



## **Neo-liberalism and Production of Space by Small Scale Entrepreneurs in the Urban Fringe: Entertainment Venues Along the Park Avenue, Ankara**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper focuses on the production and development of entertainment venues along Park Avenue in Ankara. The study approaches the development as a problem of urban growth and urban planning in Ankara. While piecemeal urban planning paves the way for unintended urban development at the fringe of the city, entertainment venues are produced by the contingency of capital. In such situations, capital owners make use of strategies and politics to produce these places. This study explains why and how such entertainment venues have emerged along Park Avenue, examines the inadequacies of urban planning practices and investigates the prevailing market conditions. There is evidence that the development of these venues along Park Avenue is marked by different periods in which distinctive decisions, relation patterns and events occurred. Through this process, urban land that is earmarked for a particular land function is transformed for entertainment use via fragmentary or/and progressive methods in which capital dynamics are the main determinant.

**Keywords:** entertainment venues; piecemeal urban planning; unintended urban development; market mechanism; Park Avenue, Ankara.

### **INTRODUCTION**

In recent decades the urban fringe areas in many countries have been subjected to intense transformation (Fulton, 2001; Glaeser et al., 2001). Along with residential expansion, the fringes of cities have also come to attract consumer service areas e.g. shopping malls, theme parks, multiplex cinemas, theatres and luxury restaurants, cafes, nightclubs and bars (Hannigan, 1998, Sorkin, 1992). With rising incomes, shorter working hours and increased automobile ownership, people today spend more and more money and time on these places. The increase in the demand has resulted in the rapid growth and evolution of consumer services.

Although urban planning has steered some of the development, the development of these areas is driven mainly by market forces (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002, Hollands & Chatterton, 2003; Grazian, 2008; Campo & Ryan, 2008; Boyd, 2010). Under the general process of urban growth which is a natural result of social, economic and spatial changes; the urban planning practices of central and local governments are unable to dominate the fringe areas' development. The planning inability of governments has created less-controlled areas at the fringes (Harvey & Clark, 1965; Pendall, 1999; Torrens, 2006). For developers, these less-controlled areas have become the most preferable and uncomplicated areas for land speculation. Thus, the production of facilities for entertainment in these areas have been increasingly dominated by private enterprises.

After the 1980s, due to the process of economic liberalization, dramatic changes were witnessed at the urban fringes of Turkish cities. It affected socio-economic life and

introduced problems of uncontrolled urban growth in several aspects. Capital accumulation in the private sector and their investments for the built environment have accelerated. Both the urban fringe and the urban core have become arenas of speculation and manipulation of capital. Urban planning processes are no longer able to control the development. Contrary development, directed by market forces, is legitimized through legal and administrative regulations (Acar-Özler, 2012).

In terms of urban topography, until 1980s, Ankara - the capital of Turkey - resembled other Anatolian cities. Ankara had embodied a compact urban form, with the urban fringes occupied by unauthorized housing. This housing production had been mainly triggered by the migration from rural to urban areas. However, after the 1980s the compact form of the city underwent certain change with the expansion along the corridors. Due to its geographical and socio-economic characteristics, the South-Western fringe between the Eskişehir and Konya Highways became the most speculative part of the city. This axe has been favored for the upper income groups' new housing (Figure 1). The problems of illegal housing were replaced with the conflicts in the legal housing areas for the upper/middle-upper income groups.

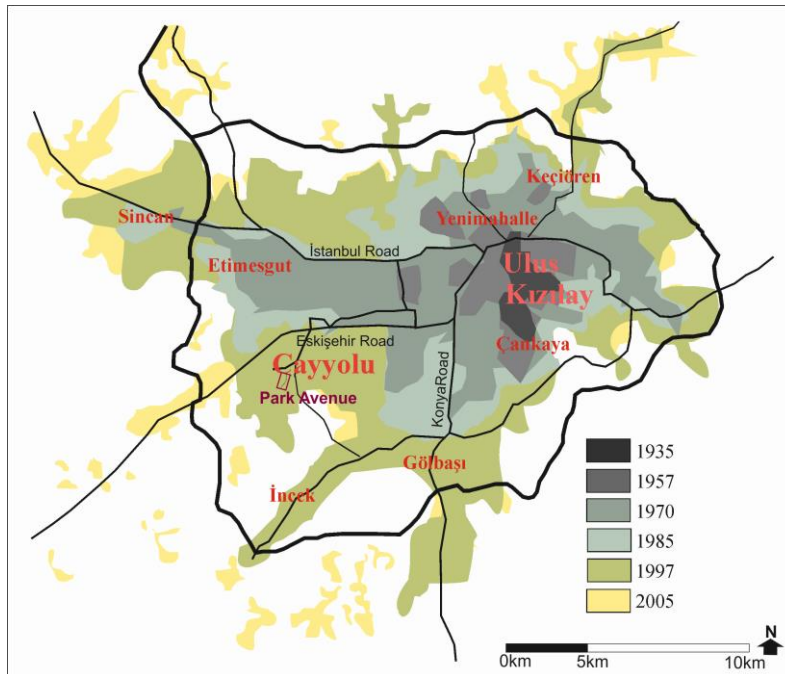


Figure 1: Urban development of Ankara (Adapted and redrawn from 2023 Ankara Development Plan, 2007)

The main emphasis of the paper is the piecemeal planning activities in the Eskişehir-Konya axe in Ankara. Urban development in this area was steered by local short-run piecemeal planning activities rather than long-range comprehensive master plans. Hierarchical planning lost its efficacy under the pressure from market mechanisms. They re-configured the urban form. Along with the decentralization of the upper-income groups, to the south-western fringe of the city, luxury entertainment activities were also moved out of the city center to the urban fringe including cafes, restaurants and bars. The inadequacy of urban planning to redirect the socio-spatial configuration of entertainment activities still makes the market mechanism the leading actor. The new entertainment venues are produced according to the rationale and demands of the capital. While small-scale entrepreneurs with limited funds produce entertainment venues on the ground floors of buildings, on corners and at accessible roadsides, those with more capital stock refunction pre-existing buildings for entertainment purposes. Around Park Avenue, this process is experienced as creating new buildings for entertainment purposes in the planned residential areas. Using legal instruments, entrepreneurs around Park Avenue have been able to build new

properties with entertainment functions without making changes in the urban master plans.

The development on Park Avenue began in the early 2000s, and the area has since become the most popular and prestigious entertainment location in Ankara. This axes not only serves for the upper-income classes of the south-western fringe, but also for the people from different parts and economic classes of the city (Fig. 2).

