four main chapters and a conclusion chapter. The chapter breakdown is as follows:

The first main chapter concentrates on the literature on neoliberal urbanism. This chapter aims to identify a neoliberal urban framework with reference to the definitions and discussions predominantly in the western literature.

Conceptualizations such as post-industrialism and de-industrialization are introduced and core characteristics of neoliberal framework such as neoliberal urban

governance, city branding and marketing as well as urban redevelopment are elaborated in this chapter.

The second chapter dwells on the concepts about modernity, city and urbanism. The first section of this chapter dwells on Turkish quest of modernization in general and its subsections focus on early Republican project of modernization and the tense relationship between secularism and political Islam in Turkey. The second section introduces key concept of urbanism and urbanization in Turkey, while the final section concentrates on the intersection of urban and modernization studies in Turkey, tracing the interpretations of modernity via urban processes.

The third chapter of this thesis introduces Eskişehir as a city with a deep-rooted history. Starting with its origins in antiquity to Ottoman era, this *old city* is introduced via its political history and demographics. The second section focuses on Eskişehir's history as a modern and industrial city of Republic and focuses on the transformations such as gentrification and urban transformation at the end of this period. The final section dwells on contemporary Eskişehir as a neoliberal urban scene and attempts to provide a general outlook for the city with reference to the role of metropolitan Municipality and mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen in this neoliberal transformation.

The empirical chapter deals with the empirical material of the thesis, namely, the municipal statues. The statues are introduced and discussed under two main themes, the modernization perspective and the promotion of proper urban behavior. This section focuses on the selected statues one by one or as groups, and introduces their various characteristics. The discussion entails the influence of early Republican modernization project, mayor's devotion to Atatürk's values and principles, social

construction of urbanity and proper urban behavior, parallelisms with Ankara's municipal management and mayor as well as the female presence in the urban fabric.

Finally, the conclusion chapter summarizes the main points made in the preceding chapters, reevaluate the observations of the previous chapter and identify four conclusions that can be drawn from the study. This chapter also suggests some possible approaches and recommendations for future studies.



CHAPTER II:

NEOLIBERAL URBAN FRAMEWORK

In the past decades, neoliberal transformation of global economy and its reflections on urban spaces have attracted substantial attention in the academic literature. Increasingly effective since late 1970s, this new set of political economic norms and conditions have been observed to bring remarkable changes in how the cities are organized, governed and promoted. Since this study approaches the city of Eskişehir as a neoliberal urban setting, this chapter will present a framework of the literature on what neoliberal urbanism entails. For this purpose, firstly, neoliberalism and neoliberal city, particularly deindustrialization and post-industrialization of cities, secondly, dynamics of new (neoliberal) urban governance, thirdly, the rising importance of city branding and marketing strategies and finally, urban redevelopment are going to be introduced as the fundamental elements of neoliberal urban configuration. As a phenomenon that emerged in European and Northern American cities, core academic works predominantly focus on said geographies.

2.1 Neoliberalism and neoliberal city

The term “neoliberalism”, in its simplest definition, refers to the transformation capitalism went through at the turn of 1970s and 1980s (Dumenil & Levy, 2000/2004). Brenner and Theodore (2002a) identify the core of the concept neoliberal ideology as “the belief that open, competitive, and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanism for

economic development” (p.350). Flourished in parallel to the decline in mass-production industries and the crisis of Keynesian welfare policies:

the neoliberal doctrines were deployed to justify, inter alia, the deregulation of state control over industry, assaults on organized labor, the reduction of corporate taxes, the downsizing and/or privatization of public services and assets, the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, and the intensification of inter-locality competition (Peck, Theodore & Brenner, 2009, p.50).

Liberalization and deregulation of economic transactions, privatization and commodification of state-owned enterprises, financialization have been listed as the leading features of the process of neoliberalization (Jessop, 2002; Harvey, 2005). In this transformation, urbanization appears as an extension of “mobilization, production, appropriation and absorption of economic surpluses” and produces “a built environment supportive of capitalist production, consumption and exchange” (Harvey, 1989c, p. 53).

Alongside their attempts to formulate a comprehensive definition for neoliberal political economic configuration, critical urban scholars draw attention to the contextual multiplicity of neoliberal practices (Larner, 2003). Brenner and Theodore (2002a) underline the “contextual embeddedness” of neoliberalism in contrast with the market-based core of the term which overlooks local diversities. They emphasize the multiplicity of “actually existing neoliberalism”s and underline the path-dependent process of neoliberalization rather than end-state of neoliberalism as a monolithic ideology. In this context, neoliberal urbanism is identified with a “geographically variable, yet multiscalar and translocally interconnected” nature as cities appear to be “strategically central sites” of this development (Peck, Theodore & Brenner, 2009, p. 49). Again, Peck and Tickell (2002) underline the significance of “variable ways in which different ‘local neoliberalisms’ are embedded within

wider networks and structures of neoliberalism.” (p.381) This discussion on neoliberal geographies was further contextualized with terms such as “new localism” and “variegated neoliberalization” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002b; Brenner, Peck, Theodore, 2010).

Furthermore, some studies show how social and political dynamics in a given context can make difference in neoliberal practices beyond their market-oriented ends. Jamie Gough (2002) observes the process of socialization, which entails social relations such as community and familial ties, as deviations from “pure” and market-oriented neoliberal discourse (p. 3). Similarly, Harvey states that “the actual practices of neoliberalism frequently diverge from (this) template” and even identifies a specific kind of neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics (2006, p.145). Looking at the historical and institutional differences, Hill, Park and Saito (2012) observe a slower development of neoliberalism in East Asian states as these countries “industrialized under different circumstances and the agents (...) were influenced by different ideologies, motives and institutions” (p. 1).

Despite the limited role designated for state in neoliberal ideology, the state is discussed as an important agent in creation and implementation of neoliberal framework in practice. As opposed to the “neoliberal mythology”, Peck (2003) argues that the historical and geographical form of statecraft has not been eroded by neoliberal markets but only replaced by the new forms of statecraft. (p.225). Larner (2003) underlines the fact that neoliberalism operates “not only at a supranational project (neoliberal globalization), it involves nation-state and local (particularly urban) political projects” (p.509). As a prominent name in the discussion, Harvey (2005) argues that the main achievement of neoliberalization is “to redistribute, rather than to generate, wealth and income” while state is the primary agent in

creating and preserving institutional framework for these redistributive policies, even creating the markets if they do not exist in the first place (p.2). Moreover, scholars including Jones (1997) and Wacquant (2012) point out state's primary role in neoliberal practices; the former refers to the state intervention in prioritization of some places through hegemonic policies and accumulation strategies, while the latter discusses neoliberalism as a "market conforming state crafting" practice, which aims to reengineer the state and dynamics of market, state and citizenship (Wacquant, p. 71).

As the neoliberalization of economic system brought an end to the Fordist mass production industries and Keynesian economic model, it created drastic changes in the urban fabric, especially in the cities of Global North, which had organized around industrial production. Philosophers, critical urban thinkers and sociologists often discuss this set of changes¹ in relation with the terms *post-industrial* and *de-industrialized*. Coining the term "post-industrial" in 1973, Daniel Bell (2001) identifies it with the enormous growth of the third sector, which refers to "the non-profit area outside business and government" (p.5). In contrast with the focus of industrial society on the mass industrial production of goods (Shaw, 2001), the underlying characteristic of post-industrial society is its organization around information, innovation and change (Bell, 2001, p. 20). In a similar fashion, using the term "informational city", Castells observes increasing significance of new industries, especially information technologies, and argues that they created a new

¹ De-centralization of urban governance, erosion of modern industrial urban forms, commercialization and fragmentation of urban space have also been discussed as a transition from modern to post-modern urban dynamics (Zukin, 1988, Soja, 1989, Harvey, 1989b, Clarke, 2004). The term is argued to express the change intuitively well as it "resonates with the fragmentation of geographic loyalties in contemporary economic restructuring and its expression in new urban polarities" (Zukin, 1988, p.433). There have also been scholars who have approached the term "post-modern" with caution and do not acknowledge a drastic change, referring the new period as late, high or liquid modernity instead of post-modernity (Giddens, 1991a; Bauman, 2000).

spatial logic and transformation of urban structure with the suburbanization of business activities and decentralization of organization management (1989). In short, the main characteristics of the post-industrial city can be summarized as a globalized, informationalized, polycentric spatial entity that is entirely dependent on advanced services (Hall, 1997, p.311).²

In a parallel fashion to neoliberal and post-industrial developments, “de-industrialization” of cities also attracted attention in the literature. The term was made mainstream in Bluestone and Harrison’s (1982) definition as “the systematic reduction in industrial capacity in formally industrially developed areas” (cited in Strangleman & Rhodes, 2014). According to Ashworth & Voogd (1990), one of the key characteristics of de-industrialization is the shift from “cities as the centers of production to centers of consumption” (cited in Murphy & Boyle, 2006). Following the reconstruction of economic system and rise in service industries, industrial sites and workers in industrial cities have moved away from urban centers, specifically “to suburbs, South or foreign countries” in the American case (Gottdiener, 1994; Taft, 2018). Similar to “the American Rust Belt”, old industrial centers in Britain such as Glasgow and Manchester and their divergent developmental paths received scholarly attention in the framework of de-industrialization (Lever, 1991; Mooney & Danson, 1997; Martin, Sunley, Tyler & Gardiner, 2016). Following the studies on old industrial centers in the United States and the United Kingdom, there is also a growing literature on the de-industrialization of cities in other parts of the world such as Cape Town and Hong Kong (Crankshaw, 2012; Monkkonen, 2014).

² Furthermore, drawing attention to the increasing level of cross-border flow of capital, labor, material and tourists, some scholars underline the international aspect of post-industrial cities, of which sociologist Saskia Sassen (2005) directly refers as “global city” (Savitch, 1988; Yeung & Lo, 1998; Harvey, 2005).

After this introduction to neoliberalism and neoliberal city, with the emphasis of its post-industrial characteristics, the next section focuses on how the actors and dynamics of urban management have changed as a part of this transformative process, namely under the “neoliberal urban governance”.

2.2 Neoliberal urban governance

Despite its core premise relying on favoring market dynamics over state intervention, neoliberalism accommodates only less government, and not less governance (Larner, 2000). As a core characteristic of neoliberal urbanism, a new urban governance is identified in order to understand how the cities are managed under neoliberal political economy and how their organization logic has changed. To define this new governance model, the term “urban entrepreneurialism” has been widely used in the literature to identify the way in which local governments and urban authorities in particular take the pivotal role instead of being primarily managed by a central body of government and planning (Harvey, 1989a; Jessop, 1997; Macleod, 2002). Cox (1993) identifies this shift simply as the “new urban politics”. In the framework of cities’ newly-acquired entrepreneurial role, Sager (2011) lists the main pillars of new urban governance as:

adoption of pro-growth policies and new institutional structures of urban governance, expecting local officials to be enterprising, risk-taking, inventive, and profit motivated in their entrepreneurial role. The way cities operate is changed towards business-like strategies, alliances to achieve urban competitiveness, and public–private partnerships (p.154).

Similarly, Hall and Hubbard (1996) underline the “reorientation of urban governance from local provision of welfare and services” towards a neoliberal approach that focuses primarily on local growth and economic development (p.153). Hosting a

hallmark event such as Olympic Games, or being awarded as a “City of Culture” are examples for such entrepreneurial efforts (Boyle & Hughes, 1994; Owen, 2002).

Driven by the goal of “creating conditions conducive to capital accumulation within a city’s boundaries”, neoliberal urban governance is argued to follow competitive market rules in city management (Jessop, 1997). With increasing focus on economic development of cities, the cooperation between public and private actors has gained remarkable importance. In a neoliberal political economy in which service sector has dominated the scene, urban governance refers to a process “blending and coordinating public and private interests” and seek to enhance collective goals (Pierre, 1999, p. 374). The term “governance” implies the coexistence and cooperation of governmental and non-governmental forces (Stroker, 1998). Moreover, public-private collaborations are argued to be the proof of entrepreneurial governance on their own, since they are speculative in execution, design as well as risks, “as opposed to rationally planned and coordinated development” (Harvey, 1989a, p.7). With the increasing number of actors including public offices, business agents, non-governmental organizations and civil society, urban management consists of a complex network of relations. The collaborative strategies are approached both as an engine for a better governing capacity and the source of increasing political pressure from new actors involved in urban politics.

Alongside the role of private businesses, citizen participation and the greater involvement of societal actors in urban governance appears a significant element of neoliberal urban governance. In parallel to the downsizing of state-led central management of urban affairs, public engagement in decision making processes have gained increasing importance, as only in the United States “155 mandates in federal legislation requiring public administrators at the federal, state, and local levels to

provide for citizen participation” were initiated back in 1970s (Kathi & Cooper, 2005, p.562). In the United States, the city governments utilized mechanisms to “increase citizen participation in tasks ranging from consultation to the co-production of public goods” (Scavo, 1993; cited in Fagotto & Fung, 2006) and emphasizes “horizontal collaboration among public agencies, citizens and organizations, as opposed to more hierarchical bureaucratic models” (Bingham, Nabatchi & O’Leary, 2005). Similarly, in other western cities, civil participation in local governance is encouraged and promoted, such as the municipal mobilization of the residents for a participatory reconstruction process in the Dutch city Enschede after a devastating explosion of fireworks storage depot (Denters & Klok, 2010). Another example of this new “political acceptance of autonomously organized projects and active citizen participation” would be the citizen participation in the urban green space governance in Berlin (Rosol 2010). Despite the constraints from economic agents and private interests, the city councils in western cities have maintained their control, “remains in the driving seat” even in the “paradigmatic examples of “governance-beyond-the-state” such as Manchester and Barcelona (Swyngedouw, 2005; Blakeley 2010). In short, in spite of the varying extents of inclusiveness and inequalities, citizen and civil society participation stands as an important pillar in neoliberal urban governance.

Furthermore, via the transition from bureaucratic managerial government towards a business-minded entrepreneurial governance, cities have become part of a competitive atmosphere to attract capital investment, visitors, professionals, entrepreneurial groups and overall positive attention. Inter-city or interurban competition entails large scale urban development projects, international events, heritage sites, tourist attractions and business centers for local and global market

consumption. Harvey interprets this as a means of guaranteeing the reproduction of capitalist social relations via continuous capital accumulation (1989a, p.15).

Similarly, Jessop (1997) observes the facilitation of “entrepreneurial activities within the private sector to achieve increased economic competitiveness” as the primary goal of policymakers. To capture the attention of freely flowing money, labor and tourists under neoliberal economy, cities comply to some global trends to increase their competitive advantage. New cultural and entertainment centers, waterfront developments and downtown shopping malls can be examples of the “serial reproduction of (such) patterns” (Harvey, 1989a; Sager, 2011).

In order to stand out in the neoliberal setting with increasing interurban competition, city marketing and branding appear as significant devices to create and canalize positive attention, as they will be introduced in detail in the following section.

2.3 City branding, marketing and image building

Possibly as the most visible indicator of neoliberal market rules in urban governance, professional efforts for commodification of cities through marketing and branding has become increasingly widespread in urban policy. The fundamental assumption in these activities is the view of cities as capitalist commodities that can be reimaged and sold to consumers in an urban marketplace (Urry, 1995). As a prominent element of entrepreneurial turn in city management, developing a marketable image by applying the concepts and tools of private sector and influencing people’s attitude and behavior towards a city has played a central role in attracting attention in a competitive environment (Young & Kaczmarek, 1999; Sager, 2011). Therefore, the main objectives to achieve via these strategies can be listed as “raising the

competitive position of the city, attracting inward investment, improving its image and the well-being of its population” (Paddison, 1993, p.341). While promoting cities is not peculiar to neoliberal urbanism, what makes these policies different from those in the past is “the conscious application of marketing approaches by public planning agencies not just as an additional instrument for the solution of intractable planning problems but, increasingly, as a philosophy of place management” (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994, p.34). Therefore, the increasing promotability and profitability of cities appears as a core quality of neoliberal urban governance.

As a fundamental component of city marketing and place promotion, “city branding” strategies also stand as a vital tool for promoting a desirable image of cities.

According to Lynch (1960) “a workable image requires first the identification of an object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separable entity”, which is the city identity in this context (p.22). City branding, on the other hand, aims further than the mere promotion of such identity, but to “rebuild and redefine the image of a city” in the way it is found profitable and desirable (Paddison, 1993). Therefore, urban branding appears as a creative activity of image building, improvement and promotion. City branding strategies of local authorities attempt to “re-imagine the city, forge place-based identities and control consumer impressions and understandings” (Sager, 2011). Designed with competitive market rules and aiming at utilizing the positive outcomes, city branding strategies identify local attractions, differentiate the city from other competitors and create expectations that frame the destination experience for visitors (Gotham, 2007, p.828). For example, “Be Berlin” campaign that was launched in 2008 by the mayor’s office gave the Berliners the chance to share their own stories about the city and used their

voices in forming a new Berlin brand and representing to the outside world (Collomb & Kalandides, 2010).

The urban branding strategies for the increased interurban competition has also led to the indexation, assessment and comparison of cities in terms of their brand name and strength. The cities of global North such as Amsterdam, Berlin, Barcelona, New York and Los Angeles are often ranked high in city brand lists (Bellosso, 2011). In a similar fashion, the latest results of Saffron City Brand Barometer which “explores which cities around the world have built the strongest brands to attract businesses and investors” includes seven European and Northern American cities in the highest ranking ten cities (Saffron Consultants, 2019). The barometer is designed to list the city brands in terms of their “pictorial recognition, quantity/strength of positive/attractive qualities, conversational value and media recognition” (Hildreth, 2008). Another well-known city branding index, Anholt-GfK City Brands Index, measures six dimensions that “evaluates the power and appeal of each city’s image”, namely “presence, place, prerequisites, people, pulse and potential” and is again dominated by global Northern cities, with the exception of Sydney of Australia, which is a member of Commonwealth (GfK, 2018).

Just like a private company’s marketing strategies which aims at utilizing consumption and profit, city marketing is argued to have its own target audience and customers. For Hospers (2006), three groups of “place customers” can be identified:

“(1) inhabitants that want an attractive place to live, work and relax, (2) companies looking for a place to locate their offices and production facilities, do business and recruit employees, and (3) visitors seeking recreational facilities in the cultural or leisure domain (p. 1017).

