

Neoliberalisation through naming: place naming and shifting modes of housing production in Ankara

Place names play an important role in neoliberal urban development. The naming of a housing estate, especially a gated community, is instrumental in constructing the image and intended sense of community of an estate. This paper scrutinises the naming of housing estates in Incek, one of the most prestigious suburbs of Ankara, Turkey. While development in the area began with middle-class housing cooperatives, today Incek is marketed as an idyllic landscape embodying high-rise luxurious gated communities. We show that the naming of the housing estates not only reflects but also contributes to the shift in the mode of production from housing cooperatives to gated communities built and marketed by large-scale companies. Additionally, the name Incek has come to refer to not only the official boundaries of the neighbourhood but a larger territory, which illustrates the unfixed nature of toponyms in terms of location. Finally, the paper shows that there is a reciprocal relationship between the toponym and the image of a particular district, which can affect the functions and activities that flourish within it.

Keywords: toponymy, neoliberal urbanisation, gated communities, mode of housing production, Incek, Ankara

Introduction

There is a discernible relationship between urban toponyms and economic value. This is particularly so in the neoliberal city. As Rose-Redwood and Alderman (2011, 2) have argued:

the symbolic capital associated with a name has become inextricably bound up with the logic of capital accumulation that the symbolic naming of a ‘place’ is itself increasingly being enlisted as an integral strategy of maximizing profitability.

In tune with this, housing estates, particularly gated communities, have been marketed with names suggesting tranquility, peacefulness, and an association with nature (Pow and Kong, 2007; Suárez Carrasquillo, 2011; Spocter, 2018). In this paper, we intend to

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contribute to discussions on the economic role of urban toponymy through a particular case in Ankara, Turkey, where the naming of housing developments went hand in hand with the promotion of the suburban district of Incek. As we will illustrate, the naming of housing compounds corresponded to a shift from middle-class housing cooperatives to gated communities built and marketed by large-scale companies. In this process, Incek emerged as an imagined district as well as a brand to be used in new names given to housing developments and public venues alike.

Traditionally, toponymic research had focused either on the etymology, context and history of place names, or their patterns and characteristics (Tent, 2015). These lines of enquiry fail to address ‘the power/politics/place link’ (Kearns and Berg, 2002, 285). Social actors and groups retain substantial power in controlling the information represented through the name of the landscape because of the cultural influence of the naming processes (Alderman and Inwood, 2013). People name areas to create order. In the naming process, selected names frequently present what becomes a dominant perspective, which means they mute other points of view, cultural identities, and voices (Alderman and Inwood, 2013; Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016).

Recent scholarship in critical toponymy has shifted the focus of analysis from etymology and taxonomy of place names to the processes of naming (Berg and Vuolteenaho, 2009; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010; Rose-Redwood and Alderman, 2011; Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016).¹ This new critical approach has emphasised the cultural politics of the processes of place naming and power relations embedded in these processes. In tune with this shift, Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016) have suggested distinguishing between place-name studies and place naming studies, arguing that the latter allows for analysing power relations and the motives of their agents. Within the growing body of work scrutinising the relationship between power structures and place naming, themes such as governmentality (Rose-Redwood, 2008; Vuolteenaho and Berg, 2009), identity, memory and commemoration (Azaryahu, 1996; Alderman, 2002; Azaryahu, 2011), geopolitics of post-colonial and post-socialist histories (Yeoh, 1996; Swart, 2008; Duminy, 2014; Azaryahu, 2017; Bigon, 2016) and the commodification and political economy of urban space (Light and Young, 2015; Rose-Redwood et al., 2019) have been studied.

Scholars have pointed out the correlation between urban toponyms and economic value, a connection that becomes particularly pronounced within the framework of neoliberal cities (Berg, 2011; Gnatiuk and Melnychuk, 2022). While this is typically observed in the marketing of housing estates, the increasingly entrepreneurial character of city administrations (Harvey, 2007) in an era of cities competing to attract capital, has led to city branding through architecture and the naming of public venues. The growing corporate interest in the names of public venues has made the selling of naming rights a favoured instrument to gain revenue for city administrations

¹ For recent collections on critical toponymy see Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2022) and O'Reilly (2023).

and a common trait of the commercialisation of public space (Rose-Redwood and Alderman, 2011; Light and Young, 2015).