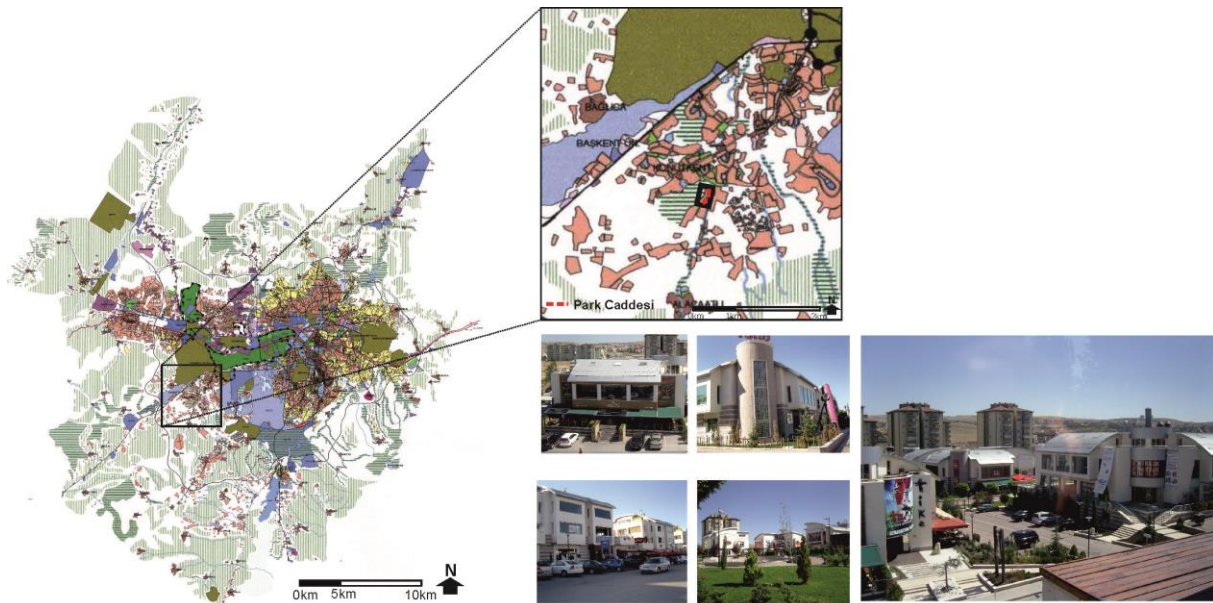


Figure 2: Location of Park Avenue and entertainment venues (2023 Ankara Development Plan, 2007, Personal Archives)

The aim of this study is to examine neo-liberal urbanization and urban policies through the fieldwork produced by medium-sized capital in Ankara, the capital of Turkey. In the post-1980 neo-liberalization process, the main tool to produce space in Turkey has been fragmentary plans. Urban parts that promise high rent returns are produced on short-term, fragmentary plans that do not have a gradation relationship between scales and are disconnected. Until the 2000s, the fragmentary planning approach, which generally targeted urban growth, became more specialized in the areas where it encouraged urban development in the post-2000 period. Like the processes experienced in developed countries, administrations that are directly intervening as market actors in areas that can attract large capital groups have left the development of projects to smaller capital groups. It has taken a share of the space produced under market conditions in indirect ways (taxes, fees, licenses, etc.).

The paper describes the development of entertainment venues in the case of Ankara Park Avenue within a chronological urban narrative as the following:

1. Formation period /1923-1980: Limited entertainment venues in the city center
2. Legitimation period / 1980-2000: Piecemeal planning activities on the South-western fringe
3. Production Period / 2000-2010: Strategies of Capital
4. Regression Period after 2010s: Losing significance

The study points out this development as a part of the urban growth and urban planning problems in Ankara. While piecemeal urban planning paved the way for un-planned urban development, entertainment venues were produced by the contingency of capital. The stakeholders developed strategies and politics over time to produce such places.



## METHODOLOGY

The analyses are conducted based on the assumption that the development of entertainment facilities is a progressive and gradual process. The development depends on both the prevailing development dynamics in Ankara and the aggregated dynamics of capital. To understand these dynamics, two sequential methods are applied in this study:

(1) A detailed review regarding all visual and written data available, such as plans, project files, reviews etc. collected from municipalities, real estate appraisal companies, construction companies, newspapers and magazines. This provided an outline of the general urban development and planning dynamics in Ankara and the south-western fringe.

(2) In-depth interviews made with key persons including real estate experts from both the private and public sectors, town planners from City Hall, real estate owners and employers, construction company owners and partners, and the owners and/or managers of entertainment venues. The respondents provided specific information about the production process for entertainment venues, the role of producers and particular features of the venues.

3. The case: Development process of entertainment venues along Park Avenue

During the research process, preliminary findings revealed that the development of entertainment venues around Park Avenue took place in four different periods. They include distinctive decisions, relation patterns and events occurred. The periods, rather than following each other in a sequence; overlap and are interwoven. The formation period is the first period, in which only a limited variety of entertainment venues were found in the city center. The second period, being a period of legitimation, began with the declaration of the 1990 Ankara Master Plan in 1982. It proposed private sector-led urban development along the Eskişehir Road. This accelerated urban development and provoked piecemeal planning activities are controlled by individuals with economic power and companies. In this period, stakeholders developed strategies to prepare the legal ground for the creation of entertainment venues in the area. After 2006, Park Avenue became a significant destination for entertainment. Although more recently, the Park Avenue neighborhood has begun to lose prominence in this regard. The timeline for the development actions in the axe can be categorized as:

### **Formation Period /1923-1980: Limited Entertainment Venues in the City Center**

The declaration of Ankara as the new capital city brought significant changes to the urban space. The city was planned to formulate a model for the rest of the country and to be part of the pioneering efforts to modernize the country and its people. Thus, entertainment venues were planned as indicators of the targeted Western and modern lifestyle. They were produced directly by the state with the social and cultural targets.

The very first city plans of Ankara were the 1925 Lörcher Plan and the 1932 Jansen Plan, both of which proposed a concentrated city form with Ulus appointed as the city center (Figure 3) (Tankut 1993). An increase in the number of diverse entertainment venues was witnessed, particularly around Ulus, targeting all social and income groups (Önder, 2013). In the following years, the city started to expand towards the south, and a new main entertainment district emerged in Yenışehir along Atatürk Boulevard. The selection of Kızılay as the location of the Prime Ministry and other government offices and ministries attracted the high-income group to the area. At the same time, lower income groups gathered around Ulus, many of whom had immigrated to the city from other towns. This had a negative effect on the aesthetic appeal of the neighborhood (Bademli 1986: 155), and like all other central activities, entertainment activities also started to spread towards Kızılay.