Neoliberal urban dynamics accommodate tourists, entrepreneurs, investors and white-collar professionals as the primary targets through marketing and urban development projects³. In this context, the term “creative class” has been offered as the target audience of marketing and gentrification, referring to a wide range of professions that “engage in meaningful creative work” including artists, professors, designers as well as knowledge-based sectors such as high-tech and finance (Florida, 2003, p.8). According to Florida, this specific kind of high-level human capital engages in creative “forms or designs that are readily transferable and broadly useful, such as designing a product that can be widely made, sold, and used; coming up with a theorem or strategy that can be applied in many cases; or composing music that can be performed again and again” (*ibid.*) Therefore, what they look in cities as creative centers is not the physical attractions but rather a community with “abundant high-quality experiences, an openness to diversity of all kinds, and, above all else, the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people” (Florida, 2003, p.9). Recognition and celebration of individuality, creativity and innovation are some of the qualities that matter greatly for the creative activities such as artistic productions, academic publications or business strategies. In result, cities with strong brand names that promise a quality experience, communication and expression of individuality and authenticity for the said creative class have better chances for attracting their attention.

In the forming and improving of a city brand, hosting flagship projects, such as signature buildings and mega events appear as significant strategies. Flagship projects “usually involve the rather formulaic development of spectacular new

³ A city’s own residents are also important as they are “at the same time the most important target audience of city branding and the most important city marketers” (Kavaratzis, 2004, p. 69).

facilities, such as sport stadia, art galleries, or waterfront developments” (Smith, 2006, p. 392). Under the neoliberal governance, cities invest greatly in such projects, for example the city of Hamburg, Germany, invested €575 million in order to build a new symphony hall (Elbphilharmonie) and €400 million to develop the ‘International Architectural Fair’ “not only (for) developing the city as such, but also changing the perceptions of the city brand towards a desired image” (Zenker & Beckmann, 2013, p.642). As a flagship identifier of the city, such “spectacular” and designer-made signature buildings play an important role in creating a “strong positive impact on the place perception – not only as additional (tourist) attraction, or for improving residential pride, but foremost for changing the image of the place” (p. 643). Iconic signature architecture “purposely deviates from the local aesthetic while at the same time gives the location a unique visual identifier, thus enhancing the sense of place” (Shaw, 2015). In this respect, Guggenheim Museum of Modern Art in Bilbao, Spain is one of the major examples of this trend. Located in a former principal industrial site of Spain that had experienced decline in the last 30 years, the museum has served the city’s brand name with a symbolic attachment to “modernity and culture” with its de-constructivist architecture, famous architect Frank Gehry and accommodation of modern art (Carrière & Demazière, 2002; Zenker & Beckmann, 2013). In city marketing and branding, such buildings are presented also as “major tourism attractions and are immediately recognized throughout the world (e.g., Frank Gehry’s Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles, and the Santiago Calatrava and Félix Candela City of Arts and Sciences in Valencia)” (Shaw, 2015, p.236). Therefore, signature buildings and artistic products in urban scene are recognized and appreciated for their branding role that is facilitated by their unique design and artistic value as well as their artists’ brand name.

Having looked at the strategies of brand making of the cities in this section, the final section of this chapter will focus on the physical transformation of the city via urban development and beautification projects undertaken as neoliberal urban policies.

2.4 Urban redevelopment policies

Urban development projects constitute a fundamental dimension in which cities have physically transformed to accommodate neoliberal transformation and facilitate interurban competition. Being discussed under a number of types such as urban revitalization, regeneration and renewal, urban development projects are approached as the material expression of developmental logic aiming at growth and competitive power (Swyngedouw, Moulaert & Rodriguez, 2002, p.546). Some of the forms urban development can take can be traced in Lovering's (2007) summary:

(Urban regeneration) is used to refer to a fairly standard set of policy goals and outcomes. These include the conversion of former industrial premises to apartments and retail units and commercial art space, the pedestrianization of shopping centres and opening up of waterfront walkways, a sprouting of high-rise up-market residential blocs and shopping malls, and the designation of an official cultural district or creative sector with new art galleries and new officially designated public space, not too far from branded restaurants, coffee houses, and bars (p.344).

While aiming at revitalizing cities for further growth and providing them with an upper hand in competition, urban development has been argued to facilitate social inequalities and uneven development as entrepreneurial power dynamics excludes lower classes further from the decision-making process (Gottdiener, 1994; McCann, 2004). Targeting middle and upper classes and attempting to appeal to their consumption, neoliberal urban governance can lead to an increase urban poverty,

income gap and polarization, creating a “dual city” consisting of unequal halves (Mollenkopf & Castells, 1991).

Loaded with similar socio-economic implications, gentrification stands as a flagship element of neoliberal and post-industrial urban scene as a particular type of urban development. Coined by Ruth Glass in 1964, the term basically refers to “the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle-class residential use (...), of private-market investment capital into downtown districts of major urban centers” (Zukin, 1987, p.129). Attempting to come up with an economic explanation, Smith (1979) introduces the concept “rent gap” to explain how the mismatch between the profits of a downtown property’s current and potential use can produce such projects. Focusing more on societal aspects, Ley (1986) points out to the shift from industrial to business and service sectors and changing demands in urban residential areas. Gentrification as a term and phenomenon maintain its relevance as it entails a large spectrum of urban issues ranging from socio-economic groups and urban inequalities to neoliberal urban development and housing practices. (Hamnett, 1991; Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). Gentrification policies are also important for accommodating the creative class and their increasing presence in the urban center.

With redevelopment of cities, urban centers have become increasingly associated with art and culture. Following the de-industrialization and decline of industrial activities in cities, city centers has been the venue of cultural and leisure activities and festivals, art galleries, museums, gentrification as well as signature buildings and artistic productions (Ley, 2003; Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). Urban beautification and aestheticization, transformation of old factory districts into art galleries and concert halls, gentrification and presence of creative class, promotion of industrial heritage as

a local brand and accommodation of cultural events are some examples of this emphasis on culture (Lovering 2007; Eklund, 2018). This cultural clustering of urban centers has been approached as a “cultural industry”, so that “culture is more and more the business of cities – the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique competitive edge” (Zukin, 1995, also, Hall, 2000; Mommaas, 2004; Gospodini, 2006; Pratt, 2008). In this context, cities such as the former “steel city” Newcastle, or other cities in Europe such as Glasgow, Bilbao and Bruges have started to attain titles and brands including “cultural capital of Europe”, “European city of Culture” and “the City of Architecture” (Gomez, 1998; Moulaert, Demuyne & Nussbaumer, 2004; Boyle, McWilliams & Rice, 2008; Eklund, 2018).

In this chapter, leading characteristics of neoliberal urban dynamics have been presented. Having emerged in former industrial cities in global North, neoliberal cities are primarily characterized with their post-industrial transformation into an increasingly service and creative industry-driven cities. In this process, a more participatory form of city management, an urban *governance*, rather than a managerial centralized authority is underlined. Furthermore, urban redevelopment, gentrification and beautification projects change the physical appearance of the city, while they also aim to revitalize cities with middle and upper-class involvement as well as attracting the outsiders’ attention, such as investors, potential residents and tourists. These efforts are complemented with installation of market devices into the reimagining and marketing of cities via flagship projects and signature architecture. Being initiated to the general dynamics of neoliberal urbanism, the next chapter will focus on modernization and urbanization journey of Turkey in order to unveil its special historical and sociopolitical dynamics that would influence the way neoliberal urbanism is approached and implemented in contemporary Eskişehir.

CHAPTER III:

THE CITY AND MODERNITY IN TURKEY

Cities and modernity have a close relationship, so that cities were approached as the “prime sites of modernity” as well as the interface between capitalism and modernity (Savage, Warde & Ward, 2003). The relationship is no less relevant in the Turkish context, where Turkish modernization proceeded in close relationship with cities while urban-rural dichotomy is commonly attached to the discussions on modernity. This chapter consists of three sections. The first section discusses concepts about modernity and dwells on the historical journey of Turkish modernization, with subsections on early Republican modernization and the ever-lasting tension between secularism and Islam(ism) in Turkey. The second section discusses concepts such as urbanity and urbanism and focuses on Turkish urbanization. The final section comprises the concepts of modernization and urbanism and investigates the scholarly works about the relationship of Turkish modernization with cities.

3.1. Modernity and Turkish modernization

“Modernity” is an extensive term that encompasses social, historical, economic, political, technological and artistic connotations. In its simple historical definition, modernity refers to the modes of social life or organization that emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence (Giddens, 1991b). Its associations include “individual subjectivity, scientific explanation and rationalization, a decline in

emphasis on religious worldviews, the emergence of bureaucracy, rapid urbanization, the rise of nation-states, and accelerated financial exchange and communication” (Snyder, 2016). Despite originated from western Europe and drastic changes in its historical pre-modern circumstances, such as Reformation of the Catholic Church and Renaissance, modernity has come to stand for the name of a series of norms, values and practices that spread beyond the continent. Only recently the terms such as multiple or alternative modernities have been used to refer to the fact that western patterns of modernity may not be the only authentic version since “modernity and westernization are not identical” (Eisenstadt, 2000, 2-3).

As modernity is the state of being modern, the word “modern”, an adjective, comes from the late Latin word *modernus*, which originated from Latin *modō* “just recently” (“modern”, 2012). It fundamentally refers to the recent and contemporary times “as opposed to ancient and remote”, while also specifically refers to the historical period following Middle Ages. The term is also used as a noun to identify a person who belongs to the modern times, or whose views and tastes are modern. On the other hand, in Turkish language, the word “modern” is suggested for interchangeable use with *çağdaş* or *çağcıl* by the Turkish Language Society (“modern”, 2019). These words are defined as “contemporary” and “compatible with the mentality and conditions of the era lived in” by the same dictionary. Furthermore, the word *uygarca* (civilized) is also offered as one of the synonyms of *çağdaş*. This connotation of the words is important to note as discussions around Turkish modernization has accommodated civilization and civility as an important topic.

The core concept, modernization is about the variety of processes and procedures of becoming modern. Based on the premise of a progressive path from pre-modern or traditional society to a modern industrial one, the term encompasses variety of

intertwined transformations such as industrialization, individualization, rationalization and urbanization. Habermas (2018) identifies some of those cumulative and mutually reinforcing bundle of processes as:

to the formation of capital and the mobilization of resources; to the development of the forces of production and the increase in the productivity of labor; to the establishment of centralized political power and the formation of national identities; to the proliferation of rights of political participation, of urban forms of life, and of formal schooling; to the secularization of values and norms; and so on. (p.2)

Long before its theorization by Talcott Parsons in mid-20th century, the term was discussed by early sociologists. According to Durkheim, modernization is marked by “an increasing division of labor, or specialized economic activity”, while Weber underlines the rationalization in science and bureaucracy, and Marx focuses on the shift towards capitalist mode of production (Macionis, 2016, p. 499-501). Another influential sociologist Tönnies observes modernization as the transition from community-based social relations towards a society. Since the historical origins and experience of modernity originates from European context, the path to become modern has also Eurocentric connotations. The dichotomies such as traditional and modern, pre-industrial and industrial, rural and urban as well as community and society derive from the European experience of modernity over the centuries.

In this context, gaining recognition as a theory of development in the international political environment of 1950s and 1960s, modernization theory approaches technological and economic progress as the primary modernization goal as also non-Marxist descriptions “tend to portray related changes in social structures, cultural values and political institutions as reflections of technological progress” (Inglehart & Welzel, 2007, p.3073). Adding development and underdevelopment to the existing binary oppositions, modernization increasingly has become associated with

industrialization and economic growth. Habermas argues that the theory of modernization is important in the way it reframes modernity as a “spatio-temporally neutral model for process of social development in general” (Habermas, 2018, p.2). In contrast, Edward Shills underlines that modernization theory is about “being Western without the onus of dependence on the West”, which expands the mentality and practice of modernity across borders while western model of development perseveres as a reference point (1965, p.10, cited in Tipps, 1973, p.206). Similarly, Tipps (1973) observes that modernization theory derives “the attributes of modernity from a generalized image of western society” and then posits “the acquisition of these attributes as the criterion of modernization” (p.206).

In Turkey, modernization appears as a deeply rooted phenomenon in political and intellectual history. Dated back in 18th century of Ottoman Empire, modernization efforts started as a state project to improve military capabilities with a new program called *Nizam-ı Credit* (“The New Order”) and aimed to increase the country’s competitive power against its western enemies. This development was initially referred to as *ıslahat* (rehabilitation), then *muasırlaşma*, *asrileşme* and *garplılaşma* (becoming contemporary, modern and westernized) in 19th century (Karpaz, 2014, p.80). According to Karpaz, Turkish modernization emerged as the combination of three conditions: recentralization efforts of the Ottoman state, increasing political influence of European forces and the ideological influence of modernization as a tool of legitimacy (p.79-80). Growing beyond the adoption of military and technological advancements of Europe, modernization wave spread in political, intellectual and cultural spheres, including developments such as the establishment of a modern constitution, formation of western style educational institutions, the rise of nationalism and increasing European-style influence on arts. In this context, the

concepts of modernization and westernization were often used interchangeably and implied to possess an organic bond.

The quest of modernization in late Ottoman period in political sphere was a tug of war between the sultan, the *Bab-ı Ali* (the Sublime Porte, or the bureaucratic elite) and then the parliament. The civil bureaucratic management that held the *de facto* power between 1839 and 1876 adopted a comprehensive reform program called *Tanzimat* (Reforms), which consists of the increasing bureaucratization and rationalization of state apparatus, extensive legislative reforms, secular education and extended rights and liberties for non-Muslim citizens (Findley, 2011). In this process, modernization was approached primarily as an effort to “save the country” from the increasing economic and political failures against the West and “catch up” with them (Gencer, 2008; Findley, 2011). In this context, the first constitution of Ottoman State was introduced in 1876, the text was created with reference to various examples in modern European states (Ortaylı, 2006). After a short-lived attempt for political modernization via constitutional monarchy in 1876, Abdulhamid II re-established the centralized political power in the palace and ruled the country for 33 years (1876-1909). However, the elite schools he launched with modern/westernist and secular curriculum ended up creating an oppositional movement that declared a constitutional monarchy and overthrew him in 1909, which is referred as the “Young Turk Revolution” (Levy-Aksu & Georgeon, 2017). The movement evolved into *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (“Committee of Union and Progress”) and dominated the parliament during the last decade of the Empire (1909-1918). Following the failure in World War I, a branch of these elite military officers led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk mobilized the public, orchestrated an independence war against western imperial

forces and put an end to Ottoman political existence by creating the new Turkish Republic in 1923.

3.1.1 Early Republican modernization project in Turkey

After the fall of Ottoman state, the process of modernization continued through the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. During the single-party rule between 1923 and 1945, the ruling *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası/Partisi* (Republican People's Party) promoted a western type of modernization project via reforms for modernization and secularization of the state and society, especially on the institutions of law, education and economy (Zürcher, 2000). With the introduction of cultural reforms such as the Latin alphabet and the adoption of international units of measurements and Gregorian calendar in this period, Turkey aimed at shifting civilizations, from eastern and/or Islam civilization towards a modern western one (Berkes, 2008, p.547). In order to accomplish this “civilizational shift” and become one of the modern nations of (western) civilized world, nation-state as a “secular, modern and western” societal order instead of the religious based organization of Ottoman period was underlined as the principal requisite of surviving as a young state in contemporary world (Giritli, 1980). In fact, it was deemed “impossible for the nations that were outside or lagging behind the contemporary/modern civilization which is the western civilization to maintain their independence and live their lives in a humane manner” (*ibid*). The head of state as well as the head of the ruling Republican People's Party, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk expressed this mentality of how “civilization, modernity and westernism were seen as one and the same thing” as follows:

There are a variety of countries, but there is only one civilization. In order for a nation to advance, it is necessary that it join this civilization. If our bodies are in the East, our mentality is oriented toward the West. We want to modernize our country. All our efforts are directed toward the building of a modern, therefore Western, state in Turkey. What nation is there that desires to become a part of civilization, but does not tend toward the West? (cited in Çınar, 2005, p.5)

This framing of modernity and westernism as identical was also encouraged by the effort to break away from Ottoman legacy and socio-political organization. In this process of “creation of a modern nation with the aim of the creation of a modern nation with the aim of reaching the contemporary level of (Western) civilization”, the Turkish state launched a set of transitions including:

“(a) the transition in the political system of authority from personal rule to impersonal rules and regulations; (b) the shift in understanding the order of the universe from divine law to positivist and rational thinking; (c) the shift from a community founded upon the ‘elite–people cleavage’ to a ‘populist based community; and (d) the transition from a religious-based community to a nation-state” (Mardin, 1997, cited in Keyman, 2007, p.220-221)

In order to accomplish this transition of modernization and nation-building, a set of reforms, values and principles were introduced and promoted by the Republican state, that then came to be known as “Atatürkist” or “Kemalist” ideology and reforms with reference to the great presence and reputation of the leader of Turkish revolution and then the head of the state Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Being introduced in the party program of the Republican People’s Party in 1931 as “the six arrows”, the six core principles of Atatürk and Republic are “populism, secularism, nationalism, republicanism, reformism and statism” (Findley, 2011, p.258). Also, some complementary principles were identified such as modernism,

progressivism/positivism/rationalism, humanitarianism (“Atatürk İlkeleri”, 2019)⁴. In the actualization of these modernization principles to “bring Turkey closer to the West”, legal and cultural reforms, such as the adoption of international calendar and time (1925), the Hat Act (1925) that enforces men to give up on Ottoman *fez* for the sake of western hat, the adoption of continental European law systems such as Swiss Civil Law and Italian Code of Commerce (1926), adoption of metric system (1931) and the Surname Law (1935) that introduced the concept of last name instead of the social titles or family names were introduced and implemented in Turkey (Findley, 2011) .