In this paper, we argue that the role of toponymy in the commercialisation of urban space goes beyond creating additional economic value; i.e. the role is not merely quantitative. As we will illustrate with the case under discussion, place naming can also play a role in qualitative changes, which in our case is a shift in the mode of space production in suburban areas. In Ankara, as we will detail below, middle- and even upper-middle class housing compounds had until recently been produced as cooperatives. In Incek, a shift towards market-oriented production occurred along with changes in the names of housing estates. Yet, this was only one aspect of the transformation. The whole district was opened to development, which went hand in hand with the naming mechanisms as well as the influence of the new estate names in redefining the district of Incek with a particular image. The paper is based on field-work conducted in 2020 and 2021. Housing estates in Incek were visited and analysed during the summer of 2020. Interviews were conducted with a total of 14 individuals including representatives of real estate companies that have realised residential projects (marketing representatives, architects and site managers), representatives of privately owned venues (owners and managers of wedding and event venues), municipality employees (of Gölbaşı Municipality and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Numbering Service), and professionals involved in real estate valuation and naming in the area. The semi-structured interviews were completed between September 2020 and February 2021.

Urban context

Ankara is the capital and the second largest city of Turkey with a population of more than 5.5 million. By the early twentieth century, it was a small town with a population less than 30,000. Ankara served as the centre of the War of Independence in the wake of World War I, and following the proclamation of the republic in 1923, the construction of the capital became an ambitious project undertaken by the republican government (Tankut, 1994; Cengizkan, 2004). The newly expropriated land to the south of the railway, which until then marked the city limits, was developed as a 'new city' surrounding the new Government Quarter (Batuman, 2009; Cengizkan, 2010). Although the new capital city was predicted to grow, the incoming migration would exceed expectations. Postwar rural-to-urban migration that targeted all metropolitan centres in Turkey determined the growth of Ankara afterwards (Keleş and Danielson, 1985). The city expanded with squatter settlements surrounding it (Şenyapılı, 2004; Batuman, 2006).

With the pressure of the surrounding squatter settlements and the limited geomorphology of the basin in which Ankara was situated, the only choice was to develop the

city to the west. Thus, beginning in the 1960s, planning attempts aimed to promote relocation of industry and construction of social housing in this direction (Çalışkan, 2009). Accordingly, the initial stage of Ankara's suburban sprawl occurred along the western axis with public investments in low-income housing in the northwest and private sector middle-class housing projects in the southwest (Keskinok, 2006; Balta and Eke, 2011; Güzey, 2014). The latter were particularly encouraged via permits granted by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, which was established in 1984 (Şahin, 2007, 208; Batuman, 2013a, 588–589).

As the sprawl was initially planned as a solution to rapid urbanisation, attempts at mass housing was on the agenda. To this end, the Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) was established in 1984. TOKİ loans supporting housing cooperatives soon became a favoured instrument for the middle classes to own second homes rather than financing social housing. Nevertheless, TOKİ became instrumental in revitalising the construction sector, which had experienced a bottleneck by the end of the 1970s (Öncü, 1988; Batuman, 2006). In the 1990s, the expansion of the city gradually turned into uncontrolled sprawl led by housing investments. The suburban sprawl soon assumed the form of gated communities that were promoted with typical advertisement strategies denigrating the city centre by highlighting issues such as crime, pollution and traffic congestion within a neoliberal framework (Hayrulloğlu and Aliefendioğlu Tanrıvermiş, 2023).

Neoliberal urbanisation is globally characterised by market-oriented reorganisation in services as well as the production of urban space (Harvey, 1989; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Brenner and Theodore, 2005; Harvey, 2007; Peck et al., 2013). Predominance of the private sector in urban development went hand in hand with the privatisation of urban services, downsizing of local governments, deregulation of labour processes as well as real estate development. Typical outcomes of this process were the commodification of urban space and gentrification of slums and working-class neighbourhoods, destruction of public spaces, the emergence of gated communities and worsening of social inequality.

The first phase of neoliberal urbanisation in Turkey occurred between the mid-1980s and mid-2000s. This phase was characterised by the privatisation of municipal services, de-unionisation in local administrations and their withdrawal from regulatory roles in collective consumption (Kadirbeyoğlu and Sümer, 2013). The gradual empowerment of the private sector in urban development led to the emergence of new architectural typologies of gated communities and shopping malls. The second phase saw the acceleration of these processes; moreover, its historical specificity involved the uninterrupted rule of an Islamist government (Justice and Development Party – AKP) after 2002. This phase was characterised by the reorganisation of TOKİ and its undertaking of an unprecedented volume of housing production as well as the execution of mega projects. It involved gentrifications which were