Until 1956, urban planning activities were under the control of the municipalities, as set out in Municipality Law no.1580 (1930) and Municipal Construction and Road Law no. 2290 (1933). This suggested that every municipality acted independently in the making of



planning decisions. To apply some control and to legitimize the planning effort, Development Law no.6785 was enacted in 1956, according to which any urban plans that were prepared by the municipalities were to be approved by the central government (Ministry of Development and Settlement).

In 1957 a new master plan entitled as the Yücel-Uybadin Plan was approved. It proposed low-density social residential areas in the Northern part of the city and a relatively higher density in the South. The Yücel and Uybadin plan projected Ulus by retaining its function as the city center, and designated Kızılay as a secondary center. The plan, however, failed to predict the rapid post-war population increase in the city. The unexpected urban growth made it difficult to provide adequate housing in the planned area. As a result, squatter housing became a common solution for those in the low-income group. These areas would dominate the urban fringes. The inner parts of the city developed somewhat differently due to the radical increase in building density. The enactment of Condominium Law Nr. 634 (1965) gave independent ownership rights to separate particular parts of the apartment blocks. Law initiated a demolish-and-rebuild process, and in time, almost all building stock in the city center was demolished and rebuilt by individual contractors and small entrepreneurs (Günay, 2005:81).

The Condominium Law also raised speculative pressures and speeded up the production of entertainment venues, which had never been considered as a plan-regulated urban activity. Being left to market mechanisms in the Yücel-Uybadin Plan, they became a subject of commodification. The Condominium Law offered an important opportunity for entrepreneurs who were facing difficulties in developing only on one building lot or in one apartment block due to difficulties with the legislation (Gökçe 2008). The ground floors of apartment blocks were set aside for entertainment activities, and flats on the first floor could be transformed for entertainment functions with the approval from all flat owners in an apartment block.

In the following years, building densities in Kızılay were increased with the enactment of the Floor Order Plan (1967) and plan modifications (1970 and 1973), while the pedestrianization of some roads intensified entertainment activities in the neighborhood. However, spurred by the increase in density and the rising price of real estate, entertainment venues began to expand into southern part of the city, following the high-income housing areas (Bademli, 1986). Two-storey houses with gardens around Tunalı Hilmi Avenue, Gaziosmanpaşa were transformed into apartment blocks, and the ground floors of apartment blocks were converted into entertainment venues (Gökçe 2008).

The Yücel-Uybadin Plan could not resolve the speculative pressure of squatter housing at the fringe or the density increase in the inner city. After 1980, the urban pattern of Ankara transformed from a relatively homogenous and compact structure over a planned area to a heterogeneous and dispersed structure in which new developments emerged in unplanned areas (Acar Özler, 2012:84).

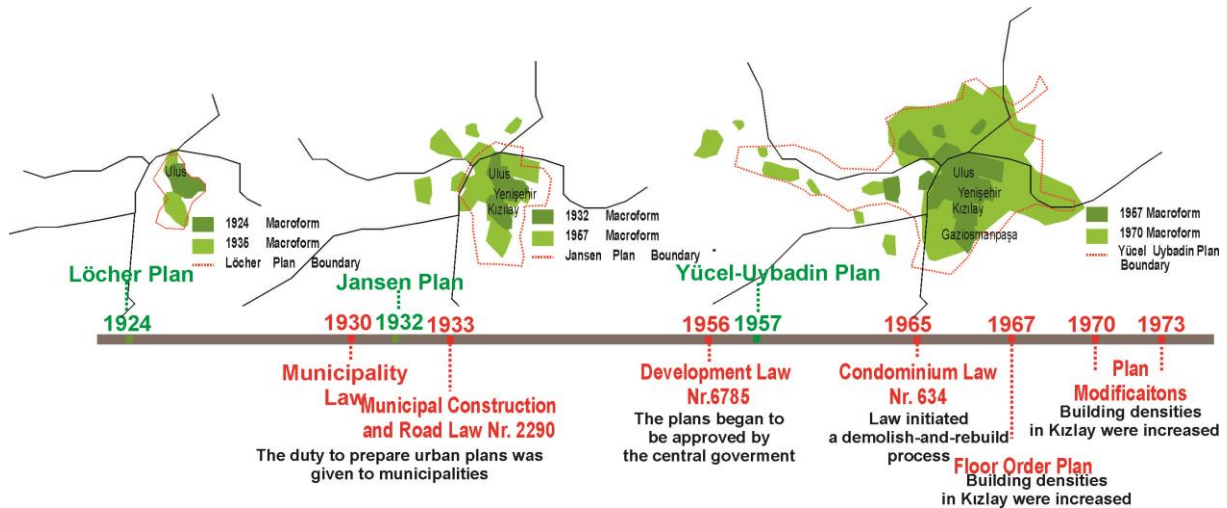


Figure 3: Urban development dynamics between 1923-1980

### Legitimation Period / 1980-2000: Piecemeal Planning Activities on the South-Western Fringe

At the beginning of the 1970s, a new urban plan was launched under the supervision of the Ministry of Development and Settlement. Consequently, the 1990 Ankara Master Plan was approved in 1982. The plan suggested a macro form for the city which had begun to expand Westward. While the Northern parts of the Western corridor passed into the hands of public bodies, to be set aside for middle-income groups, the development to the South along the Eskişehir Road was proposed for the upper/middle-income groups and left to market mechanisms (Figure 4). In the following years, coherent with the decisions of the 1990 Ankara Master Plan, private corporations were moved to Eskişehir Road from the city center.

The 1990 Ankara Master Plan suggested recreational and cultural spaces as essential components of urban life, but made no land-use decisions for entertainment venues. Accordingly, entertainment venues followed the urban expansion towards the West, with development left to market mechanisms. The first example of such entertainment centers was Bahçelivevler (7th Avenue), along the right angles to the Eskişehir Road, where many public institutions were located. In this period, entertainment venues emerged towards Kavaklıdere (Tunalı Hilmi Avenue). The more prestigious venues that did not want to locate in what they considered the unfavorable physical environment of Kızılay. Following the demolish-and-rebuild process realized more in the middle/high-income residential areas. After 1984 the development process of the city went through a change of new legal and institutional arrangements. The enactment of three consecutive laws: Greater Municipality Law no.3030 (1984): Development Law no.3194 (1985) and Mass Housing Law no.2985 (1984), introduced new regulations for urban development that had not previously existed. Regarding Law no.3030, the Greater Municipality was established. In greater municipality area two-tiers system was introduced between greater municipality and district municipalities. The Greater Municipality had responsibility for the preparation and approval of development plans (1/5000 scale) whereas district municipalities were responsible for the preparation of local development plans (1/1000 scale). Outside the greater municipality area, all kinds of planning duty were retained by the Ministry of Development and Settlement. The existence of numerous autonomous authorities at the fringe of the city caused problems of collective action.