Among the principles and reforms of early Republican period, secularism often approached as the principle that characterizes the period in the best way possible (Giritli, 1980; Köker, 2000). In the quest of creating a modern state and modern nation, a clean break away from Ottoman legacy was regarded as a necessity and its most visible execution was found in the way religion and religious institutions was handled. An “assertive secularism” was adopted in order to present a distinct departure from Ottoman legacy and undo the influence of Ottoman *ancien regime* (Kuru, 2009). The earliest reforms, only a year after the foundation of Republic, clearly aimed at diminishing the role of Islamic institutions in political and social life and limiting its presence fully to the state control (Findley, 2011, p.252). In 1924, the title of caliphate, which had belonged to the Ottoman dynasty since 1517, was abolished. It was followed by the abolition of the office of Sheik-ul Islam (the highest office of religious scholarship with the political authority to issue *fetwas*), the religious (*şeriye*) courts, *madrasas* (religious institutions of higher education),

⁴ Approaching populism as the “basis of the political regime”, Levent Köker points out the continuity of Turkish modernization process with reference to ideas of Young Turks on modernization in the late Ottoman period (Köker, 2000, p.136)

dervish lodges and Islamic monasteries. The training of religious officers was left to a number of private high schools and newly formed Faculty of Divinity in İstanbul University, under the Ministry of Education. To replace the institutional absence of religious affairs, a centralized Directorate of Religious Affairs was established under the close management of the Office of Prime Minister. With this avid institutional secularization, the coexistence of traditional religious institutions and western-oriented secular institutions came to an end via the Law on Unification of Education and the secularization of civil law (Berkes, 1998). In addition to these developments that specifically focused on established religious institutions, cultural reforms such as the adoption of Romanization of the script, changing the non-business day of the week from Friday (the mass praying day of Muslims) to western oriented Sunday also presented the motivation to break away from Islamic tradition in favor of becoming closer to the international (western) standards of modern living.

3.1.2 The tense relationship of Islam and secularism in Turkey

As early as the Ottoman modernization process, political Islam and secular/westernist modernization have had a tense relationship, so that the modern Turkish history is approached as the “conflict between two Turkeys”, which is “a division highlighting either Turkey as a secularist and progressive nation or as an Islamic and conservative one” (Yavuz, 2019, p.55), even referred as a “torn country” (Baran, 2013). In the Ottoman empire, the general administrative set-up and socio-political organization of the community was predominantly based on religion, so that the religious and judicial official, *kadı*, was the lowest connecting link between the public and the metropolis (Mardin, 2006). Despite this religious social organization and the sultan’s title of the caliph of the Muslim world, the Ottoman state was not a

theocracy for two reasons; because of the presence of other sources of legislation in addition to the Islamic law and the strong state control and employment of *ulema* as civil servants rather than existing as an autonomous religious entity (Kuru, 2009, p.202). In the climate of comprehensive wave of modernization in 19th century and with the increasing number of new statutory courts and new-style schools under the authority of specialized ministries, the *ulema* became bureaucratized yet their relative weight and importance within the state apparatus displayed a great decline (Bein, 2011, p.5). As an integral part of the system, the *ulama* hardly voiced a protest against modernization reforms, while lower clergy such as “preachers in small mosques, sufi sheikhs and (...) the *softas*, the students of the religious schools” took a more active role in voicing out their protests, even “sometimes came out into the streets to demonstrate against certain policies” (Peters, 1986).

Following the modernization of Tanzimat period, Islamism as a modern political ideology started to find some reception in the intellectual circles, some refers as “Islamic modernists (or reformists)” (Gülalp, 2002). Young Ottomans discussed Islamism as one of the three possible solutions to save the empire from its long-lasting decline, the other two being Turkism and Ottomanism (Tunaya, 2001). In this context, “Islamic modernism was a major episode transforming the tenets of a faith into an ideology in order to legitimize a modernist political project” (Gülalp, 2002, p.23). Following their political ideological groundwork, Abdulhamid II with the title of caliph, implemented Pan-Islamist foreign policies to keep the remaining territories of the dissolving empire intact. However, the Young Turk Revolution of 1909 ended this vision of political Islam as Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) adopted a secular⁵ and (Turkish) nationalist vision and focused on national identity over

⁵ In fact, the Union also accomodated an Islamist branch. See: Lewis, 1968.

Islamic sense of community. In this period, the *madrasas* underwent an extensive secularization program (Bein, 2011). When in 1919, a branch of CUP led by Mustafa Kemal started to mobilize the public against imperial forces and fight the war of independence, the office of Sheik-ul Islam issued a fetwa to “denounce them as infidels” and condemn them to death, which was outlawed by the counter fetwa of the *müftü* of Ankara, Mehmet Rıfat (Köker, 2010).

With the foundation of Republic, an assertive secularist perspective and an official discourse against the threat of reactionary Islam (*irtica*) gained relevance. In fact, secularism and populism as the two underlying characteristics of Atatürkist Republican principles presented a constant tension because of the large unacceptance of the assertive secularism by the public (Findley, p.258). The Turkification of call to prayer (*ezan*) by law (1932-1933) is an example of immense state control over religion, which led to some public protests. The ban of its Arabic recital was only amended in 1950 under the Democrat Party rule (Azak, 2010, p.58). Moreover, Republican People’s Party orchestration of an extensive secularization and modernization program encountered some reactionary uprisings such as the Sheik Said rebellion (1925) led by the Kurdish Naqshbandi sect leader and the Menemen Incident (1930) of which a young military officer was beheaded by the uprising of a Sufi order. These incidents escalated the tension between official secularism and reactionary Islam and encouraged the RPP’s authoritarian practices such as Law on the Maintenance of Order and the High Treason Law. Official discourse of reactionary threat against the regime also posed an impediment in the path towards multi-party politics. In the two earliest attempts for founding new political parties, first the Progressive Republican Party (*Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, 1924-1925), then the Free Republican Party (*Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, August-

November 1930), their political journeys were cut short as both were disbanded for “being used by the enemies of the regime” and posing threats to secular political system (Azak, 2010, p.24).

Even after the softening of early Republican secularism after the transition to multi-party politics in 1946, the first autonomous Islamist party organization was established only in 1970 with the National Order Party (*Milli Nizam Partisi*) under the leadership of Necmettin Erbakan. NOP “largely represented Anatolian cities controlled by religiously conservative Sunnis, and the small traders and artisans (esnaf) of the hinterland” as well as the “religiously conservative people who were informal members of outlawed religious orders” (Narlı, 1999). Despite the fact that the party was shut down by the Constitutional Court on May 20, 1971 “-after military pressure-on the grounds that it violated the principles of laicism laid down in the Constitution”, the movement maintained its presence in Turkish politics under different party names⁶. (Alam, 2009). After the military coup in 1980, with its anti-capitalist, anti-westernist and anti-authoritarian rhetoric, the Welfare Party rose as the “the rival voice to the state-sponsored (Kemalist/secularist) ideology” and the “political voice of Islamic critiques of the Kemalist legacy. (Aydın, 2007). The party was especially popular among subaltern populations, “as a result of which the main support base of the party shifted from the conservative provinces to urban poor areas in metropolitan centres” (Tuğal, 2002). In 1990s, the Welfare Party became more visible in Turkish politics by winning municipalities of the two largest cities, İstanbul and Ankara in local elections in 1994, immediately followed by the success in the general elections in 1995, attaining the highest number of seats in the parliament and

⁶ These parties are, namely, the National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi, 1972- 1981), Welfare Party (Refah Partisi, 1983-1998), Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi, 1997-2001), Felicity Party (Saadet Partisi, 2001-) and Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, 2001-).

being part of a coalition government with Necmettin Erbakan as the prime minister. However, as “the guardian of Kemalism” and secularism, the army issued an ultimatum on February 28, 1997, in the National Security Council of civil and military bureaucrats. The secularist intervention of the military resulted in a process in which the party was “prosecuted for violation of the constitution and of the code of political parties due to its anti-secular activities”, followed by the resignation of the prime minister Erbakan, and party’s closing down in 1998 (Gülalp, 1999).

The “Innovators” (*yenilikçiler*) branch of the Welfare Party, against the “Conservatives” (*gelenekçiler*), established Justice and Development Party which has held the government since the general elections in 2002 (Heper & Toktaş, 2003). The founder and leader of the party, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, served as the prime minister for two consecutive terms and has held the office of President since 2014. Consistent electoral success of JDP is approached as an indicator of “increased public visibility of Islam in Turkish politics and society” and “the weakening of the once-formidable hegemonic Kemalist order (Alam 2009). While conventional position of Turkish political Islam was built around the discourse of anti-westernism, JDP is argued to have departed from this position of its predecessors and “engaged in a process of “rethinking” the West, westernization and modern/western political values” including their pro-EU policies and discourses around human rights and democratization, especially early years in their rule (Dağı, 2005, p.21). By the time, re-identification of JDP has become more evident with the rise of Neo-Ottomanism as an Islamic nationalist identity and discourse, in foreign policy as well as culture. Underlying the Ottoman past and values such as tolerance, JDP engages in a new “nation-branding”, national identity based on the Ottoman-Islamic cultural heritage” (Yang Erdem, 2017). This perspective of national identity clearly poses a

contestation against secular Kemalist ideology and historiography that has negated Ottoman past, therefore continuously reproduces the tension with secularists (Fisher Onar, 2009).

While promoting a conservative/Islamic national identity, JDP's economic positioning leans towards neoliberalism, referred as "Islamic capitalism" or "a marriage of Islam and neoliberalism" (Madi, 2014; Atasoy, 2009). In fact, rise of Islamist parties since 1980s was facilitated by emergence of a "entrepreneurial work ethic amongst religious conservative business owners in hitherto peripheral Anatolian provinces of Turkey, today colloquially referred to as the 'Anatolian tigers'" (Karaman, 2013). With JDP, neoliberal dynamics were increasingly embedded in local governance, particularly in the form of "a radical shift in the governance of urban land and housing markets in Turkey from a 'populist' to a 'neo-liberal' mode", also referred as the "second phase of neoliberal urban policies"⁷ (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010; Erman, 2016). In this process of neoliberalization, a series of new legislations about local administrations have been put in action which encourage municipalities⁸ to:

behave like semi-autonomous market actors, granting them the right to privatise public assets, to implement urban renewal projects, to participate in public-private partnerships, to form private firms or real estate partnerships with private firms and to take up loans from national and international financial institutions. (Karaman, 2013, p.3417).

⁷ First phase of neoliberal urban policies refer to the "neoliberal populism" period after 1980 military coup (Erman, 2016).

⁸ With the increasing role of municipalities in local administration, urban transformation projects (UTPs) have become a "major arena of municipal entrepreneurialism" as well as "main mechanisms through which a neoliberal system is instituted" in urban arenas (Karaman, 2013; Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010).

Coming from a political movement that flourished in municipal elections, in which President Erdoğan made his influential debut in politics as the mayor of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 1994, JDP has regarded local level victories very highly (Heper & Toktaş). In fact, 2004, 2009 and 2014 municipal elections have played an important role in the consolidation of their success in general elections. The party won 12 metropolises and 46 cities in 2004, 10 metropolises and 35 cities in 2009, and 21 metropolises and 32 cities in 2014, while continuously winning metropolitan municipalities in Ankara and İstanbul, the two most populated cities in the country (Gümüşçü & Sert, 2010). While having a diverse electoral support across the country, “traditional strongholds” of JDP are typically central Anatolian cities (Öniş, 2012). In this framework, the city of Eskişehir stands as an exception in central Anatolia for being ruled by a metropolitan mayor from CHP (Republican People’s Party) since 1999, even before JDP was established as a political party. The lonely red mark in north-western edge of central Anatolia is Eskişehir, encircled by JDP municipalities shown in yellow (Fig. 1).

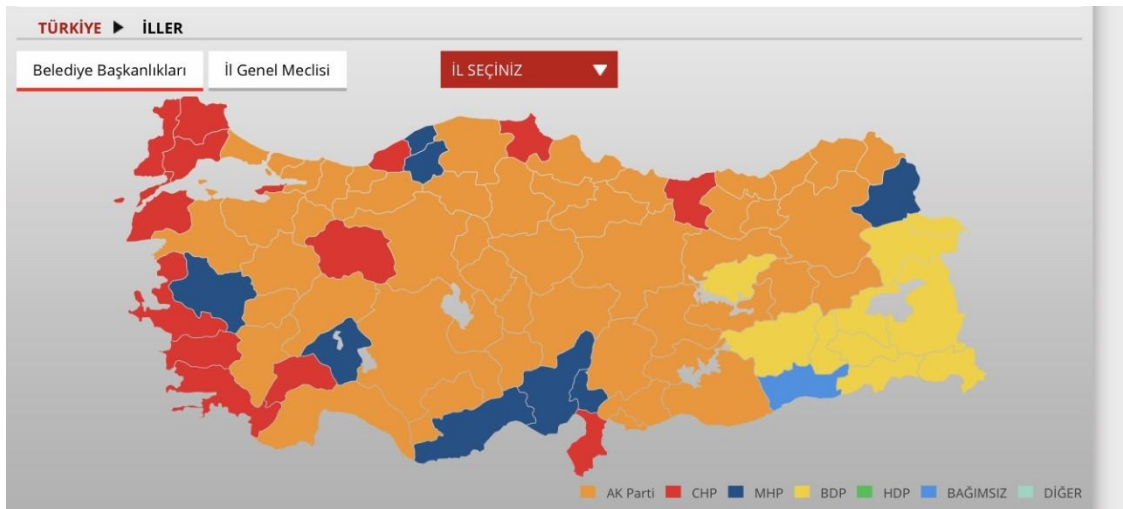


Figure 1. Map of municipal elections in Turkey in 2009. Color yellow is for JDP/AKP and red is for RPP/CHP. (Retrieved from <https://www.haberturk.com>, accessed in Dec 19, 2018)

Having discussed the modernization quest of Turkey since late Ottoman period and long-lasting tension between secularism and Islam in this section, the next section will dwell on concepts about city and urbanism as well as urbanization in Turkey.

3.2 The city and urban

According to United Nations Population Fund report, 2008 is the year “for the first time, more than half of the world’s population will be living in urban areas”

(UNFPA, 2007). Cities have been the core sites of social, cultural and economic life, so that the words “citizen”, civilization” and “politics” have city-related etymological origins. In European history, the “birth of cities marked the beginning of a new era in the internal history of western Europe”, which evolved into the birth of democracy and capitalism in the cities and expanded in influence over geographies and time (Pirenne, 2014, p.138). As of definition, in his dictionary of urban studies, Ruşen Keleş defines the city as:

a unit of settlement which is in continuous social development, in which the societal needs e.g. settlement, sheltering, commuting, work, leisurely activities, entertainment are fulfilled and only a small portion of population is engaged in agricultural activities, densely populated compared to village and consists of small units of neighborhoods (p.75, cited in Uğurlu, 2013).

Similarly, Kıray underlines the centrality of cities for non-agricultural production and adds the fact the city is where the control mechanisms for all types of production activities are concentrated (1998, p.17, cited in Uğurlu, 2013). Furthermore, cities are identified with their population density, comparative largeness in size and the heterogeneity of their population (Wirth, 1938; Kıray, 1998).

The term urban, coming from the Latin word *urbanus* for city, stands for “relating to, or designating a city or town” and “characteristic of or accustomed to cities; citified”

(“urban”, 2019). The close relative of the word, ‘urbane,’ on the other hand, has the connotations of refinement and sophistication, defined as “having the polish and suavity regarded as characteristic of sophisticated social life in major cities” and reflection of elegance, sophistication and courtesy. The set of social manners and positive form of behavior attributed to the cities imply specific kind of attitudes, norms and behaviors that are peculiar to the city life. Such framing of urban life also conveys the possibility of an opposite or a different other, which is often the traditional rural, or the countryside as opposed to the modern cities and city living.

Urbanite and urbanity are two related concepts regarding city life. As the word urbanite can simply stand for an urban resident or a city dweller, the concept of urbanity refers to “the characteristic features of urbanites” (Erman, 2012, p.299). Urbanite can further be specified as an adult resident who grew up in a city, whereas urbanity is “the social psychological and behavioral characteristics of individuals, such as cognitive patterns, values, ways of behaving, and interpersonal relationships, that supposedly distinguish urbanites from others” (Tittle & Grasmick, 2001, p.314). On the other hand, Oxford Dictionary defines urbanity as the “suavity, courteousness and refinement of manner”. With these connotations of high culture and values, urbanity is often approached as “the cultural capital of higher social classes” (Boudreau, 2019). Also associated with urban culture and different lifestyles with an underlying contrast with rurality, urbanity was traditionally approached as “centrally located city sites where urban values such as solidarity, tolerance and the enjoyment of differences can exist” (van Diepen & Musterd, 2009, p.335). Argued to have lost its importance with the decline of urban centers in 1960s and 1970s, the term has recently regained its importance with neoliberal urban developments that underline urban image and its competitive and appealing characteristics. In this context,

attractive features such as a tolerant outlook for alternative lifestyles and lively cultural scene are attributed to the concept to identify the quality of the city and its note-worthy strengths (Florida, 2002; Helbrecht, 2004).

Originated from urban, another key concept related to cities is “urbanism”, in the sense of “the urban way of life” (Erman, 2012, p.299). Urbanism refers to the study of life in cities and urban residents’ interaction with their built environment as well as with each other. Studying the rapidly growing cities of late 19th century, early sociologists identified some characteristics of the life in the cities and how it differs from rural life. Therefore, in order to identify the characteristics of urban way of living, the urban-rural dichotomy is often referred to and underlined. Identifying two types of social organization, *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (association, or society), Tönnies characterizes city living with the weakening of traditional community ties and their replacement with brief, impersonal or secondary relationships that are driven by need and self-interest (Macionis, 2016, p.468).

Similarly, Durkheim refers to the traditional and rural relations as “mechanical solidarity” based on a sense of community, as opposed to a new type of bonding of urban context, which is “organic solidarity” based on “specialization and interdependence” (Macionis, 2014). Furthermore, writing about the different effects of urban and rural environments on one’s mental life, Georg Simmel, in 1903, argues that the city dwellers tend to develop a particular type of indifference, a “*blasé* attitude”, in order to avoid being overwhelmed and overstimulated by the density and complexity of urban life (Simmel, 2012). Following their footsteps, Louis Wirth developed his famous argument on “urbanism as a way of life”, underlining similar characteristics of urban life such as secondary relationships and individualism.