met with grassroots resistance (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010; Lovering and Türkmen, 2011; Enlil, 2011; Batuman, 2013b; Karaman, 2013). It is worth noting that Ankara served as a laboratory for urban policy experimentation and the establishment of a new urban governance regime under the AKP (Batuman, 2018; Bayırbağ et al., 2023). To summarise, over the past three decades, the neoliberalisation of Turkish cities involved the dismantling of planning authority, the utilisation of housing as a profit domain for the construction industry and the commodification of urban land (Doğru, 2021; Gülhan, 2021). The state has played a vital role in this process, where changing modalities of housing finance guided investments of increasing scale (Topal et al., 2018). In tune with these national trends, the neoliberalisation of housing production in Ankara represented a shift in the scale of construction: while individual housing projects guided the sprawl in the 1990s, the following decade saw the development of larger areas through partial plan revisions.

Suburbanisation at Ankara's southwestern fringes reflects a combination of cooperative developments and gated communities built by private developers. While

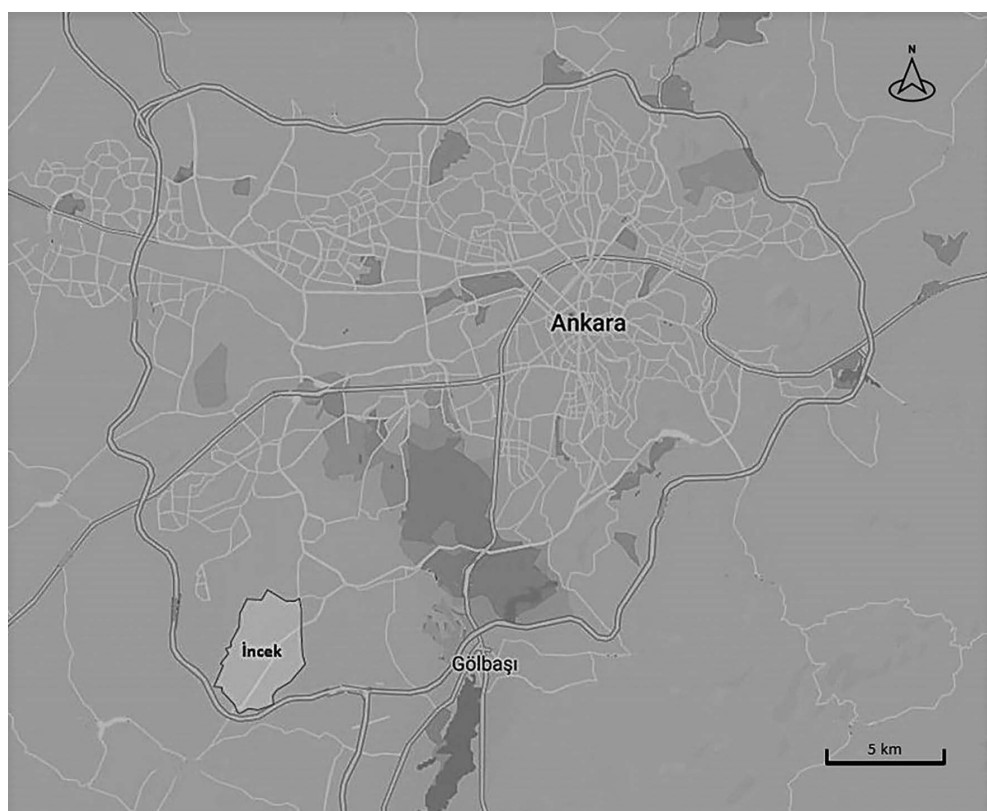


Figure 1 The location of İncek in Ankara

the former was dominant until the 2000s, the latter gradually came to the foreground (Özdemir, 2011; Türel and Koç, 2014). The significant point here is that, in most cases, even the middle-class cooperatives had an inward architecture reflecting a sense of gated community. This was because the cooperatives were mostly organised through social connections and cultural affinities (such as profession). Although they did not display the contemporary obsession with high-tech security implementations, these compounds were keen on emphasising their territorial boundaries. Thus, the significance of gated communities in suburban sprawl in western Ankara was not only following global trends but had a local dynamic.

The growth on the southwestern fringes spread to the agricultural lands to the south after 2009, which were until then designated as greenbelts in development plans (Cengiz et al., 2022) (Figure 1). This region, where Incek is located, rapidly became a hotspot in which the city's land prices are the highest (Kamacı, 2009). Incek, prior to its urbanisation in recent decades, was a village at the southwestern fringes of Ankara. The construction of the Ankara ring road in 1993 facilitated transportation between Incek and the city centre. This was an important development in the transformation of the district; it became a residential area that had easy access to the city but was far from its crowds and congestion. Thus, housing cooperatives also began purchasing land in the area.