Development Law no.3194 introduced many supplementary plans, such as the "Revision Plan", "Additional Plan", "Partial Plan" and "Plan Modification". These were approved in a short time paying no heed to landownership, natural resources, the characteristics of nearby neighborhoods, etc. (Gök 1980,131). Municipalities and ministries used these piecemeal plans as a rapid and partial solution to urbanization. Between 1980 and 2000,



nearly 50 % of total urban plans on the South-western fringe were piecemeal in nature (Acar-Özler, 2012)

The Mass Housing Law no.2985 (1984) served as a supplementary financial source for housing development, intensified the operational activities of housing cooperatives and contraction companies. Under these circumstances, the private sector dominated the urban development, becoming involved directly in land speculation, especially at the urban fringe where land was cheap and readily available. The piecemeal planning activities of the central and local governments exaggerated the privately driven urban development. Thus manipulating and changing the decisions emerged in the 1990 Ankara Master Plan.

All these legislations resulted in uneven urban development in the South-western fringe. In accordance with these laws in 1989 central government launched an highway project. This had unexpected effects on the urban macroform. Between the route of the highway belt and existing macroform, speculative interests of housing cooperatives, private companies intensified.

In 1994 central government established a new adjacent area in the South-western fringe for greater municipality. In this area, planning authority was given to greater municipality. However, greater municipality management changed after local government election. Then, central government cancelled the decision. This rejection resulted in a long judicial process between greater municipality and central government. During this period central government approved 1/25 000 scaled "Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan". This plan accepted many piecemeal plans that were incompatible with the decisions of the 1990 Ankara Master Plan (Acar Özler 2012).

In 1997, the judiciary found in favor of the Greater Municipality. The "Southwest Ankara Development Axis Plan" and other piecemeal plans of central government were subsequently abolished. This went against the intended holistic and integrated planning practice and led to fragmented urban development.

The developments mentioned above allowed urban expansion towards to the South-western fringe along the Eskişehir Road. As a result of the lack of coordination and the conflict between the central and local authorities in the process of urban planning, the South-western fringe became the most speculative part of the city. Along with the increases in density of existing built-up areas, land prices increased in the inner city. The movement of public institutions, universities and shopping malls to the south-western fringe, development in this region gained speed.

As urban development began to expand into the interior parts of the urban fringe. Entertainment venues were being constructed even though creating venues that would appeal the better-off segment of society proved to be difficult. The small number of prefabricated cafes and buffets, and restaurants on the entrance floors of apartment blocks in the Çayyolu village, as well as one or two cafes and restaurants that were transformed from residential buildings. They were unable to transcend from being places only for refreshment into places where the high-income group would gather for social activities. A limited number of units in the shopping malls opened after the 2000s that provided those kinds of entertainment services. On the other hand, the entertainment venues in the city core around Kavaklıdere and Gaziosmanpaşa continued to maintain a presence, although their popularity as urban entertainment destinations decreased.

In the 2000s, new regulations were introduced in the urban planning. A collaboration was made between the greater municipality and Ministry of Development and Settlement to make a revision in 1990 Ankara Master Plan. In 2001, 1/50 000 scaled plan revision considering the area inside the highway belt was approved by the ministry. Plan proposed new settlement areas inside the circumference of highway belt fringe. The highway

destroyed the green belt that was planned to control urban growth. Without a holistic development approach, this plan - as a trend-responsive and market-oriented attempt - legalized the existing piecemeal developments. In 2004, same collaboration prepared another 1/50 000 scaled plan called "South-western Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan" for outside the belt-highway. It changed the decisions of 1990 Ankara Master Plan by increasing the density. In 2006, due to the incremental decisions, this plan was halted by the Council of State. However, until the abolishment date of the plans some implementations were already initiated.

The enactment of new Greater Municipality Law no.5216 (2004) and Municipality Law no.5393 (2005) changed the role of the municipalities in the urban production. With this law, municipalities began to play not only regulatory but also a direct investor role. They started to implement profit-oriented projects. These laws also brought the concept of "urban transformation and growth project". Without a holistic approach, many areas at the South-western fringe were addressed as the transformation and growth areas and opened to development. Some of them were halted but under this juridical process, problems concerning the urban development increased. These regulations changed the role of Mass Housing Administration in a way that it became the leading actor in urban production. It intervened directly in the planning process and realized plans for mass housing areas. The formerly unplanned areas that was outside the 1990 Ankara Master Plans was transformed to mass housing areas.

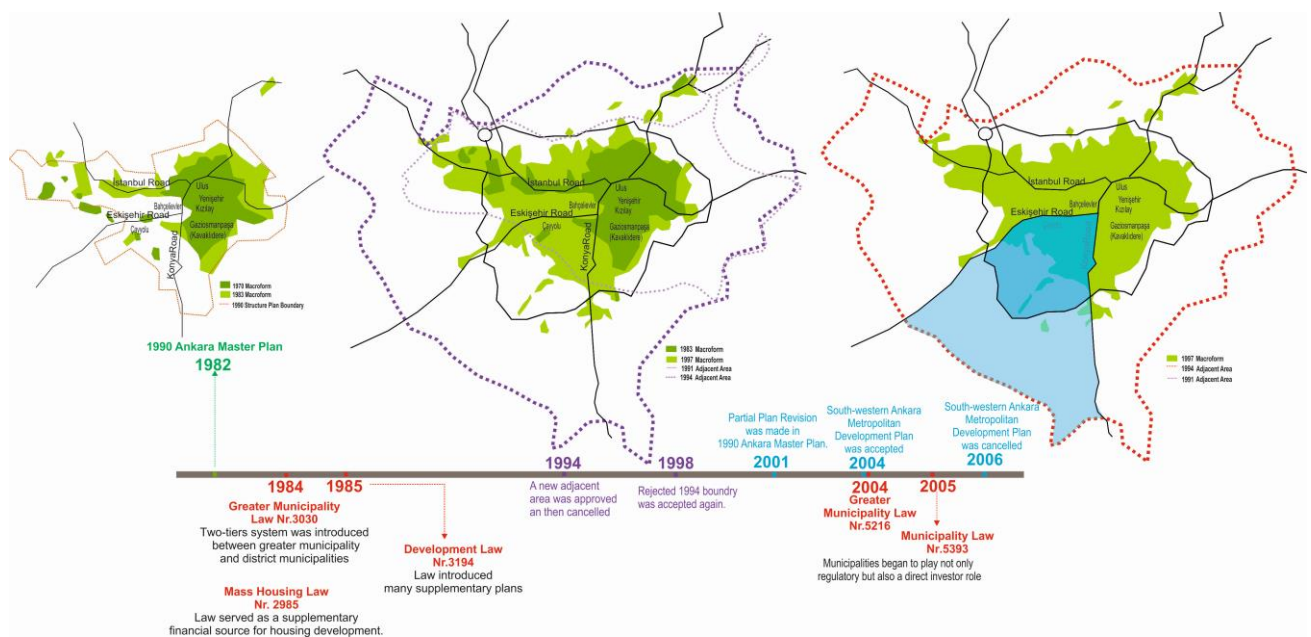


Figure 4: Urban development dynamics between 1980-2010s

Under these circumstances urban planning lost its interest to control and to formulize the urban growth at the South-western fringe. Existing master plan was manipulated by piecemeal interventions that led further development. The undeveloped lands became most preferable areas for the entrepreneurs. The target was not only for residential development but also for other commercial developments.