Clearly, these classical descriptions on urbanism have formed around “a determined

historical phase of the city, and to a given type of society”, which approximate urban life with modern life and conveys the dichotomy of modern industrial and traditional pre-industrial societies (Germani, 1981, p.205).

Last but not least, urbanization is a central concept in development and rising importance of cities. Incorporating societal, demographic, developmental and physical elements, urbanization is a comprehensive process of “city building” and “the concentration of population into cities” (Gottdiener & Hutchison, 2011; Macionis, 2016). Urbanization, alongside industrialization, has been approached as one of the defining components of modernity, sometimes even perceived as synonymous (Germani, p.205). Industrialization is argued to play such a big role in the emergence and growth of cities that a city life evolving independently from commerce and industry is unprecedented in both ancient and modern times and anywhere in the world (Pirenne, 2014, p.84). According to Wirth, “the growth of cities and the urbanization of the world is one of the most impressive facts of modern times” (1938, p.2). Producing their own urbanities and urban conditions, urbanization trends have also been transformed over time. After the urbanization of western cities in the late 19th-early 20th centuries, developed countries of the Northern America and Europe have experienced a wave of suburbanization, which is the shift away from urban centers, causing urban decline. The past decades are characterized by post-industrial and neoliberal developments to revitalize cities and the urban core. Meanwhile, developing countries of the global South have experienced massive urbanization rates “in search of jobs, health care, education, and conveniences such as running water and electricity”, leading to unprecedented developments such as hyper-urbanization and megacities with more than 10 million residents (Macionis, 2016, p.472).

In the Turkish context, the rather slow rate of urbanization has escalated after World Word II in such a level that “over 3.3 million people were added to the urban population during 1950s, more than twice as many as in the previous quarter century” (Danielson and Keleş, 1985, cited in Erman, 2012). With its rapid and unplanned nature, internal migration towards urban centers and urbanization in Turkish cities created their own socio-spatial conditions, which are squatter settlements, or *gecekondus* (Kurtuluş, 2013). Born in a political economic environment with fragile attempts for industrialization, political approach towards such illegal settlements in available land in the urban periphery displayed differing amounts of reactions, ranging from allowing indifference to populist acceptance for electoral support (Şenyapılı, 2004). Urbanization in Turkey, which flourished in a physical environment with insufficient supply of housing and infrastructure and facilitated informal economy to a great extent, led to social, physical and economic transformations as well as problems on the urban scene. According to Erman, despite sharing common characteristic with the urbanization patterns of the “Third World” societies, Turkish case presents a set of unique features such as “the Turkish modernization project with its center-periphery dichotomy, the country’s integration into market mechanisms, and its populist politics and multiparty political system, as well as the availability of public land” (p. 301). As in the official statistics of 2018, 92% of the population in Turkey lives in cities, which is the highest rate of urbanization the country has ever experienced (TÜİK, 2019).

Having seen the development of cities as well as key concepts about urbanism in the context of modernization, the next section will present a framework of academic works focuses on the intersection of modernization and urban studies in Turkey.

3.3 Modernization and urbanization in Turkey

The academic literature that dwells on modernity and modernization projects in Turkey through the concepts and elements of urbanism has been expanding in recent years. Growing around different concepts and dynamics, the literature appears to be particularly prolific about the early Republican period. Some reoccurring themes in the scholarly knowledge are Republican modernization project in the urban scene, state and nation building practices in urban space, rural-urban dichotomies in discourse, collective memory and identity as well as the study of material culture and public art.

Lately receiving substantial attention in political studies, the single-party rule of Republican People's Party (1923-1945) and the reform projects they undertook to modernize and westernize the society provides remarkable material for the mutually reinforcing relationship between modernization discourse and the use of urbanism as a modernizing tool. This state-promoted modernization project, especially in the case of Ankara as the capital city of the new Turkish state, is analyzed through its impact and various practices in urban context (Tekeli, 1995, Bozdoğan & Kasaba, 1997, Sargın, 2004, Şenyapılı, 2006, Önge, 2007). As a prominent scholar in the field, Bozdoğan (2001) argues that the state adopted a modern architectural program both as a symbol and an instrument of creating a “westernized, modern and secular new nation dissociated from the country's own Ottoman and Islamic past” (p.6). She further states that architecture and the organization of urban space in that period can be approached as a “literally ‘concrete’ manifestation of the high modernist vision” while the whole culture of architecture as an effort to reconcile modern and nation (p. 6-7). In a similar fashion, Tekeli observes that the establishment of Ankara as a modern city and its performance in setting the examples of modern behavioral

patterns for the rest of the country was regarded identical with the success of the new regime (in Şenyapılı, 2006, p.xiii). Erman summarizes this outlook of Turkish state and the bureaucratic elite as interpretation of “city as the engine of modernization” which was expected to play a significant role in socializing people to the new ways of life (2012, p.299).

Trying to reconcile modernization and nationalist discourses as breaking away from the old regime, urban practices are approached as state-building and nation-building practices as well. Arguing that every nationalist project produces its own national spaces while identifying its members, Çınar (2005) observes nation not only as an imagined community but also as an imagined territory. Along similar lines, Aydın (2017) argues that some cities play the significant role of spatial representation of nations and observes Ankara as such a city that embraces the symbols and vision of modernity of Turkish nation as a modern western nation (p.31). Duru (2017) further argues that Ankara’s construction as a modern city was the first tangible product of the idealized image of Republic in ruling party’s imagination, and the city is he “symbol of Republican establishment” (p.121). On the other hand, focusing not on the cities but on the maps, Batuman (2010) also discusses space in the context of nation- and state-building, arguing that national territories and mapping processes unravel the “shape of the nation”, as mapping can be a form of political tool and the territories can be framed as national symbols.

Another theme that has been relevant in the literature on Turkish modernization in urban contexts, the urban-rural dichotomy stands as an important topic of inquiry in the way the concepts urbanity and rurality have been formulated. Studying rapid urbanization trend in Turkey from 1950s, Beeley (2002) identifies one of the pull factors towards the city as the promotion of urban living as the ideal, “the goal of

national commitment to social and economic progress”. Accordingly, being a townsperson was to be perceived modern while being a villager, peasant or nomad is traditional (p.45). In a similar fashion, Erman underlines the modernization perspective of integration as assimilation of rural migrants into urban society as rural migrants were “to become ‘true urbanites’ by discarding their rural and traditional values and lives and by adopting the lifestyles and values of the modernizing urban elites” (Erman, 1998, p.541).

There have also been studies concentrating on urban-rural encounters (Nalbantoğlu, 1997; Cantek, 2003). Accordingly, Cantek draws attention to the tension between local residents of Ankara and the modernizing elite that had moved to establish the modern capital city. This encounter revealed clashing perspectives in which the locals were framed as backward and vulgar while local residents approached newcomers as strangers (2003). Moreover, the urban-rural dichotomy has become contested in the literature. For instance, Öncü denotes the daily conception of Istanbulite that implies refinement and competence as a myth in global era, while Erman portrays the complex socio-economic and cultural dynamics of rural migrants’ self-identifications in the city (Erman, 1998, Öncü, 1999).

In close relationship with nation-building and modernization through urban projects, association of urban space with memory and identity has also received some attention. The foundation of modern city of Ankara as the capital is approached as a project of collective memory and ideological construction of identity (Sargın, 2004; Güven, 2017; Cantek, 2017). In the book *İcad Edilmiş Şehir: Ankara* (The Invented City: Ankara), Cantek explains the title of the book as a reference to the ideological construction of identity that ignores some elements, for instance, its multilayered cultural background or long history, while puts emphasis on particular layers (2017,

p.10). Along Similar lines Yalım (2002) and Batuman (2002) approach Ulus and Kızılay squares as the places of collective memory and identity formation. Also, there have been a growing body of studies on the politics of public spaces in more recent periods, especially on urban public spaces such as Kızılay and Taksim squares (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010; Gül, Dee & Cünük, 2014; Batuman, 2015).

The last important topic of study is the representation of modernity and ideology in urban space through aesthetic objects of material culture such as statues, monuments and other form of public art. Drawing attention to the spatial representation of ideology, political power, national identity and collective memory, some scholars studied state-controlled artistic products in public space. In this respect, statues, memorials and monuments constitute an important material. Referring to early Republican practices once again, placement of monuments and statues in public squares is argued to be a part of nation-building process, even “sculpting nationalism” and making an “imaginable community” via urban spatial practices (Kezer 2009, Gür, 2013). Along similar lines, Çınar elaborates that the functions of these objects involve the portrayal of national identity, the victory of official nation over its alternatives as well as nationalization of space (Çınar, 2005). In this respect, Ulus Victory Monument is the “first spatial signature of independence” (Sargın, 2004), whereas the Security Monument in Kızılay Square reveals the “uneasy relation between the Turkish nation-state and the formation of a modern bourgeois identity” (Batuman, 2013b). Moreover, monumental buildings such as Atatürk’s Mausoleum and Kocatepe Mosque are also discussed in terms of the identity, citizenship and subjectivities (Meeker, 1997). Finally, the relationship between statues, urban space and public space have received some limited attention in the literature (Kedik, 2011; Bulat, Yağmur & Aydın, 2014; Çil & Alp, 2018).

In this chapter, Turkish modernization and key concepts of urbanism as well as scholarly works on their relationship has been elaborated. In order to have a better understanding of contemporary Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality and mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen's understanding of modernity, historical quest of modernization in Turkey is traced back. In this context, early Republican reforms and practices of modernization and uneasy relationship between secular and Islamist actors and discourses have been introduced. In the second section, key concepts about city and urbanism are introduced while Turkish experience of urbanization is shortly displayed. The final section revealed the academic literature that combines themes of modernization and urbanism in Turkish context. These studies appear to concentrate on early Republican modernization project in Ankara, use of urban space in nation-building and state-building and dichotomy of urban-rural in parallel to modern-traditional. The section has also underlined some studies about material culture, public art and collective identity in relation to urban space. After this discussion of Turkish modernization in urban setting, the next chapter will focus on the city of Eskişehir with its historical roots, importance as an industrial Republican city and contemporary neoliberal developments under the Metropolitan Municipality.

CHAPTER IV

THE CITY OF ESKİŞEHİR

Eskişehir is one of the oldest cities in Turkey with its roots in antiquity (Argan, 2016, p.74). In fact, the name of the city literally means the “old city”. This chapter introduces the city of Eskişehir in three historical phases. The first section focuses on early history of Eskişehir, including its prehistoric origins, importance in Phrygian kingdom, status in Seljukian and Ottoman history and its role in War of Independence. This section also presents a demographic picture of the city. The second section focuses on the growth of Eskişehir as an industrial city throughout the years as well as developments such as gentrification and urban transformation that emerged at the end of this period. The final section focuses on dramatic neoliberal transformations of urban fabric in the last two decades, such as deindustrialization of former industrial areas and beautification of the urban core, under the management of Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality and the mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen.

4.1 Early history of Eskişehir

Eskişehir is a central Anatolian city that is located 220 kilometers west of the capital Ankara and 314 kilometers southeast of İstanbul, the two most populated cities of modern Turkey (Appendix A). The human settlement in Eskişehir and its surrounding regions goes back to the Neolithic age (10000-5500 B.C), concentrated specifically on the mounds of Demircihöyük located 25 kilometers west and Kalkanlı höyük in the east of the modern Eskişehir city (Kavlakoğlu, 2005). Şarhöyük,

another important mound which is about 2 kilometers to the modern city center is dated around 3500 B.C and is known as an important settlement that accommodated ancient Hittite civilization of Anatolia (Oktay & Çağiran, 1989, Kavlıkoğlu, 2005). The modern Turkish name of the area, Şarhöyük, comes from the “şar” that is originated from the Turkish word *şehir* (city) and *höyük*, which means mound (Albek, 1991, p.63).

As an urban settlement, the Şarhöyük area was then called “Dorylaion” in Greek and “Dorylaeum” in Latin, rumored to be named after the founder Dorylaeus of Eretria (Albek, p.66). Founded by the Phrygians, who came to Anatolia from southeast Europe according to Herodotus and Strabon (Sams, 1988), the city came to be known as a commercial city which is located in “crossroads of the important routes, with various thermal springs” (Kavlıkoğlu, 2005). In fact, the larger region with the neighboring Afyonkarahisar and Kütahya cities was of central importance for the antique Anatolian kingdom of Phrygia⁹, which led the region to be widely referred as “Phrygia” or “Phrygian Valley” (Aşlıoğlu & Memlük, 2010). Named after the most famous king in Phrygian history, the ancient city of Midas and the monument of Midas (now called Yazılıkaya) are 80 kilometers to Eskişehir modern city center. After the Phrygian period, the city of Dorylaion continued its presence under the post-Hellen kingdoms of Lysimachos and Seleukos, then Provincia Asia of Roman Empire in 116 B.C. Staying under the Byzantine/East Roman authority until 1074, it was called “Sultanönü” (the Sultan’s frontier) under the Seljuk management, because of its strategic location as the frontier city of the capital city Konya, especially against the Crusades (Kavlıkoğlu, 2005, p.11). The name Eskişehir (literally means

⁹ Political and cultural capital of Phrygia was Gordion, an ancient city located 70 kilometers south-west of modern Ankara, the capital of Turkey (Roller, 1991; “Gordion (Ankara)”, 2019).

“old city” in Turkish), as it is used today, comes from the Seljuks who took over Dorylaion after long fights against Byzantines and established a new settlement in the south of then deteriorating city, therefore having named the old city “Eskişehir”. (Kavlakoğlu, 2005, p.13). Nowadays, the Metropolitan Municipality has been underlining the city’s long history that accommodated various cultures and civilizations as well as its the deep-rooted urban experience by referring to its name (“Tarihçe”, 2015).

Another historical significance of the region is that the Kayı clan which evolved into the Ottoman state and then empire had started to organize as a state and expand its territories in this region. Under the Ottoman reign, the city was legally on *sancak* (district) status, in fact, Sultanönü was the region to attain the sancak status meanwhile Eskişehir is referred as the capital of the district (Doğru, 1992). Despite its significance in the birth of the Ottoman state, the city was sidelined in time as its development was possibly hindered by the important neighbor cities, such as the early capital city Bursa and Kütahya (*Paşa sancağı*/district) (Doğru, 1992, p.13). Eskişehir was administratively controlled first by Ankara, then by Kütahya and finally by Hüdavendigâr (Bursa) government units. In the War of Independence, thanks to the crossroad position of railways and its strategic location as the frontier of Ankara, where the newly founded Grand National Assembly located, Eskişehir played a critical role. Three of the five battles against imperial Greek army took place nearby Eskişehir and the city stayed under foreign occupation between 20 July 1921-2 September 1922, for more than 13 months (Albek, 1991, p.191). Ruled by the *kaymakam* (district governor) until 1923, Eskişehir was finally recognized as a province in 1923, only with the proclamation of Turkish Republic (“Tarihçe, 2015”).

In terms of demographic composition, the city has received mass immigration since the late Ottoman era due to the increasing pressure of Russia on Caucasia and Crimea and Ottoman loss of territory in these regions, which led the Turkish-Muslim population to migrate to Anatolia (Şahin, 2011). Starting in the late 18th century and especially with the great wave of migration in 1860s, Eskişehir became one of the primary cities that the migrants were canalized for settlement. Major pull factors to the city include the strategic location and close distance of Eskişehir to main roads, railways and marketplaces as well as the availability of resources for maintaining the migrants' professions (Önder & Kırılı, 2005). In particular, Crimean Tatar, Cherkes and Abkhasian migrants formed number of villages while some settled in the urban center, ending up with the expansion of the residential areas in the city (Albek, 1991; Önder & Kırılı, 2005).

Starting in 1877, another set of migrants came from Balkans, including the countries such as Greece, Bulgaria and Romania, and they continue to come and settle in Eskişehir throughout the demise of Ottoman state and in Republic (Albek, 1991). As a small town under the Ottoman administration, Eskişehir could attain the much-needed human capital and workforce with the incoming migrants and gained a leverage for the development and growth as an industrial city under the Republican regime. The continuous flow of migration to the city for around 200 years also shaped the demographic composition substantially. Therefore, modern Eskişehir came to be composed of three large demographic groups that are estimated to be around similar population size: the local Turkmen people (Manavs), the Crimean Tatar migrants and the Balkan migrants (Adıgüzel, 2013).

Eskişehir continued to receive migration under Republic. In 1950 and 1960s, the city received migration from Turkish minority in Bulgaria because of political pressure in

the country (Çolak, 2013). In parallel to the urbanization and inner migration trends in Turkey in this period, the city continued to expand with incoming population from neighboring cities. As of 2018, Eskişehir is a middle-sized city with the population of 871,187 and ranks 25th in Turkey in population size (TÜİK, 2018b). According to TÜİK statistics in 2018, only 59% of the resident population's officially registered province is Eskişehir. Neighboring cities including Afyonkarahisar (4.7%), Bilecik (1.8%), Kütahya (1.7%), as well as metropolitan centers such as Ankara (3%) and İstanbul (1.9%) lead the list of provinces that emigrate to Eskişehir (TÜİK, 2018a). In 2000s, Eskişehir has remained as a city with consistent positive net migration rates around 9-10%, which indicates that the number of immigrants, people who come to city exceed the number of emigrants, people who leave the city¹⁰¹¹ (Table 1).

Table 1. Migration numbers and rates in Eskişehir between 2010-2018.

Year	Population	Immigration	Emigration	Net Migration	Net Rate
2017-2018	871 187	35 995	32 946	3 049	3.5
2016-2017	860 620	38 060	27 799	10 261	12.0
2015-2016	844 842	36 687	25 785	10 902	13.0
2014-2015	826 716	36 041	28 298	7 743	9.4
2013-2014	812 320	35 927	27 977	7 950	9.8
2012-2013	799 724	33 893	28 329	5 564	7.0
2011-2012	789 750	32 363	25 299	7 064	9.0
2010-2011	781 247	35 045	27 908	7 137	9.2
Total	-	284 011	224 341	59 670	9.1% (av.)

Table by author, data retrieved from Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK, 2018b).