### Production Period / 2000 Forward: Strategies of Capital

As development of the suburbs took off, Park Avenue and the surrounding area were bought up by the owner of the Ruto Construction Company who produced the 1/5000- and 1/1000-scaled "Ruto-Yeşilkent Partial Plan". The project was approved by the Ministry of Development and Settlement on May 24, 1985 (Figure 5). The area around Park Avenue was allocated for housing, and the subdivision plan became official on January 14 1986.



This established the legal grounds for initiating the construction, although it would be some time before work started.

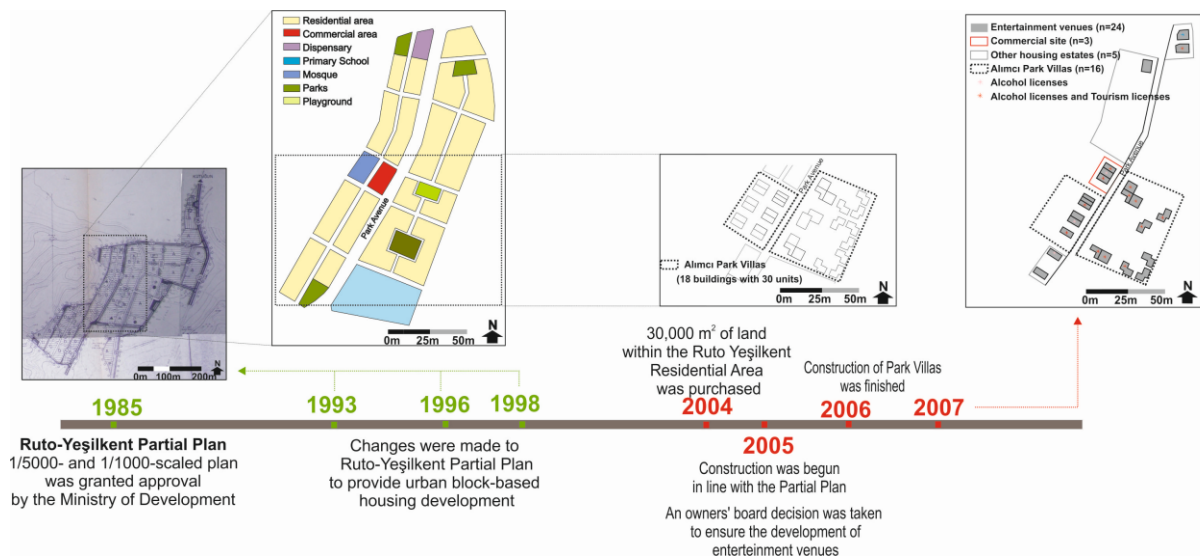


Figure 5: Development dynamics of Park Avenue between 1980-2010

The plan was revised in 1993, 1996 and 1998. Instead of being building-lot-based, the plans exposed the area to block-based housing development. It was seen effective in the creation of public and common areas (Implementation Plan Change, 1993; Implementation Plan Revision, 1996; Explanation Report of Partial Implementation Plan Note Change, 1998). The plans decreased the number of detached buildings and increased setback distances which expanded open and green areas. Therefore, the profitability of the area increased and the area was sold piece-by-piece to cooperatives and private companies. In 2000s, housing development in the area covered by the “Ruto Yeşilkent Partial Plans” accelerated. At the time, an entrepreneur who entered the construction sector with a company named Alımcı Construction was in search of land. He had been a merchant in a nearby shopping mall since 2000 and had noticed the lack of entertainment facilities in the district, and purchased 30,000 m<sup>2</sup> of land within the Ruto Yeşilkent Residential Area in 2004. Although he found the land price to be affordable, the main motivation behind his choice was the location and the planning conditions. The area was highly accessible to such high-income residential districts as Oran and Çankaya via the İncek Road. The area was of equal distance to the Hacettepe, Bilkent, Başkent, Çankaya and Atılım universities. The planned open and green areas, and the backyard distances were deemed appropriate for the development of entertainment facilities, and the entrepreneur also noted the arrival of a number of restaurants to the district. A fish restaurant within commercial block and a kebab restaurant on a nearby housing estate had become famous and were the most luxurious restaurants in the city. So, they were attracting many customers.

Just six months after purchasing the land, the entrepreneur-initiated construction in line with the Partial Plan, the start was the housing construction. Declaring that all buildings were designed for entertainment purposes, he created 18 buildings (containing 30 units) that he named “Alımcı Park Villas” (Figure 5), and the avenue running between the Alımcı Park Villas was named Park Avenue.

During construction, the entrepreneur approached the owners of luxury entertainment facilities in the city suggesting to open branches in Park Avenue or to move to the area. As a result of these meetings, the owner of the most famous Italian restaurant and Chinese restaurant in Ankara purchased three units, and the entrepreneur then referenced these purchases when marketing the district to other restaurateurs. According to the entrepreneur, “after difficult persuasion processes”, the owners of a famous pub in Ankara that was popular among young people, were convinced, and rented a street-front building



that opened for business in 2006. This was the first entertainment facility on the avenue. After the completion of construction, four buildings were sold and the rest were rented, with building bought by a famous football player.

Prior to the arrival of entertainment venues at the Park Avenue, no such extensive development had been experienced in Ankara, neither at the fringe nor in the inner city. The permission made the opening of entertainment venues possible. Cooperatives and housing estates were unable to grant permission for such facilities for reasons of security and noise nuisance. Approval had to be taken from all owners, according to the "Decree-Law for the Opening and Licensing of Business Places (2005)". For this reason, the entrepreneur who had built Alımcı Park Villas declined to sell more buildings, keeping the majority of properties for himself. This gave him more voting chances. Moreover, to control future development and to shorten bureaucratic processes, an owners' board decision was made regarding the housing estate management plan. The aim was to ensure the development of entertainment venues, thus the need to seek permission could be ignored. In 2007, 24 entertainment venues were pinpointed along Park Avenue. Three of them were in a commercial block, and one of these was the first entertainment facility in Park Avenue. As development of the Alımcı Park Villas accelerated, the owner of the fish restaurant rented the top floor and part of the first floor of his building. Including these 2 other entertainment venues, a total of 16 entertainment venues in Alımcı Park Villas, and 5 in other housing estates were present (Figure 5).