¹⁰ However, the city's rate of urbanization is respectively lower than other metropolitan cities such as Ankara, Bursa, İstanbul and Kocaeli, which is approached as an advantage for the planning and implementation of municipal masterplans (Argan, 2016).

¹¹ Eskişehir is one of the two cities in central Anatolia with consistent positive migration rates since 1980s, the other city being the capital Ankara (Ataay, 2001).

As portrayed in this section, Eskişehir is a city with deep historical roots despite its fluctuating importance throughout the history. The city has hosted Turkish-Muslim immigrants from different geographical origins and have obtained a considerable human capital in the last two centuries of Ottoman administration. The next section will discuss the growth and transformation of Eskişehir as a modern industrial city under the Republican regime thanks to its strategic location and human capital.

4.2 Eskişehir as a modern industrial city

Having the marketplace and surrounding area destroyed in 1905 due to a big fire and then going through a foreign occupation during the War of Independence, the city experienced dramatic changes in urban fabric under the Republican regime. The initial establishment focused on key government and administrative buildings, such as the City Hall, Courthouse and Central Bank. In 1920s, the production activities in the city mainly focused on agricultural and natural products. The railway repair shop (*Cer Atölyesi*) that was built in 1894 for Berlin-Baghdad Railway construction and nationalized in 1924 as well as the flour and brick factories (e.g. Kurt Brickyard and Arslan Brickyard) were the main components of the industrial capacity of this period. Moreover, the “Aircraft Supplies Workshop” was established in 1926. The factories, workshops and grain silos concentrated in a district that came to be known as *Fabrikalar Bölgesi* (the Zone of Factories) and one of the first industrial zones in Turkey (Suğur, 2016). Located in the northern part of the railroad, the zone expanded by time and gained central importance on the urban fabric. Moreover, with the restructuring of the economic system, produce and commodity exchanges were established in 1925 to encourage the production and exchange capacity of city.

The industrial development in the city continued to grow in 1930s to 1950s. One of the firsts in the country, Eskişehir Sugar Factory started to operate in 1933. The production capacity of the factory steadily increased over the years so that in 1976 it could provide 10% of Turkey's total sugar production. The sugar also started to be produced as an industrial product in the region in this period. Complementary factories and workshops such as grain alcohol factory, rubber factory as well as mechanical operations, montage and steel construction also started operate, increasing the production and employment capacity and efficiency. (Global Medya, 1996). In 1940s, the city was the 6th biggest city in the country with increasing population and need for housing. In this period, the city started to expand towards north and the old neighborhoods such as Odunpazarı and Yukarı Mahalle ceased to be the urban center ("Tarihçe", 2015).

In 1950s, the city received considerable number of migrants in and outside Turkey. The city was preferred due to its industrial sector, thus the employment capacity, and its central location. In this period, the industrial production maintained to focus on food, transportation and earth material while accommodating new industries and factories at the same time. Until 1970s, three big-scale factories, Sümerbank Textile Factory (1956), Cement Factory (1953) and Eti Biscuit Factory (1961) were established in the city. The first two factories were subsidized by private-public partnerships while the last one was a private establishment. Furthermore, the first domestic automobile, named Devrim, was produced in the railway repair workshops in Eskişehir, from the small constitutive components to the whole body of the car. In 1970, the industrial sector got 42.4% of income share while agricultural production constituted the 34.8% of total, showing the important role industrial sector plays in Eskişehir's development (Saraçoğlu, 1974). This period is also reported with the

heavy industrial contamination of Porsuk River, in which the mayor Büyükerşen reported to have safely learned how to swim back in 1950s (Bozkurt, 2018).

Moreover, the Organized Industrial Zone in the city opened in 1973 and the remaining factories in the urban center moved to this zone, leaving the Zone of Factories abandoned until its redevelopment in 2000s.

From 1980s, with the “Economic Stability Measures” the industrial sector went through some hardships due to the high interest rates policies which especially affected small and middle size establishments (Global Medya, 1996). The city also lost some investments to cities such as Bursa, Sakarya and Kocaeli due to their geographic advantage (Suğur, 2016). However, Baksan Small Industrial Area (1981), Tusaş Aircraft Motors Factory and Small Industrial Area (1988) are some of the important developments of this period. This period also shows the trend of cheap apartment housing in Eskişehir, like the rest of the country. With the foundation of Osmangazi University in 1993 and further expansion of Anadolu University in 1990s, the city started to develop some leverage in social and economic development, which was to flourish remarkably in 2000s.

As of today, the Zone of Factories accommodate refunctioned and renovated buildings as well as other buildings that have been abandoned and left to destruction. Tightly surrounded by the residential areas, rant and loss of function reinforced the decline of this area and opened it for new functions and uses (Özkut, 2017). The reconstructed Kurt/Başkurt Brick Factory is now located next to Espark Shopping Mall and function as a caricature museum, café and restaurant. Aral Wine Distillery function as a café (Hayal Kahvesi) while Doğrular Lumber Mill operates as a bar (222 Park) (Şensoy & Üstün, 2016). Another shopping mall, Kanatlı İş Merkezi is located in the land of a former flour factory (Akarçay, 2012). While redevelopment

and gentrification procedures take place in the area e.g. the transformation of a former grain silo in to high-end hotel (Appendix C) and host cultural events such as the International Stone Sculptures Symposium and Competition in 2011 (“Eskişehir Taş Heykel Sempozyumu”, 2011), remaining buildings and the overall area are approached as important objects of industrial heritage tourism (Şensoy & Üstün, 2016).

In term of residence, the city continued to grow in its peripheries. New residential areas have been set up and grew especially in the direction of Atatürk Boulevard and Batıkent (means “western city” in Turkish), which attracts the well-off due to its residential prices, lower rate of traffic-related problems and abundance of green areas (Argan, 2016). Despite this trend, Eskişehir urban center, which is the old city, still constitutes the singular core of the city, as a “majority of public institutions are still located around regions such as Kızılay, İsmet İnönü, Hamamyolu, Governorship (Valilik) and Metropolitan Municipality (Büyükşehir Belediyesi)” (Akarçay & Suğur, 2016; Argan, 2016, p.82). Since 2000s, there has been also an increase in the number of gated communities and sites, reportedly around 27, which are concentrated in Tepebaşı area, western side of the city (Turut & Özgür, 2018). In terms urban transformation projects, before 2010, the plans of four UTP projects were finalized for Sazova, Zincirlikuyu, Bahçelik and Odunpazarı districts. However, because of the popular discontent against Mass Housing Development Administration (TOKİ), only the Karapınar Urban Transformation Project in Odunpazarı could be actualized (Yıldız, 2013; cited in Turut & Özgür, 2018). Differences in political orientation among district municipalities, Metropolitan Municipality and Metropolitan Municipality Council appears as a reason that complicates the process. Only in 2010, the metropolitan Municipalities are legally

granted the right to declare sites of urban transformation and development projects. With the new legislation in 2012 concerning the transformation of areas under the risk of disaster, Mustafa Kemal Paşa district and the partially Deliklitaş, Kurtuluş, Yeni, Işıklar, Mamure, İhsaniye ve Hacıalibey districts are accepted for transformation with the partnership of İstanbul Technical University (Turut & Özgür, 2018). As of 2019, two urban transformation projects on Gündoğdu district is continuing (“Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim”, 2019)¹².

Once an important industrial center with a visible Zone of Factories in the urban center, Eskişehir’s has experienced gentrification and urban transformation projects in the last two decades. In addition to the neoliberalization of urban fabric via interventions in residential and industrial spaces, academic works on larger-scale transformations in the city including branding and image-making practices, tourism as well as artistic and cultural activities will be discussed in the next section.

4.2 Eskişehir as a neoliberal city

In parallel to the decline in industrial identity in the urban center, Eskişehir has experienced a remarkable neoliberal urban transformation in the last two decades. With extensive city marketing and branding practices, increasing tourism capacity, de-industrialization and aestheticization of urban core, gentrification and urban development projects and hallmark events, Eskişehir appears as one of the successful examples of neoliberal urban transformation in Turkey. Receiving substantial attention from scholarly world, news media and tourism agencies, there has been a

¹² For more studies on urban transformation and development projects in Eskişehir; See: Gün, 2013; Civelek, 2017.

growing literature on Eskişehir in the last two decades as an object of academic studies.

In this transformation, incumbent municipal mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen took a central role. Originally a professor of finance, Büyükerşen has been running for metropolitan municipality for five terms, re-elected in March 2019 for the fifth time. Having run the elections as a candidate of DSP (*Demokratik Sol Parti* / Democratic Left-wing Party) until 2011, he transferred to Republican People's Party and still continue his political affiliation in said party. Born in Eskişehir, the mayor's family background is meaningful in the way it encompasses different demographic groups in the city. In his interview book, he states:

My mother's father is a Crimean Tatar named Ömer Ağa (Meriçli) who had fled Crimea and went to Romania and then ended up in Uzunköprü. Meanwhile, my mother's mother Şükriye Hanım is a migrant from Bulgaria. My father's family are migrants from Plevne (now in Bulgaria). He, his two brothers and my grandmother first settled in İzmir, then in Bursa. Then, because of his uncle, who had settled in Eskişehir, they were moved to Eskişehir as well (Taşçı, 2009, p.15).

Under his rule in the office of mayor, Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality has adopted a competitive, de-industrializing and beautifying attitude in their urban development projects. Construction of large recreational areas such as Sazova Park and Kentpark in addition to the many other new parks in the city, the transformation of the areas of old factory buildings into shopping malls, for instance, Espark Shopping Mall, and the refunctioning of a former grain silo into a high-end hotel are some of the examples (Appendix C). Ranking in top five cities worldwide in WRI (World Resources Institute) competition of urbanism in 2018, Eskişehir draws attention with the extensive rehabilitation of Porsuk River, over 200% increase in green space and recreational areas per person, and advancement of inner-city rail

transportation system (Hacısalıhoğlu, 2018). Having their urban development projects funded by various private, non-governmental and international agents including European Investment Bank, ABN Ambro and Nordic Investment Bank, the municipality displays an exemplary performance of neoliberal governance and vision of development (“Avrupa Kenti Oluyoruz”, 2002). Looking up to European cities for reference, the presentation and legitimization of urban development and beautification projects often make references to the similar experiences in Europe and other western cities. For instance, the introduction of inner-city railway transportation system was consolidated through various examples of its European counterparts (Appendix D). In a similar fashion, developments such as the rehabilitation of Porsuk river and the increasing presence of public statues in the urban fabric are promoted as fulfilling the terms of a modern European city (Babadoğan, 2005; Argan, 2016).

The reconstruction of city image as the city of art and culture and university city also appears as an outcome of neoliberal urbanization process. Anadolu University, in which the incumbent mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen served in the rector’s office for two terms between 1982-1992, grew to be “a university that can give birth to three other universities” (“Başkan Biyografi”, 2015). The second university of the city, Osmangazi University separated from Anadolu University and is legally established as an autonomous higher education institution in 1993¹³. Along similar lines, the municipality under his management reopened the city theatres after a 40-year break, founded a symphony orchestra and opera in the city, and has been organizing annual festivals such as International Eskişehir Festival and International Children’s Theatre

¹³ However, the official foundation date of Osmangazi University is recognized as 1970 by the senate decision, because of the State Academy of Engineering and Architecture in Eskişehir’s (EDMMA) foundation in 1970 (Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi, 2019).

Festival (“Kültür Sanat”, 2015). The city also hosts the first wax statues museum in the country as well as museums for modern glass arts and urban collective memory. Decorating Porsuk river with aesthetic bridges and producing and placing number of statues into the urban fabric also elevated the city’s reputation as a city of arts and culture. Moreover, historic Odunpazarı neighborhood with its traditional houses has also been renovated and extensively promoted for its cultural and touristic values. Furthermore, Eskişehir is selected as the Cultural Capital of the Turkish World in 2013 and listed in UNESCO Capital of Intangible Cultural Heritage for the same qualities in interurban competition (“Eskişehir Somut Olmayan Kültürel Miras”, n.d.)

Following these developments, the increase in Eskişehir’s tourism potential has shown considerable improvement with a 435% increase in domestic visitors and 820% in foreign visitors in the last 15 years (“Eskişehir’in Turizm Mucizesi”, 2016). With the employment of city marketing and branding strategies, the city is argued to have gained a leverage for even better capacity in the future (Aksöz & Bac, 2012).

There are some studies focusing on the visitors’ perspective on Eskişehir as analyzing the pull factors, such as positive city image (Evren & Kozak, 2012; Kaşlı & Yılmazdoğan, 2012), cultural tourism (Üsküdar, Çakır & Temizkan, 2014) and urban networks (Kerimoğlu & Çıracı, 2008). Meanwhile, some scholars focus on push factors such as insufficient product diversification and infrastructure (Seçilmiş, 2011). Local perspectives on tourist attractions such as faith tourism and festivals have also been object of scholarly attention (Yıldız & Polat, 2016; Uysal 2019).

Furthermore, city marketing and branding practices in Eskişehir is found particularly important as the city is considered a “brand city in city marketing” (Özsöz, 2018). In the Metropolitan municipality’s motto *Şehir Eskişehir’dir* (“Eskişehir is the city”),

the city presents a successful implementation of city branding and image building strategies. In this context, Eskişehir is discussed as a city of tourism, culture and leisurely activities (Evren & Kozak, 2012; Argan, 2016), a university town (Üsküdar, Çakır & Temizkan, 2014), and a European city (Babadoğan, 2005; Argan, 2016). On the other hand, the city branding strategies also receive some criticism such as for being repetitive and unauthentic (Aksoylu, 2013).

Another group of studies focus on the neoliberal urban transformation in Eskişehir. Despite limited in size, this literature focuses on a variety of topics and characteristics of neoliberal urbanism such as physical and economic restructuring of central business districts (Ulu & Dökmeci, 2003), urban regeneration and gentrification (Civelek, 2015; Akarçay & Suğur, 2016), neoliberal production of urban space (Turut & Özgür, 2018), accessibility and sustainability of urban spaces (Tutal & Üstün, 2009), rehabilitation and recreational use of once polluted rivers (Şimşek, 2014; Sarıçam & Hepcan, 2014) and metropolitan governance and the mayor (Hakala & Öztürk, 2013, Samkar & Alpu, 2013, Comba & Yaman, 2016).

The final important body of studies on contemporary Eskişehir concentrates on the social dynamics of the city, particularly on identity and social change.

Transformation on urban fabric through urban development projects, the decline of industrial section and the rise of service and tourism industries, the change in consumer habits of residents, especially the middle class, have been the object of studies (Üstün & Tutal, 2008; Akarçay & Suğur, 2015). The city identity and its relationship with urban development and city image has been another topic of social inquiry. Using urban development to look more like European cities such as the operation of Venice-style gondolas on Porsuk river has been observed to possess

incompatibilities with the city identity and transform it under neoliberal urbanism (Ulu & Karakoç, 2004; Aksoylu, 2013; Hakyemez, 2016).

In this chapter, Eskişehir has been introduced throughout its historical journey.

Hosting various states and civilizations, Eskişehir is a city with remarkable historical and cultural depth, reinforced further through the constant flow of migration it has received. Having been promoted to a province in Turkish Republic, Eskişehir thrived thanks to its strategic location in central Anatolia, nearby important railways, and respectively diverse human capital. The city made a name as a (modern) industrial city via its industrial capacity which was highly visible in urban fabric. In the past two decades, in parallel to the neoliberalization trend in other cities in the country, Eskişehir has displayed a drastic transformation following the decline in industrial sector and through the urban development and beautification projects carried out by Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality led by the mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen. Being one of the many projects of said Municipality, the next chapter will investigate the municipally produced and placed statues in Eskişehir urban center.

CHAPTER V:

THE MUNICIPAL STATUES OF ESKİŞEHİR

As a city many of my relatives reside in, I have spent considerable amount of time in Eskişehir throughout the years. With the operation of high-speed train for the first time in 2009, the distance between Ankara-Eskişehir have shortened to a mere 1.5 hours, making it remarkably more convenient for a day-trip. Although I do not have much recollection of the city before Yılmaz Büyükerşen's management that started in 1999, I was well aware of the changes in the city every time I visit: new shopping malls and residential areas, public railway system, stylized bridges and wandering gondolas on Porsuk river, and unmistakably, multiple statues spread around the streets, parks, riverside and crossroads. The statues held an element of surprise as I encountered new ones every time I visited the city, or went to a district I had not been before. At the same time, they felt oddly predictable and impersonal with their identical golden/bronze color and material, real size and realistic depiction of similar human figures and no reference to any artist's name or unique artistic style that would make a statue different from another. I came to realize that the statues are vastly anonymous to the public, and they belong to the Municipality, from their designing to production and placement in the city.

This chapter presents the empirical case of this study, which is the municipally produced statues in Eskişehir city center. The exact number of statues remains unknown and continues to grow in number with new statues being produced and added into the urban fabric by the Municipality. First section provides an

introduction to the statues as public art in Turkey and importance of statues as an art form in Eskişehir. Second section introduces and discusses some of the most visible statues in the city center. The discussion concentrates on two main themes: firstly, the modernization perspective of the Municipality and the mayor in parallel to the early Republican understanding and secondly, the emphasis on proper urban behavior via statues.

4.1. Public Statues of Eskişehir

Sculpture is an “artful combination of three-dimensional solids, hollows and voids” that is produced via “modeling clay, carving stone, or assembling pieces of wood, metal, and glass, and sometimes even whole objects” (Govignon, 1998, p.85).

Encompassing a wide variety of material, styles and techniques, a sculpture can be free-standing or in relief, attached to its background. Originated from the Latin verb *stare*, which means “to stand upright”, the term “statue” is used for free-standing sculptures (Govignon, p.87). Statues can be in various sizes, including the real size statues such as the statue of David by Michelangelo, or colossal sized ones such as the Statue of Liberty which is 93 meters tall. Statues are usually the representations of a person, animal or mythical figures (“statue”, 2019). Since the artistic objects that will be analyzed in this thesis are sculpted works in the form of free-standing human figures, the word “statue” is preferred when referring them in this study.