Most of the entertainment venues along Park Avenue had alcohol licenses (n=17), and they faced problems with both the central and local governments. The Greater Municipality made obtain such a license difficult by carrying out strict inspections of venues. In accordance with the regulations of Police Powers and Duties Law (1934), the police raided many of the venues to harass both the owners and customers (Hurriyet 2010; Milliyet 2010).

As a solution to this pressure, owners and managers of the venues started to apply for Tourism License given by Ministry of Tourism. This licence allowed them for selling alcohol, being left open until late hours, and letting children under 18 to be found in these places with their parents. Police could not raid to these venues. Tourism licenses were taken under the name of "first class restaurant", so they were the indicators of prestige and status. The Tourism License addressed kitchen, parking area, heating, ventilation and cooling facilities mandatory via regulation standards. Owners and managers made improvements and restoration in their venues. Fifteen entertainment venues took this license and certificated their above standard quality.

### **Regression Period After 2010s: Losing Significance**

Even though the development of the Park Avenue was so rapid, the development of entertainment venues indicated slowdown. Until the recent years, entertainment venues along Park Avenue had an important role in Ankara's nightlife. However, in the recent years it began to lose its significance.

After 17 years spent without a Master Plan, the Greater Municipality prepared and approved a new plan in 2007 entitled the "2023 Ankara Master Plan" (Figure 6). The plan aimed to control the ongoing speculative urban expansion. It was legitimized by piecemeal urban plans, lacking a holistic form. The plan intensified speculative pressures by legalizing all piecemeal plans. In the following years, the characteristics and scale of piecemeal planning changed. The Greater Municipality and the Mass Housing Administration became main players in urban production. Instead of small-scale piecemeal plans, large-scale plans that disregarded the decisions of the 2023 Ankara Master Plan were introduced under the name of "urban transformation and growth projects". Thus, the activities of small cooperatives and contractor companies, as the former predominant apparatuses in space production were replaced with vast development projects undertaken by large-scale corporates.

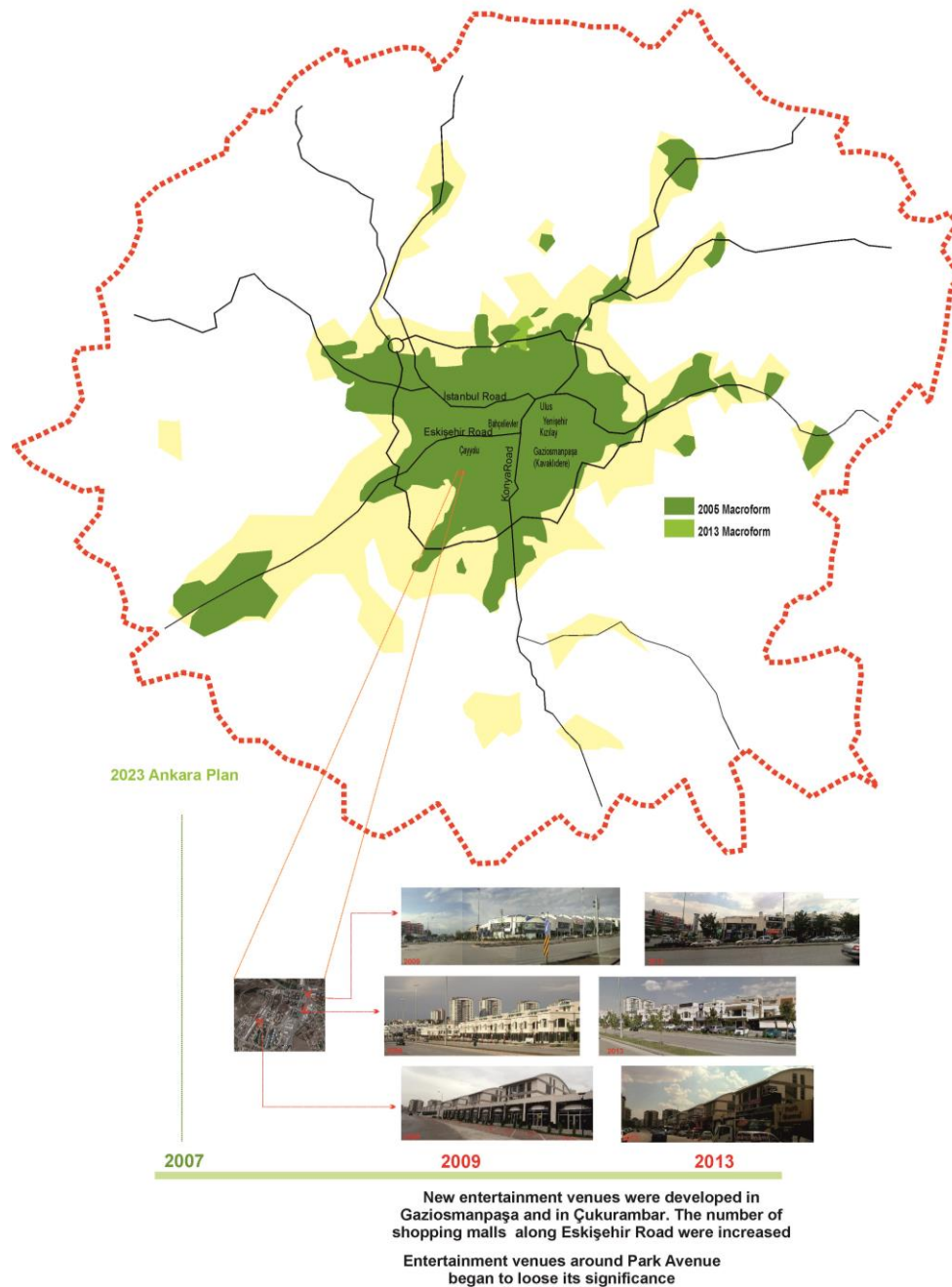


Figure 6: Urban development dynamics after 2010 and changing land use characteristics of Park Avenue

The inner-city areas were subjected to renewal projects. The development of other entertainment venues played a significant role in the loss of importance of Park Avenue. The lack of interest that had once prevailed in Kızılay and along Tunalı Avenue revealed itself in Park Avenue. New areas closer to the city center in Gaziosmanpaşa and Çukurambar and large employment centers became new important nodes for entertainment.