The historical journey of art of sculpture in Turkey has not been a long one, very limited in general and completely absent in public spaces until Republic. While ornamental sculpturing existed in Turkish culture, the western style sculpturing methods have been implemented for around a hundred years (Ataseven, 2011). For

this reason, “the starting point of the participation of the art of sculpture into contemporary life” is accepted as the Republic and republican reforms (Demirkalp, 2010). Their presence in urban fabric also started in the same era, especially with monumental statues (Osma, 2006). Arts, approached as a means of spreading the Republican ideology, were funded and supported as the first group of Turkish sculptors were sent to Europe for formal education in 1924, only a year after the establishment of the new state (Ataseven, 2011). On the other hand, the monumental structures in urban centers and squares, Atatürk statues in particular, served for similar purposes, contributing to the modern outlook of the cities as attempting to delivering their modernizing, nationalist and Republican narrative.

Looking at today’s Eskişehir, public art constitutes an important part of contemporary urban center. Under the management of incumbent Metropolitan Municipality mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen, who has held office since 1999, the urban center has been aestheticized with comprehensive urban projects including rehabilitation of Porsuk River, revitalization of former factory sites into shopping malls and building recreational areas and parks. Among the strategic goals of the Municipality stated on their official website, the primary target for Eskişehir is “to continue to be the pioneer city in Turkey in terms of culture, art and education”. The detailed plan entails the activities of city theaters and symphony orchestra, museums, historical and cultural heritage, as well as becoming the “city of festivals” and “city of art galleries and exhibitions” (“Vizyonumuz ve Misyonumuz”, 2015). In this art-loving context, a number of statues were produced in a sculpture workshop funded by the Metropolitan Municipality and placed across the city and in the city center in a rather concentrated manner. With few exceptions, such as the animal figures in Doktorlar Street, the statues are in the appearance of a hard metal and are bronze or

gold in color. Most of the statues are produced of fiberglass for economic purposes (“Atatürk Heykeli Alkışlarla Açıldı”, 2017). Possessing similar aesthetic styling, the statues remain anonymous with rarely with any reference to their artists and are usually referred as the “municipal sculptures”, or “municipal statues”.

Often referred as “the city of statues” in past years, the art of sculpture appears to hold a particular significance in today’s Eskişehir. In the leadership of the mayor Büyükerşen being a sculptor himself, the city has grown into one of the important centers of art of sculpture in the country. Büyükerşen expresses his thoughts on statues as;

Statues contribute to a city in artistic and cultural perspectives as well as in an aesthetic manner. A city should not only be composed of buildings and streets, but also possess values and objects that provide the urbanites with peace and beauty (“Eskişehir’e Avrupa Görüntüsü”, 2003).

He further elaborates the Municipality’s vision on statues as “touristic motifs” and reminds how people enjoy taking photos with them. Moreover, the first wax museum of Turkey, being “the first Turkish example of the famous Madame Tussauds located all around the world”, was opened in Eskişehir. Having founded in 2013, the museum is named after Yılmaz Büyükerşen, as the wax sculptures are mainly made and donated by him (“Hakkında”, 2019) (Appendix E). Besides, the city hosted the first International Stone Sculptures Symposium in 2011, meanwhile International Wooden Sculptures Festival has been held in Eskişehir since 2015, the fifth one being successfully wrapped up this year. The sculpting process in these festivals is open to public, and some of the winning pieces are exhibited in the Hamamyolu Art Bridge and Odunpazarı Kurşunlu *Külliyesi* (traditional social complex), located in the lively sites for cultural activities in Eskişehir city center.

While art of sculpture is promoted as an important art form that is emphasized via public art and activities such as festivals in Eskişehir, next section will introduce and discuss selected municipal statues in terms of their thematic meanings about modernization as westernization and their promotion of proper urban behavior.

4.2 Themes and Observations

This section focuses on the interpretation of selected pieces of Eskişehir's public statues and discuss two recurring themes revolving around them. In the ever-developing neoliberal urban setting, the statues constitute a visible and tangible part of urban image. The promotional material of Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality makes sure to include some of the statues in their delivery of the city image and emphasize them as one of the characteristic components of their modern and touristic city (Fig.2). They serve to construct and reconstruct the image and identity of the city for both its residents and visitors. Simultaneously with this neoliberal goal, they also serve towards a western-oriented modernizing goal, inspired by early Republican reforms. Therefore, the statues appear to possess both a touristic value and a symbolic presence of Eskişehir's modern identity in the vision of Metropolitan Municipality.



Figure 2. A famous angle of contemporary Eskişehir urban center with statues, tramline and Reşadiye Mosque, photo by Kaplan, 2007.

This section discusses two themes that revolve around Eskişehir's public statues, which are, firstly, the Municipal modernization project influenced by early Republican westernist vision of modernity, and secondly, the identification and delivery of proper urban behavior via statues. A selected sample of statues will be introduced as embedded in the thematic discussion of the topics including westernizing form of modernization, early Republican reforms, secularism and political Islam in Turkey, neoliberal city and branding, and statues as a way of acculturation.

4.2.1 Theme One: Modernization and early Republican influence

The first theme about the statues in Eskişehir is modernization in the form of westernization. Apart from the strong verbal references towards modern and European image and development of the city, the artistic material itself conveys the

Municipality's, and in particular the mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen's, vision of modern and western Eskişehir. Statue and sculpture as an art form possess a modern meaning in the Turkish context. Mainly frowned upon and not displayed publicly in Ottoman cities, the insistence on making the statues very visible and symbolic in the urban fabric suggests an attempt of modernization hand in hand with westernization. Therefore, the mere presence of statues serves a modernizing look in the city. In the case of Eskişehir, the abundance of statues in the city center is promoted via the headlines in the Municipality's official periodical *Bizim Şehir* (Our City), such as the "European appearance to Eskişehir", displaying the photo of the female mythical figures around a decorative urban fountain (Appendix B). The term "European city" is often used in the municipality's modernization vision, often supported by the increasing number of statues in the city. While this emphasis on statues also draws some criticism from some conservative media organs and citizens, many other sources frame the strong presence of statues in the urban space as a process of a small Anatolian city becoming modernized and civilized under the management of a metropolitan Municipality and mayor ("Bir Uygarlaşma Hikayesi", 2009).

The artistic style of the statues is rather classic and conventional, focusing mainly on well proportionated and clear-cut human and animal figures without much attempt for abstraction (Fig.3). In this respect, the statues are intended to be easily perceived and communicated to the pedestrians and drivers, even from a distance. As the producer of the statues, the Municipality often takes the liberty to explain the message and importance of particular statues, especially the monuments, on their website as well as via the interviews of the mayor. Inscriptions also serve for explanatory purposes as well as raising interest with humorous expressions.



Figure 3. Fishing people on top of Köprübaşı Bridge, Porsuk River. Photo by author, October 26, 2018.

While delivering this vision of modernization, Eskişehir's municipal statues gives strong reference to the underlying intellectual influence of early Republican modernization project and reforms. As presented in the literature on Turkish

modernization and urban studies focusing on early Republican period, the city, Ankara in particular, was approached as the engine of modernity and their planning was undertaken as a significant act of modernization and nation building in order to produce the ideal modern city for modern urban citizens. In a similar fashion, Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality and the mayor Büyükerşen appears to possess a vision of transforming Eskişehir into a modern city and its residents into modern urbanites. In the website of the municipality, Eskişehir is identified as a “city that generates pride” for its residents, and possibly for Turkey. Furthermore, the city is identified with characteristics such as “city is civilization”, “city gives life”, “city is beauty”, “city is art and culture”, “city protects the values” and “city educates”. (“Gurur Veren Şehir”, n.d.). Attributing all these positive connotations as well as roles and duties to the concept of city, Büyükerşen’s Eskişehir appears to be a project similar to early Republican Ankara, taking the role of modernization and education. In this context, the content of the statues gives some references to early Republic, either by directly depicting scenes from the era and reforms or by displaying values of modernization/westernization such as rationalization and progress. For instance, monumental structures in Taşbaşı crossroad (Fig. 4,5,6) present the elements of early Republican promotion of modern lifestyle. Placed in 2007, Taşbaşı statues are organized as three sets of five statues each¹⁴. The sets are organized around different themes, all of which are reported as symbols of the city (“Eskişehir’in simgeleri bir arada”, 2007). The first group, facing the north of İki Eylül Street¹⁵, symbolizes Eskişehir as a city of education, art, science, industry and aviation (Fig. 4). Another

¹⁴ Rahmi Atalay, an academic in Anadolu University Department of Sculpture is credited for the design and sculpturing of the statues (“Eskişehir’in simgeleri bir arada”, 2007).

¹⁵ İki Eylül (September 2nd) is the date Greek army left the city in 1922, which has been celebrated as “the day of liberation from enemy occupation” in the city.

group, nearby Reşadiye Mosque, represent the sectors of Eskişehir, showcasing the legendary football player Fethi Heper and the team Eskişehirspor, craftsmen of Reşadiye district, ceramic, textile and health sectors as well as railway workers (Fig. 5). The artistic style of the statues appears to be rather classic; the clothing and posture of the figures resemble their early Republican counterparts. Said sectors and occupations in the statues also refer to typical socioeconomic branches in a modern industrial society rather than the service and creative sector oriented post-industrial society of 2019. In a similar fashion, Ulus Monument, which is placed in 2019, depicts early Republican reforms with individuals in western clothing, presenting their fedora hats, or doing western-oriented artistic activities such as playing cello and doing ballet (Fig.7).



Figure 4. Values of Eskişehir; industry, education, science, art and aviation. Photo by Kaplan, 2007.



Figure 5. Sectors of Eskişehir and craftsmen of Reşadiye district, photo by Kaplan, 2007.



Figure 6. Scenes from World War I and War of Independence, photos by Kaplan, 2007.

As an important aspect of Turkish modernization, emphasis on nationhood and modern nation can be seen in municipal statues, similar to the nation-building practices in early Republican Ankara. In this respect, war scenes from World War I

and the War of Independence as well as early Republican/Kemalist modernization reforms in the making of modern Turkish state and nation are depicted in some statues (Fig.6, 7). One of the three sets of statues in Taşbaşı crossroad (Fig. 6), the one facing the Metropolitan Municipality building, displays the heroic acts and patriotism of Turkish soldiers in the World War I and War of Independence and generates pride and respect. Moreover, some values are also promoted in the framework of idealized image of a modern nation, such as the statues celebrating science and art (Fig.4), or celebration of familial ties (Fig.17-18). These statues underline important values and characteristics that is conveyed via Municipal vision of modern Turkish nation and citizens.

In this framework, The Ulus Monument (Monument of the Nation) appear as the embodiment of nation-building and Kemalist values at once (Fig.7). The monument is located in the Train Station crossing of İsmet İnönü Street¹⁶, as one of the most central locations in the city, in March 2019¹⁷. The municipal mayor Büyükerşen designed the monument himself and described it as a “piece that will touch the soul and heart of the nation” and one of his greatest services to the city (“Geleceğe Işık Tutacak Ulus Anıtı Açıldı”, 2019). He added that the monument emphasizes the common values and the struggle for independence and is going to serve the future generations, the city and Turkey by showing them parts of our great history. The monument is designed in a layered structure, each layer representing a different part of history, national identity and values. The bottom layer shows some historical figures with the appearance of Seljukian and Ottoman sultans, on their horses and in

¹⁶ İsmet İnönü was one of the leading commanders of Turkish War of Independence, the first prime minister of Republic (1923-1937) and the second president of the country after Atatürk (1938-1950).

¹⁷ Afşin Efsandiyari is credited for sculpting of most figures (“Geleceğe Işık Tutacak Ulus Anıtı Açıldı”, 2019)

an outward looking position, facing four directions. The next layer shows scenes from the Turkish War of Independence, the fight against imperial forces and the beginning of Republic of Turkey. The following layer shows faces of modern Turkey and Kemalist modernization reforms, for example, figures with modern clothing showcasing their hats, the scientist working in his laboratory, and a woman doing ballet. At the top layer, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, standing confident and wise in a stylish civilian clothing, is watching over the nation and modern Turkey in his eternal leader position.



Figure 7. The Ulus Monument with an old factory chimney and Espark Mall. Photo by author, April 3, 2019.

At top position in the Ulus Monument, implying his last name as “the nation’s father”¹⁸, references to Atatürk is evident in the statues and in the municipal discourse in general (Fig. 7, 8, 9). In fact, the birth of mayor Büyükerşen’s interest in sculpting comes from his dislike towards the wax sculpture of Atatürk in Madame Tussaud - London which was then renovated via his initiative and direct involvement (Bozkurt, 2018, p.114). Sculpting various statues of Atatürk himself and several of them being displayed in his wax museum and in various spots in the city, Büyükerşen continuously underlines his devotion to Atatürk’s worldview and principles. His association with this important historical figure goes beyond personal idolization, as he has been running for municipal elections in Atatürk’s party, Republican People’s Party (CHP) since 2011, which makes his political affiliation and ideological continuity to Atatürk’s principles even more organic. To show his devotion to Atatürk reforms and Republican values, the mayor was also rewarded with an “Award of Republic” (*Cumhuriyet Ödülü*) by the Association for the Support of Contemporary Living (*Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği*), which is a well-known non-profit NGO in Turkey, in 2013¹⁹.

To underscore this importance, the mayor made and “gifted” two Atatürk monuments “to his city and his fellow Eskişehir people” as early as his first term in the office (“Başkan’ın kentine ve hemşehrilerine 80. yıl armağanı”, 2003). One of the statues is positioned in Atatürk Boulevard²⁰, while the other one is located in front of the Atatürk Museum, in Odunpazarı, at the entrance of Cumhuriyet (Republic)

¹⁸ With the Surname Law in 1934, Mustafa Kemal, took “Atatürk” as his last name with unanimous vote in the Parliament, consisting of words *ata* and *türk*, means “father/ancestor” and “turk”.

¹⁹ The award is annually given to one influential person for serving Turkey which is a “Democratic, Secular and Social Law State” and setting an example with his principled attitude and behaviors (Bozkurt, 2018, p.166).

²⁰ The Boulevard was formerly named after politician Hasan Polatkan, who served as a minister in Democrat Party between 1950-1960 and was executed after 1960 military coup.

Boulevard. Both statues were placed on their location on 28th of October, 2003, the day before the Republic Day, for the commemoration of 80th anniversary of the Republic. In the first monument, standing on top of a high pedestal with the inscription of his famous lines “Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene” (How happy to those who say I am a Turk) and “Türk Öğün Çalış Güven” (Hey Turk, be proud, work and trust). He is described in a civilian three-piece suit complete with a vest, bowtie and knee-high boots (Fig.8). Facing the western direction, a reference to his westernist vision, this statue is one of the rare depictions of him clad with civilian clothing while riding a horse. The second monument shows Atatürk standing with a determined expression in his military clothing completed with a *kalpak* (a fur hat) which was the symbol of national forces against imperialism in the War of Independence (Fig.9).



Figure 8. Atatürk Monument in Atatürk Boulevard, photo by Atyılmaz, 2005.



Figure 9. Atatürk Monument in front of Atatürk Museum. Mayor Büyükerşen personally involved in its production, photo by Atyılmaz, 2005, second photo from Bizim Şehir, (8) 2003.

Mayor's insistence of making Atatürk's and early Republican values in urban spaces via statues can be read in the context of its contesting position with contemporary Ankara. Having been treated as the engine of modernization and nation-building of new Republic, Ankara was the locus of the republican project of modernization and (...) the national symbol of this modernization effort (Batuman, 2013a, p.589).

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, in a parallel fashion to Büyükerşen's influence in Eskişehir, was dominated by mayor Melih Gökçek, who ran the office of mayor for five terms between 1994 and 2017. Running the elections as the candidate of Welfare and then Virtue Party, Gökçek served his last three terms as the candidate of JDP. As early as 1995, Gökçek initiated the process of changing the emblem of the city, which was Hittite sun-course to the stylized image of Kocatepe Mosque, which was greatly contested by secular parties including CHP and DSP (Özer, 2002). He has also become well-known with grand transformative projects in urban fabric, such as

five enormous city gates with historical references to Ottoman and Seljukian style, 52 clock towers across the city as well as flagship projects such as Ankapark. Coming from different and often contested ideological viewpoints, Büyükerşen and Gökçek share exceptionally long municipal rules with different visions of city. Taking early Republican westernist modernization as his reference point, Büyükerşen appears to take the rightful successor role of Republican Ankara instead of the conservative/Islamist Gökçek²¹. This position is also reinforced by Eskişehir's position as one of the only cities ruled by RPP/CHP in central Anatolia (Fig. 1). This perspective is supported by the official vision of Municipality, formulated it "as the pioneer city in Turkey in terms of urbanism" and "leading the process of taking Turkey's cities back" ("Vizyonumuz ve Misyonumuz", 2015).

Last but not least, women's presence in the city constitutes an important characteristic of municipal statues of Eskişehir. Statues about women, spread wide and in various forms in the city, form a visible image of women for the urbanites' and visitors' gaze. In fact, public presence of women in Turkey has been one of the principal dimensions of modernization, dated back in Tanzimat period in 19th century, with newly introduced rights and liberties including equality in inheritance, increase in middle and higher education institutions for women and their overall public engagement and visibility (Özkiraz & Arslanel, 2011; Işık, 2018). Early Republic continued to underline women's public presence and involvement, for instance in Atatürk's insistence in women's participation in Republican balls and women's suffrage rights first for local (1930), then for general elections (1934),

²¹ According to Argan (2016), Eskişehir appears as the "almost the only city in Turkey where a European, secular and modernist perception prevails" in a context where many metropolitan cities including Ankara have been ruled by municipalities that aimed at a "transformation of sociocultural life based on their Islamist and neoliberal perspectives".

earlier than European countries such as Switzerland and France (Gökçimen, 2008).

In today's Eskişehir, the mayor Büyükerşen expresses his pride of Eskişehir for being more advanced than many cities in the world in terms of women's participation in daily life and wish for its continuity. About the women's rights and liberties, he again makes references to the early Republican reforms and appreciate their efforts for including half of the population in the making of great Republic, which would have not been possible otherwise ("Büyükerşen'den 8 Mart Mesajı", 2018).

The women that are depicted in the municipal statues are mainly young, attractive and healthy individuals, with strong implications of a modern outlook of women.

They are shown as engaging in artistic activities, working, or simply posing in different occasions. Their identities vary from a loving mother (Fig.17), to hardworking professionals such as a fisher (Fig.3), artist or a teacher/aviator (Fig.4, 7) and to the mythical figures (Fig.12, 13, 14). Possessing a confident outlook, their presence spread in the most crowded parts of the city and receive constant attention.

Except for a middle-aged woman chatting with her friend on a bench (Fig.19), none of the female figures cover their hair, they are often dressed in sleeveless dresses with occasionally revealing more skin. This choice of clothing appears to be a reference to the secular values, limiting the role of religion, thus religious clothing, in urban daily life.

Moreover, monuments of historically and symbolically significant women such as Malhatun and Themis complement the overall visibility of women with more tangible images and messages. Malhatun is regarded as one of the important historical figures in the history of Eskişehir. As the daughter of Sheikh Edebali, Malhatun's marriage with Osman Ghazi, who is the founding name of the Ottoman state, played an important role in the rise of Ottoman state as well as for the region.

Her statue is located at the entrance of the historical neighborhood of Odunpazarı in 2003 (Fig.10). The statue displays her riding her horse in a proud manner, wearing long braids and traditional clothing. On the other hand, the statue of Themis is located in front of the Eskişehir Courthouse in 2009 (Fig.11). According to Greek mythology, Themis is the daughter of Uranus and Gaia and symbolizes justice and order. In the statue, she stands tall with a sword in one hand and the scales of justice in another. Her eyes are covered to symbolize impartiality. Originated in Greek mythology, the figure refers to an international/western value system and celebrates law and justice.



Figure 10. Malhatun statue nearby Odunpazarı district, photo: Cambaz, 2010.



Figure 11 Themis Statue located in front of the Courthouse, photo: Nazlıka, 2010.

A dominant group of female statues in Eskişehir urban center are the figures of young women in a water-related context, usually in the center of a decorative pools and fountains (Fig.12, 13, 14). This group of statues spread around the very central and lively Doktorlar Street and they have no inscription or sign to imply an identity. Resembling the nymphs²² in Greek mythology and displaying a playful demeanor, these figures are clothed in sleeveless dresses, often revealing their legs and breasts. With these characteristics, they appear to underline the significant presence of women who freely move around in the urban scene. Being the earliest examples of municipal statues, most of which erected in 2003, and promoted as the primary elements of European outlook of the city in the official bulletin (“Eskişehir’e Avrupa Görüntüsü”, 2003), they are a set that is highly regarded by the Municipality. An

²² Nymphs are “any of the minor divinities of nature in classical mythology represented as beautiful maidens dwelling in the mountains, forests, trees, and waters” (“nymph”, 2019)

interesting parallel of this specific theme would be one of earliest public statues in early Republican Ankara, with a “fountain with a baroque bronze statue of a female figure with nymphs” which was erected in 1925 in Yenışehir, the center of the new capital city (Batuman, 2013b)²³ (Appendix F). This parallel to the Republican Ankara also shows modernization path via urban space and how contemporary Eskişehir takes after the Republican values and practices of modernization and westernization, this time via female presence.



Figure 12. Female figures, potentially nymphs spread around downtown Eskişehir. Photos by author, April 3, 2019.

²³ Batuman points out that the fountain quickly created its surrounding cultural sphere with a recreational area where “new bourgeoisie gathered, strolled around, and listened to public concerts of Western classical music” (2013, p.36).



Figure 13. The woman with dolphins statue in front of former Tepebaşı Municipality building, now used as a guesthouse of the Metropolitan Municipality. Photo by Serrapir, 2006.



Figure 14. The “shy girl” statue in İsmet İnönü Street. Photo by author, April 3, 2019.

In addition to their indispensable presence in modernization discourse, female figures appear to contribute to the aesthetic outlook of the urban space. “Being part of anything beautiful on earth”, women’s presence implies beauty and aesthetic value via the statues in city center (y_buyukersen, 2019). Many of which being placed in the center of decorative pools or fountains in small parks and recreational areas, women’s presence appears to contribute to the intended beauty and peace of the city. They also reveal the association of female beauty with a city’s image and beauty. As the municipality defines one of the characteristics of a city as “beauty”, strong presence of women can draw parallel with the intended outlook of an aesthetically pleasing image of the urban center after the intensive redevelopment and beautification projects.

4.2.2 Theme Two: Proper Urban Behavior and Urbanity

The second main theme and observation that can be drawn from Eskişehir’s municipal statues is their emphasis on urbanity and encouragement for proper urban behavior. As elaborated before, urbanity refers to the characteristics and behavioral patterns, norms and values that supposedly distinguishes urbanites from others. Focusing on different themes and messages, often made clear via inscriptions, these statues underline aspects of urbanity, imply proper forms of urban behavior for city dwellers to follow and some even display the negative consequences if acted in an opposite way. The aim of these statues appears as acculturating people into city life, both urban dwellers and especially the rural migrants, which once again unveils the underlying parallel between modernity and urbanity in historical experience of Turkish modernization. On the other hand, in terms of neoliberal competition, these municipal statues can be approached as both visual and functional tools for

improving city's image via promotion of proper urban behavior and increasing its attractiveness for potential residents, visitors and investors. Humorous inscriptions and interesting designs of the statues also serve as a city marketing tool in media (Fig. 15, 16, 19, 20).

The Municipality expects city dwellers to be environmentally conscious individuals who take good care of their city by keeping it clean and well-kept. Respecting the physical environment and respecting the city is approached as one of the important aspects of urban behavior, and protecting the statues themselves is included in this framework. Mayor Büyükerşen states that ones who vandalize statues are mentally ill people with psychological problems as the statues belong to everyone and are for everyone to protect (“Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nden”, 2006). In this respect, the acknowledgement of art and paying their presence respect is also a reflection of proper way of conduct in modern city life. To encourage this caring and protective attitude, inscriptions provide guidance, usually in a humorous or satirical manner, for the city dwellers. This emphasis on a well-kept, clean and beautiful city is also meaningful for the positive branding and image of Eskişehir in interurban competition.

In this framework, the statue of an “old man fishing from a bucket” (*Kovada Balık Tutan Adam*) is placed in a very central location nearby Porsuk River, Adalar (Fig.15). It depicts an old man, possibly a beggar man, and his dog looking at a bucket seemingly lost in thoughts. The inscription reads “Allah rızası için Porsuk Çayı’nı kirletmeyin” (For God’s sake, do not pollute Porsuk River). The statue implies that when the river is polluted, there would be no more fish for the man to feed on, meanwhile the living space of the fish will also be dramatically reduced. Another set of statues about fishing depicts a family or group of fishing people, who

are all depicted as tall, healthy and strong individuals, including a child, and work hard on their fishing business. Only recently rehabilitated, fishing in Porsuk from the urban center is not possible at the moment. These statues give a glimpse of the clean and self-sufficient vision of the river, which improves the living standards of its habitants and implies a longing towards the clean and lively times of the river before its heavy contamination (Fig.3).



Figure 15. The statue of an old man fishing from a bucket nearby Porsuk River. Photo by author, April 3, 2019.

Another rather well-known statue about environment is the statue of a donkey which eats sunflower seeds. This statue is located in Adalar, the riverbank of Porsuk River in 2017. Immediately visible from the pedestrians and the people who ride gondolas and boats on the river, the statue caricaturizes the act of eating sunflower and

disposing of its garbage in public spaces, ending up polluting the river and the recreational areas surrounding it. Büyükerşen states that it is a humorous attempt to raise environmental consciousness in the city and preserve Porsuk river which is one of the most important symbols of Eskişehir. (“Çevreyi kirletenlere 'Çekirdek Çitleyen Eşek'li heykel tepkisi”, 2017). The statue is an example of the dual role of giving a message to the city dwellers and guide them into a certain type of behavior, which is environmental consciousness, and drawing attention to the city as a marketing tool.



Figure 16. The donkey statue situated in the riverbank, Adalar, photo from “Çevreyi kirletenlere...”, 2017.

In addition to raising consciousness about people’s respectful interaction with urban space, the statutes underline values and behavioral patterns about familial and social relationships. For instance, the monuments of respect for mothers and fathers encourage the city residents to treasure their parents and show them respect in their

health (Fig.17, 18). The monument of “Respect and Love for Mothers” is located in front of the Taşbaşı Marketplace, Metropolitan Municipality Wedding Hall and at the center of pool in a small park since 2003 (Fig. 17). It depicts a young mother holding and look at her baby in a loving manner. The inscription at the pedestal reads “Annelerimize sonsuz sevgi ve saygılarımızla” (With eternal respect and love to our mothers). The opening day for the monument was set on Mother’s Day. The male counterpart of the monument was set on Father’s Day of the same year, and is located in Yenikent Park (Fig. 18). As the inscription reads the same message, the statue displays a different composition. The father figure is depicted with two young children, a daughter and a son and the father is supporting their back with his hands. Both statues convey the message that parents should be cherished and respected.



Figure 17. The monument for the appreciation of mothers. Photo taken by author, October 26, 2018.

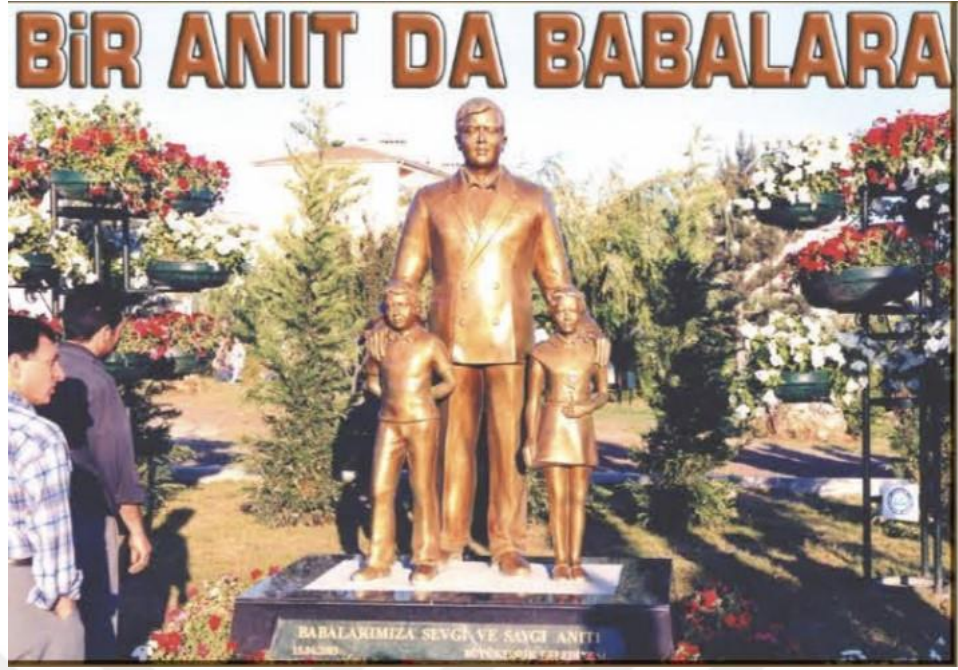


Figure 18. The monument for the appreciation of fathers, photo from Bizim Şehir, (8), 2003.

Similarly, in the two statues placed in a bench in İsmet İnönü Street, a very central street closed to automobile traffic, two women are portrayed as having a lively conversation (Fig.19). There is an inscription at the bottom that states “Tatlı şeydir”, which means “It is a sweet thing”. The sweet thing is often interpreted as gossiping or simple lighthearted chatting between friends. The female figures appear to be middle to older age, both dressed in a smart manner. One of the women does not cover her hair while the other is wearing a simple head-scarf that reveals some of her hair. Their casual conversation in an urban setting underlines women’s essential presence in public spaces while their different choice clothing depicts a respectful and friendly interpersonal relationship. The bench allows interaction with the statues as it is often occupied by urban dwellers or tourists, sometimes used as a photo zone by the visitors, while children take a seat on the lap of the lady on the right side.



Figure 19. Two ladies having a conversation in İsmet İnönü Street. Photo by author, October 26, 2018.

On top of these social relations, some statues warn the urbanites against improper behavior, encouraging them to act in a way a modern citizen would. In this way, rational and proper behavior in urban setting is celebrated. One of the newest statues in the city, the statue of a drunk man who sleep on a bench is located in the entrance of Vural Street (or Barlar Street, where many bars are located) (Fig.20). The inscription on bottom says “Şişedeki gibi durmaz”, which means that the influence of alcohol in body is more than it appears to be in a bottle, therefore it is better to be consumed with moderation. The official website of the metropolitan municipality introduces it as one of the statues that intends to promote “urban consciousness” (“Büyükşehirden Yeni Bir Heykel Daha”, 2018). The statue urges people to be careful with their consumption so they will not end up like the man in the statue.



Figure 20. The drunk man statue on a bench, entrance of Vural (Barlar) Street, photo from “Büyükşehirde Yeni Bir Heykel Daha”, 2018).

Another statue to raise consciousness about urban life is the statue of a tired young man placed in a bench in front of Esnaf Sarayı, the marketplace or mall (Fig. 21).

The inscription shows his inner thoughts, reading “Köyümüze dönelim artık” (Let’s go back to our village). Leaning on his small luggage, he has a chicken in his company. The clothing of the man resembles the villagers’ back in 1950s, where the rapid urbanization and internal migration started to draw them towards cities.

Exhaustion of the man possibly reflect his tiresome efforts for finding employment in the city, or the hectic atmosphere he is not accustomed to. Besides, despite its metropolitan status, Eskişehir is a small city that geographically occupies a narrow space (Argan, 2016). In this respect, the statue can be read as a warning for the potential rural migrants and can serve as a discouragement against their moving to city.



Figure 21. “Let’s go back to our village” statue in front of Esnaf Sarayı, photo by Subaşı, 2009.

Giving the messages about proper way of behavior in the city, the statues appear to aim at raising urban consciousness and acculturate people from different socioeconomic backgrounds into modern urban life. The content of this acculturation ranges from a clean city to the definition of a sense of identity and belonging to the city. Therefore, the statues appear to aim at a social construction of a specific type of urbanite, reinforced by the practice of nation-making. Regarding the sense of community and collective identity, the statues about the sectors and symbols of Eskişehir underline the urban identity that distinguishes the city from its counterparts and encourages its residents to look up to those specific values and adopt them in their own lives. As the more comprehensive sense of collective identity, national identity is also promoted via the monuments, showing historical scenes, especially from the War of Independence as well as early Republican reforms. Monuments of important historical figures, both national and Eskişehir’s history, such as Mustafa

Kemal Atatürk, Cengiz Topel and Malhatun provide the audience with an understanding of collective values and a shared history.

In this chapter, a selected set of municipal statues in Eskişehir has been introduced and discussed. The two themes observed about these pieces concentrated on the formulation of a modernization perspective that is inspired by the early Republican westernist modernization project and the municipal effort towards acculturation of urbanites into taking proper urban behavior. In fact, these two themes are intertwined in the way they deliver an idealized vision of modern urbanites who live in Eskişehir as the locus of modernity. In this normative perspective towards city, a discussion about JDP's Gökçek and his management of Ankara has been brought into picture to draw a contemporary contrast between secular and Islamist camps in Turkey, in this case at a municipal level and in a neoliberal setting. Furthermore, the central role of mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen and his Kemalist/Atatürkist/Republican principles in the way statues are designed, produced and promoted appears as a challenge against the dominant JDP rule in the country in the past two decades. In this framework, from the preference of real-sized human statues to their physical form and messages, municipal statues of Eskişehir serve the role of promoting modernization and Republican values, not only towards the Eskişehir urbanites but also for the rest of the Turkey. On a larger scale, the statues also play the role of city branding and image-making, as they create a specific Eskişehir image on media and frame the city in a particular way. Having attempted to interpret Eskişehir's in a thematic discussion in this chapter, the next chapter will conclude this study.

CHAPTER VI:

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis is the interpretation of a selected set of public statues. Specifically, I concentrate on the statues, which were produced and placed by the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality under the incumbent mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen, in Eskişehir city center. My interpretation is based on two main components: the neoliberal urban setting and the municipal vision for modernization. I suggest that, despite being produced as a practice of neoliberal urbanism and urban center beautification project, the municipal statues in Eskişehir are part of a modernization project implemented by the Municipality in order to create a “modern” city and “modern” urbanites. My argument that follows is that this modernization perspective functions as a neoliberal city branding strategy that serve in the image building and promotion of Eskişehir as a modern city to the wider audience.

In this study, I firstly engaged with the academic literature on neoliberalism and neoliberal urbanism and displayed main dynamics and characteristics of these concepts and phenomena. Going over discussions on post-industrial and de-industrialized cities, new urban governance, city marketing and city branding practices as well as urban redevelopment projects, I drew a neoliberal urban framework. This chapter emphasized the entrepreneurial and participatory dynamics of neoliberal governance and how city branding works as a vital aspect of interurban competition.

As my next step, since my preliminary observations on the statues gave me the traces of a modernization project in a particular urban context, I concentrated on the conceptualization of two central terms: the modern and the city/urban. Dwelling on how the related concepts came to be, I intended to generate a general understanding of the terms with which the statues would be analyzed. In this process, I focused on historical journey of Turkish modernization and underlined early Republican modernization projects and the tense relationship between secularism and (political) Islam in Turkey. Then I brought key concepts of urbanism and urbanization in Turkey. Following these concepts, I engaged with the growing literature in Turkey that approach modernization via urban processes. The focus of the modernization perspective on early Republican city building and planning drew my attention.

In my third chapter, I introduced the city of Eskişehir throughout its historical journey. Firstly, I dwelled on early roots of the city and how it came to be known as the *old city*. Then I introduced Eskişehir's Republican past and significance as a modern industrial center. Finally, I discussed the transformation of the city in the last 20 years under the management of the Metropolitan Municipality and mayor to show the neoliberal dynamics and developments of the contemporary Eskişehir.