While the inner-city areas were restructuring, new shopping malls opened, and the city's older malls were refurbished and/or enlarged at the fringe after 2010. Units within these shopping malls along Eskişehir Road (e.g. Tepe Prime and Armada) were shaped according to new consumption and marketing strategies. This axe became new addresses for high-income groups.

At the same time, service facilities such as banks, stores, shops, etc. also developed around the Park Avenue. The area gained status of being a sub-center that was used in daily life with the completion of new housing areas. Services provider such as auto mechanics, key makers and dry cleaners took up residence in the new development areas up from Park Avenue.

Park Avenue and its surroundings lost its former niche value in this sense. The entertainment venues that had enjoyed a high-income customer profile faced difficulties in retaining their interest with these new places. Losing its attraction as a predominantly entertainment-focused locality after hosting new service providers caused the avenue to lose its brand value. As a result, Park Avenue lost popularity, and many of the entertainment venues closed or were passed to other hands. By 2013, only 10 such venues remained, 9 venues changed to become fewer exclusive venues. Four venues, which were considered the most luxurious along the avenue, closed altogether due to the decreasing demand (Figure 7). The others venues that continued to operate all stated that their businesses were in financial trouble. As Chatterton and Hollands (2002: 101) and Hannigan (1998:7) suggested, the mechanisms and strategies of place developers led the development of these places.

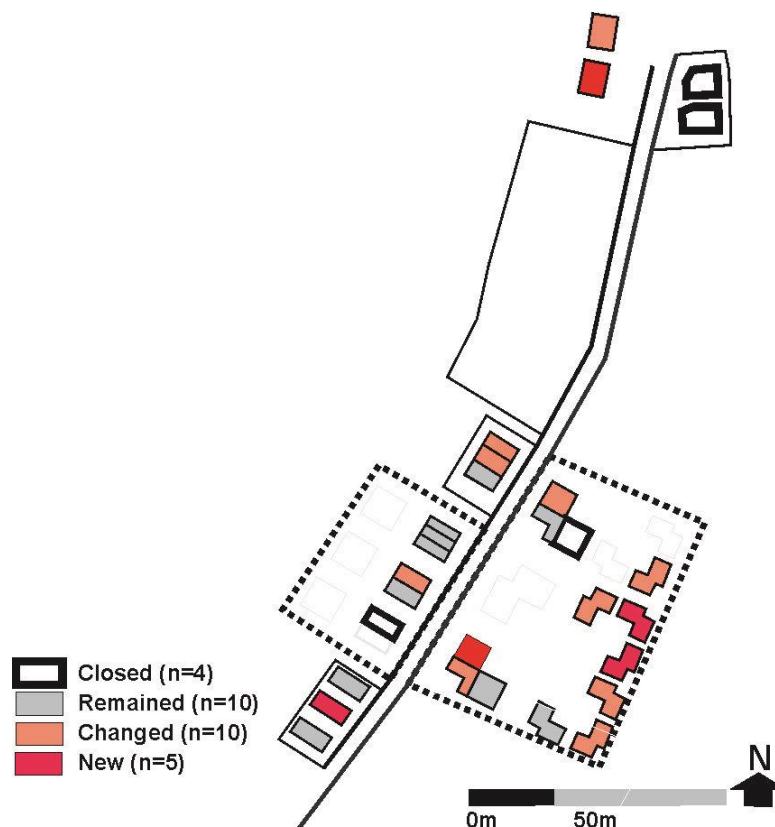


Figure 7: Land Use Changes in Park Avenue after 2010s

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Entrepreneurs managed to refunction the residential land uses set out in the plans for use as entertainment venues through fragmentary or/and progressive methods. This study has analysed the development process of entertainment venues for the case of Park Avenue, where the development process of entertainment venues passed through the following phases:

- Up until the 1980s, the city's limited entertainment venues were directed by the state and were concentrated in the city center.
- After the 1980s, disagreements between central and local administrations cancelled urban plans and fragmentary local plans in the absence of upper-scale master plans,

and the south-western fringe became a region in which speculation and problematic urban development was experienced.

- After the 2000s, urban growth and urban planning problems left the production of entertainment venues to market forces, and an area that had been planned for housing was developed for entertainment purposes. Entrepreneurs and capital owners made use of strategies and politics to prepare the ground for development.
- As a result of relation patterns between the capital owners, the most well-known and luxury venues in the city developed along Park Avenue.
- In the final phase, Park Avenue started to lose significance, with the development of other commercial and social businesses emerging as a problem for Park Avenue. The tendency to site unique entertainment places away from the city centre was broken, and the avenue started to lose its former niche value with the development of other entertainment areas in other parts of the city (Figure 8).

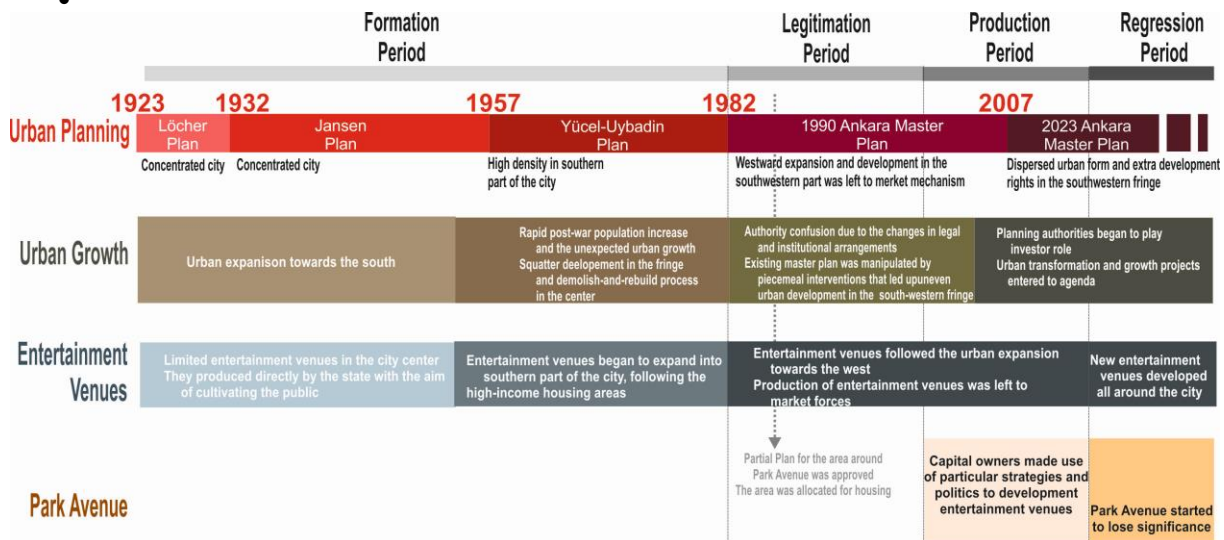


Figure 8: Urban growth, entertainment venues and Park Avenue

Within the framework of neo-liberal policies, which started to be adopted in the 1980s and strengthened in the 2000s, dramatic changes have occurred in urban space. Neo-liberalism's approach of profit and market-oriented development, urban space has been viewed as an object of consumption with profit (Tekeli 1988). Capital has sought to maximize its profits by settling in and (re)producing space (Gottieneer, 2001; Harvey, 2006). As the profit obtained through space increased, the balance between the administrations and capital changed. In the 1980s, the administrations, which undertook a more regulatory path and produced policies to legitimize market-led urban development. Their aim was to take advantage of the value increases in cities in the post-2000s and to ensure the redistribution themselves (Eraydın, 2012). Administrations that have become market actors have intervened in urban parts with high value increases. Central and local governments have adopted urban policies to enable and encourage the reproduction of urban space with an entrepreneurial and proactive approach (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). New institutional and legal arrangements and market-oriented development have been supported by different forms of intervention (Brenner, 2006: 123).

The focus of the new institutional and legal regulation has been the urban planning system. Urban planning, which is a tool and even a prerequisite for facilitating the movement of capital in space (Eraydın, 2012: 14, Kok, 2012: 1), has lost its legitimacy based on the principle of public interest in this restructuring process. The traditional defining features of planning, such as comprehensive, long-range, end-sate, have been eroded. The planning system for promoting the land and property market has become more flexible and has loosen its strict rules (Healy and Williams, 1993; Healey, 2004). The (re)production of space is based on short- or medium-term plans (Taşan-Kok, 2008) and fragmentary



projects (Albrechts, 2004; Helay and Williams, 1993). The aim is to encourage urban growth and the production of new urban spaces through new developments in market conditions. The transformation of the built environment would be ensured (Fainstein, 1994; Moulaert & Scott, 1997).

For this purpose, managements have adopted different approaches to consolidate their own investments and the investments of different capital groups in space. These approaches include different planning processes for actors with different backgrounds to (re)produce space. Capital, which already has accumulation at different scales, has redirected to the areas in the city where the highest and best land use decisions are made (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). Even the rent is shared. Therefore, the cities have become a strategic arena where investment areas of different capital groups are determined and tactics to produce these areas are provided through urban planning processes.

The claim of relatively powerful actors such as multinational companies and capital groups operating on a national and regional scale has been achieved through practices such as large-scale urban projects and transformation projects. There is evidence that one-to-one with the partnerships they have made with central and local governments (Şengül, 2009; Eraydin, 2013). In the literature, there is a file of large public-private partnership projects and the fragmentary production of urban space (Swyngedouw, et al, 2002; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck & Tickell, 2002).

Smaller-scale application areas have been allowed for actors with limited power such as local entrepreneurs, contractors and land speculators (Şengül 2009). Administrations have not been directly intervening and entrepreneurial in such areas. It encouraged the production of the place under market conditions and provided its economic benefit from revenues such as taxes and fees. The focus of such capital practices has been, as Brenner and Theodore (2002) suggest, the creation of new privatized spaces for elite and collective consumption.

In the literature, not enough attention has been paid to the production of space by such medium-sized capital groups. However, the ability of neo-liberalism (Brenner & Theodore, 2002: 366) which does not have a consistent functioning by nature, but rather contains flaws and contradictions, to sustain itself under all conditions can be observed mostly in the behavior of medium-sized capital groups. Neo-liberalism requires constant restructuring according to circumstances. In terms of contradictions and crisis, the neoliberal projects consolidate in space by producing new strategies (Theodore et al., 2012: 30). The medium-sized capital group is quickly affected by such contradictions and crises and adapts quickly to the conditions. Thus, it is important to investigate the process of production of space by the medium-sized capital group to observe the different policies of central/local governments and to understand the reaction of capital to changing conditions.

As Sassen (2002) states, the continuous changes in the neoliberal process address new forms of investment in the urban area. Planning rules are constantly being loosened and tightened, new planning tools are being introduced and abolished (Gleeson & Law, 2000). Therefore, in an environment where variability and contradictions are increasing, it is necessary to examine the production of urban spaces under market conditions.

Undoubtedly, neo-liberal urbanization and neo-liberal planning, which is the main tool that produces this form of urbanization, have certain accepted features. However, different planning policies produce different results at different times and in different cities. According to Peck et al. (2009), Brenner (2005: 102-103) and Theodore et al. (2012: 27-28), the contextual embeddedness and path-dependency of neoliberal restructuring have led to different socio-spatial transformations in different cities. Because every urban development and the planning process associated with this development depends on the



economic, social and political situations it has been in before. So, the production process of each place is unique.

It should be noted that one of the basic functions of planning is to redirect and to control urban development. In the case of Ankara, after the 1980s, urban development could not be managed by holistic urban planning practices. It was guided rather by uncoordinated piecemeal planning activities and market-driven locational dynamics. As a result, urban planning lost its effectiveness as a regulatory mechanism.

The compact form of Ankara was lost as it expanded along a particular corridor without following a discernable planning approach. The South-western fringe of the city became its most speculation-driven part. Disregarding any planning mentality, being rather income-oriented, and leaving urban production and development to market conditions. Under these conditions, the development of entertainment venues was formulated through ad-hoc interventions, with developments cropping up through the operational activities of private entrepreneurs.

In the Turkish literature, the process of production of space by medium-sized capital groups has not been adequately included. The studies were limited to small-scale closed housing areas and/or gentrification areas. In this study, it was examined how a different use outside the housing area was produced under market conditions. As a field study, the development around Park Street, which is located on the southwest city periphery, which is the most speculative area of the city of Ankara, which developed with fragmentary plans in the post-1980 period, was chosen. The food and beverage-based entertainment venues in the region developed in the 2000s in an area that was originally planned as a residential area with various tactics and strategies of medium-sized capital groups. The study of the production process of this field provides important clues in terms of understanding how the neoliberal project is restructured in the local context.

With urban planning proving itself to be unable to manage urban development, the production of entertainment venues was dictated by market conditions and the contingency of capital. However, the failure to manage development had consequences that led the entertainment venues to face new difficulties that left them unable to preserve their continuity.

In the future, further piecemeal developments in the urban fringes of other Anatolian cities can be studied. This can accumulate further knowledge in the field and even provide guidance for the urban policy making. Moreover, timelines can be formulated to trace the chronological order of urban legislations and narratives on urban time and space can be created.

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