In the empirical chapter, after underlining the raising prominence of sculpture in contemporary Eskişehir, I introduced a selected set of statues under two main themes: firstly, the modernization perspective that is influenced by the early Republican reformist approach and secondly, the promotion of a proper set of behaviors for the urbanites to adopt. In my thematic discussion, I drew attention to the modern city building practice and the westernist modernization perspective of the mayor, and Kemalist values and reforms as his reference point. I also suggested a comparison with the former mayor of Ankara to have a better insight of his position.

Then, in addition to the nation-building practice, I observed a process of social construction of modern urbanites via the statues, and acculturation of urbanites into proper modern urban behavior. I observe that these statues play the dual role of raising urban consciousness and drawing attention to the Eskişehir's urban spaces.

Regarding the conclusions, the first conclusion to draw from this study is that the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality and in particular Yılmaz Büyükerşen as the mayor has adopted a modernization perspective that is driven by westernization and Europeanization. With direct references to European cities and a European look of the city, the municipal projects draw legitimacy from European examples as in the case of the introduction of new tram trains ("Avrupa Kenti Oluyoruz", 2002). The discourse used by the Municipality is equipped with references to modern city and modernization, civilization and European examples. In my empirical material, this perspective is delivered via stereotypical modern-western appearance and clothing of both men and women, the activities and sectors they are involved in, as well as direct references to Kemalist reforms of modernization and westernization. This perspective of westernist modernity is in continuation with the historical quest of Turkish modernization since late Ottoman period and especially the early Republican project, and reveals the long-lasting western interpretation of modernity in Turkey.

In a related to fashion, my second conclusion suggests that the mayor Büyükerşen has adopted a self-identified role of a modernizer in the city, taking after Atatürk whom he displays great respect and devotion. While single-party RPP and Atatürk worked on modern nation-building at a state level, mayor Büyükerşen displays his motivation of carving an idealized framework of urbanity via the social construction of urbanites in Eskişehir, on a municipal and urban level. I suggest that, via this normative position, he bypasses one of the core characteristics of neoliberal

urbanism, which is the participatory neoliberal governance. I observe that, with his strong devotion to Atatürk's values and reforms, he has adopted a similar attitude of a didactic and top-down process of modernization of single-party (RPP) regime and aims to transform the urbanites through education and acculturation in a modern urban environment. The centralized way in which the statues are produced in the workshops of metropolitan Municipality, their vast anonymity and the absence of artistic diversity also draws a stark contrast with the understanding of public art in the neoliberal cities of global North, in which art and signature architecture are recognized and appreciated via their unique artistic values and artist's brand name.

On the other hand, my third conclusion suggest that the modernization discourse adopted by the Municipality, in fact, works as a neoliberal city branding practice. Via the promotion of modern identity of this *old city*, Eskişehir has become increasingly known and celebrated in media and travel agencies as "a European city in central Anatolia", "Europe without visa", "university town" and "the city of art and culture". To promote this image of a modern Anatolian European city, the statues function as an image building practice since they are placed to attract attention, even become "touristic motifs", and create memorable urban spaces consolidating that particular modern image. This particular branding appears to function as attracting the sympathy of people with secular and Atatürkist/Kemalist ideological orientation, making Eskişehir a flagship city of Republican values and principles. Furthermore, they serve in the reconstruction of city identity as the city is transformed from a small industrial city to a lively city of art, culture, education and tourism.

Last but not least, my fourth conclusion of this study suggests that Eskişehir's neoliberal restructuring as a city of art and culture and branding as a modern western city works as a contestation against dominant Justice and Development Party

administrations in the surrounding central Anatolian cities. Representing RPP, the main opposition party, mayor Büyükerşen presents an opposing city image to the neoliberal neo-Ottomanist trends of JDP municipalities. In fact, the city seems to be approached like early Republican Ankara, which was planned as a locus of modern and western Turkey. In this respect, it can be suggested that Eskişehir has been branded and ideologically positioned against JDP by claiming the role of a true successor of early Republican capital Ankara, which has been transformed under the Islamist mayor Melih Gökçek. The beautification and rebranding projects based on western art and culture as well as discourses pays homage to Atatürk's vision of secular and westernist modernization. This modern western outlook and discourse also helps the city to distinguish itself from the surrounding conservative municipalities, which can also be an important advantage in the sense of neoliberal urban competition.

With this study, I attempted to reconcile neoliberal urbanism literature with Turkish modernization with a case study on public statues. While Turkish modernization and westernization literature is vast and diverse, its use of urban elements appear to be concentrated around early Republican era or the first half of 20th century. On the other hand, the studies on neoliberal urbanism have been gaining relevance in the last two decades, studying different cities and dwelling on different focal points, for example, city branding and marketing, tourism and urban redevelopment. Similarly, the studies on contemporary Eskişehir focus on neoliberal transformation and how it is carried out, or the social influence and perceptions it leads to. In this respect, my contribution to the literature is bringing two seemingly incompatible phenomena (neoliberal urbanism and modernization) together and show the dynamics of city branding and modernization discourse in Eskişehir. While references to the European

face of the city have been made before, I have not encountered a comprehensive evaluation of municipal practices on the basis of modernity and modernization perspective yet. Furthermore, my work reifies the importance of contextualization of neoliberal transformations and presents Eskişehir case as an “actually existing neoliberalism” that possess its own dynamics and characteristics, driven by Turkish political culture and modernization journey.

As final remarks, studying statues, or more generally, public art in urban space is an intriguing academic endeavor and provides one with great options to select from. In this study, in order to maintain my focus on one dimension of space and follow the traces of Turkish modernization and dynamics of neoliberal urbanism in that designated space, I only used the general term “urban space”. My study focused only on the statues and how they can be interpreted in a given context with given concepts. However, future studies that aim to unravel other spatial dimensions have other options to work on, such as public space, public sphere or social production of space. While my study does not look at social interactions, reactions and mutual influence side of the coin, the role and function of these statues in public space, their interaction with residents or bystanders, and how those people would create and appropriate said spaces can be the topics of other academic inquiries in the future. Discussion of “everyday life” can also be covered as a layer in the interpretation of statues.

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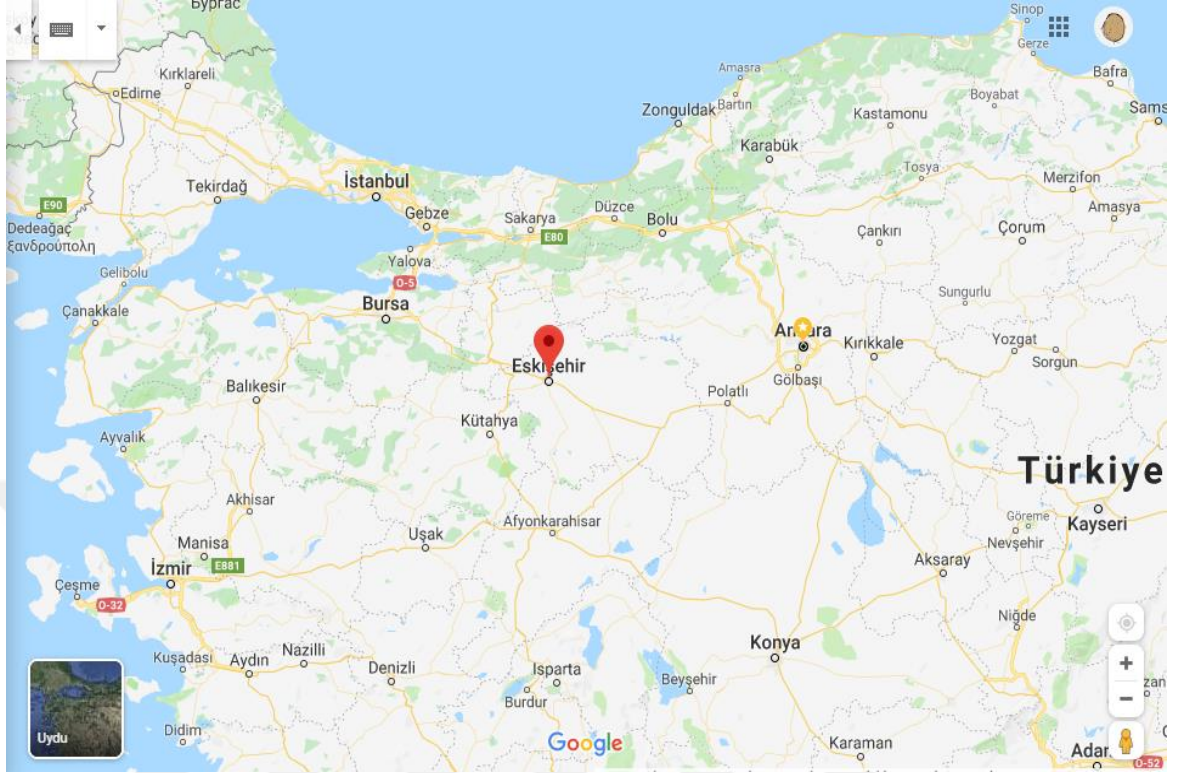
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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Geographic location of Eskişehir (1. Google Maps, retrieved August 23, 2019. 2. Image retrieved August 23, 2019, <https://www.lafsozluk.com>).

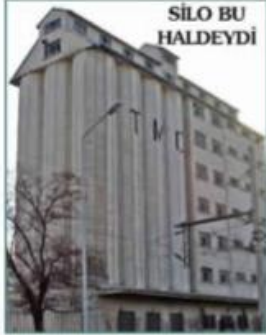


Appendix B. The news on new statues on urban center, from the official online bulletin of Metropolitan Municipality, Bizim Şehir. The headline says “European appearance to Eskişehir” (v.8, 2003).



Appendix C. Transformation of a former grain silo to a high-end hotel in urban center,
taken from official bulletin Bizim Şehir. (v.15, 2007)

BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ ESKİŞEHİR'E YENİ YATIRIMLAR KAZANDIRIYOR ESKİ BUĞDAY SİLOSU OTEL OLDU



SİLO BU HALDEYDİ

Büyükşehir Belediyesi Dünya'da bir başka örneği daha olmayan bir projeye imza attı. Yıkılmaya bekleyen atıl durumdaki Toprak Mahsulleri Ofisi Silosu'nu otele dönüştürerek, şehrimize her şeyi ile Avrupa standartlarında bir otel kazandırdı.

Akfen Holding ve Dünya'ya ünlü Accor Oteller Grubu işbirliği ile Fransız Oteller zincirine dahil edilen Eskişehir İbis Otel Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Büyükerşen, Eskişehir Ticaret Odası Başkanı Cemalettin Sarar, Akfen Holding Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Hamdi Akın ve Accor Grubu Yöneticileri ile çok sayıda davetlinin katıldığı törenle açıldı.

Akfen Holding Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Hamdi Akın "Türkiye çapında açmaya başladıkları oteller zincirinin Eskişehir

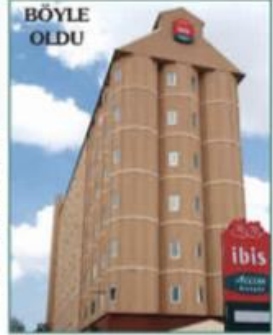
Büyükşehir Belediyesi satın aldığı Eski Toprak Mahsulleri Ofisi Silosu'nu gerçekleştirilen çalışmalarla atıl durumdan kurtararak modern bir otele dönüştürdü. Eskişehir İbis Otel, Akfen Holding ve Dünya'ya ünlü Accor Grubu işbirliğiyle Fransız Oteller Zincirinin bir halkası olarak hizmete girdi.

halkasının Büyükşehir Belediyesi ile yapılan işbirliği sonucu hayata geçirildiğini söyledi.

Başkan Büyükerşen'in çabaları ve ısrarları sonucu Eskişehir'e yatırım yapılabileceğini vurgulayan Akın "Büyükşehir Belediyesi ile işbirliği sonucu dünya çapında 800'e yakın oteli bulanan İbis Otelleri'nin bir şubesini de Eskişehir'e kazandırmaktan gururluyuz. Başkan Büyükerşen Eskişehir'i ve belediyesini sözleşme sürecinde çok kolladı. Eskişehir'in lehine olan sözleşmeyi 22 yıl olarak imzaladık. Akfen Grubu olarak benzeri projelerde, diğer belediye-

lerle yaptığımız kira sözleşmelerinde, yatırımlarımızı geri döndürebilmek için süreyi 49 yıl olarak belirledik, ancak Eskişehir'de Başkan Büyükerşen'in ısrarını kırmadık ve süreyi 22 yıl olarak kabul ettik. Eskişehir bu yönü ile de bir ilk oldu. Başkan Büyükerşen'e bu yatırımın gerçekleşmesindeki çabalarından dolayı teşekkür ediyorum" dedi.

Başkan Büyükerşen ise 25 yıldır boş duran ve yıkılmaya bekleyen Eski Toprak Mahsulleri Ofisi Silosunu yitirmek yerine Eskişehir'deki tarihi bir simge olarak korumak düşüncesi ile Toprak Mahsulleri Ofisi'nden satın aldıklarını hatırlatarak "Da-



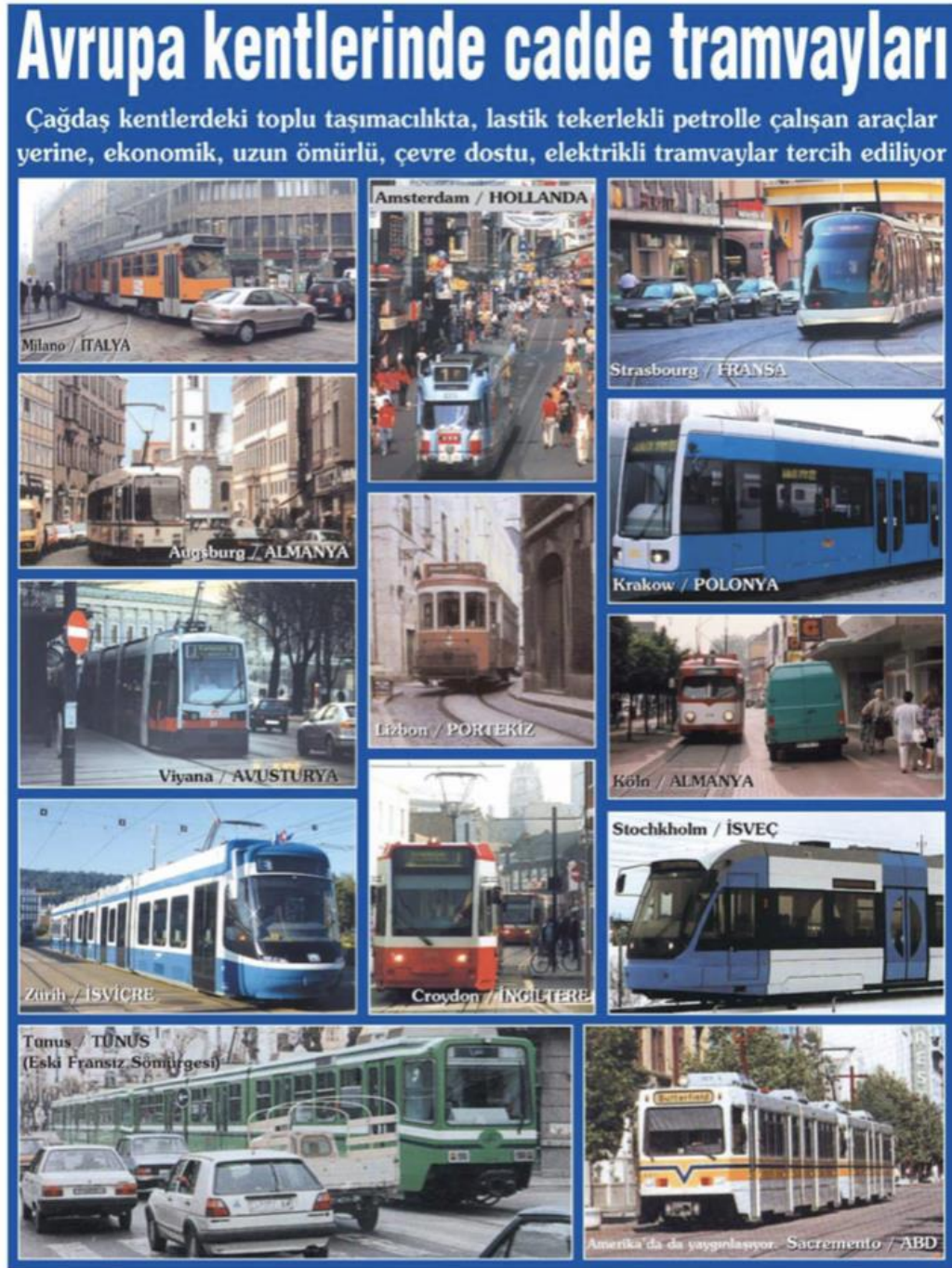
BÖYLE OLDU

ha sonra Sayın Hamdi Akın'ın, Accor Grubuyla işbirliği yaparak ülkemizde bir oteller zinciri projesine başladıklarını öğrenince Silo Binası'nı Akfen Holding'e kiraladık. Böylece hem belediye bütçesine sürekli gelir sağlayacak bir mülk elde etmiş, hem de Uluslararası İbis Oteller zincirinin Eskişehir'de de bir şube açmasını sağlamış olduk. Eskişehir 5 yıldız konforunda olan ancak fiyat bakımından çok daha ekonomik bir otele kavuşmuş oldu. Sayın Hamdi Akın ile Akfen Holding ve Accor Oteller Grubu yöneticilerine Eskişehir halkı adına teşekkür ediyorum. İbis Otel'in Eskişehir'e hayırlı olmasını diliyorum" şeklinde konuştu.



Biz Eskişehir'in açılmasını Hamdi Akın, Cemalettin Sarar ve Başkan Büyükerşen birlikte sevinçle karşıladılar.

Appendix D. Introduction of new tram transportation system in reference to European examples, even Tunisia is included as a former colony. (Bizim Şehir, v.5)



Appendix E. Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen with some of the Atatürk statues he produced. The second photo shows a wax statue of him making an Atatürk statue, both figures are made of wax. (1. Metropolitan Municipality website; 2. Taken on October 26, 2018).



Appendix F. Fountains with nymph decorations, first image from Ankara in 1925 (image taken from Batuman, 2013b), second photo taken by author, July 22, 2019.