Residential typology in Incek

Following the reorganisation of the metropolitan areas across Turkey, the village of Incek became an urban neighbourhood in 2008.² The village had a population of 368 in 1980, which rose above 2000 in the 2000s. Curiously, the promotion of Incek as the idyllic outskirts of Ankara resulted in a territorial stretch regarding the referent of the name. Today, although the name Incek officially represents only the neighbourhood, in popular use it denotes a much larger district (Figure 2). As such, it contains neighbourhoods that belong to different second-tier municipalities: Kızılcaşar, Taşpınar Tulumtaş and Ahlatlıbel Neighbourhoods under Çankaya Municipality and Fevziye neighbourhood under Etimesgut Municipality, along with Incek Neighbourhood itself, which falls within the jurisdiction of Gölbaşı Municipality. While the neighbourhood's population doubled between 2007 and 2020, the district's population quadrupled in the same period (Table 1). The rates of increase in the population of the neighbourhood and the district show both the development of the area and the stretch of the territory associated with the name Incek (Figure 2).

2 Ankara's metropolitan area was enlarged four times within a radius of 50 km in 2005.

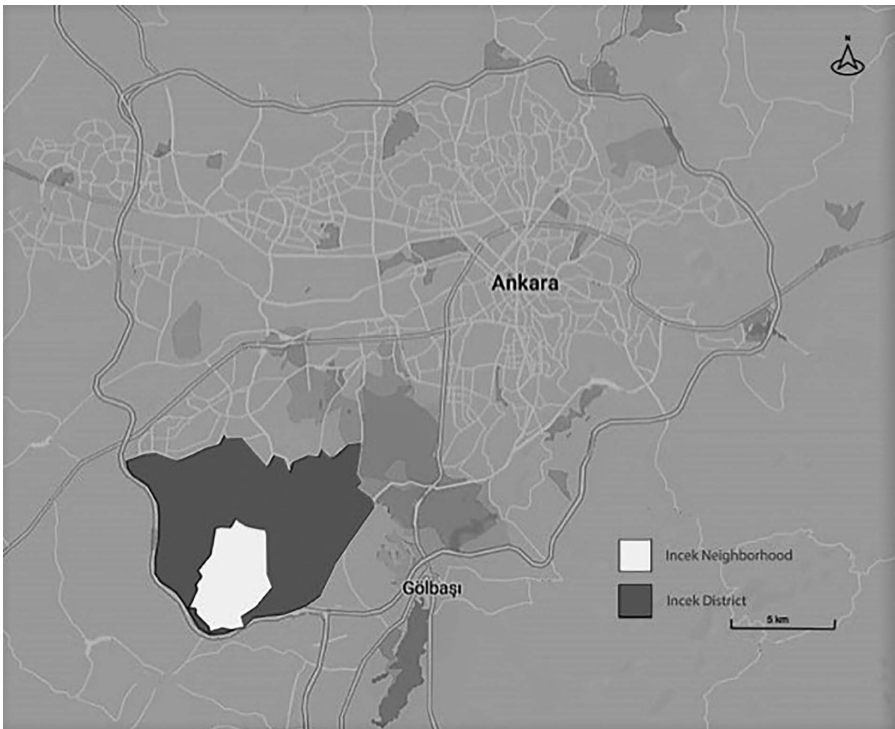


Figure 2 Incek village and Incek district

Table 1 The Incek neighbourhood and Incek district population data (TÜİK, 2020)

Year	Incek neighbourhood	Incek district (six neighbourhoods)
	Population	
2007	2222	6523
2008	2175	7526
2009	2180	8228
2010	2123	8854
2011	2204	9508
2012	2256	10002
2013	2292	14088
2014	3249	15523
2015	3950	17426
2016	4363	15123
2017	4662	20301
2018	4605	23583
2019	4911	24788
2020	5183	26865



Figure 3 Housing typology in Incek



Figure 4 Residential fabrics in Incek

Today, the district displays four main types of residential fabric (Figures 3, 4). The first is the oldest village fabric with a rural character. Although this fabric is currently under transformation, there are remaining examples. The second type comprises detached villas built on singular plots. There are variations of this suburban type ranging from larger ones located in sizeable plots to regular neighbourhoods of villas within gardens. The third type is the housing cooperative, which generally assumes the form of identical villas within a closed compound. This typology gradually assumed the form of gated communities with reinforced security measures after the 2000s. The final type is the luxurious gated communities produced by large-scale companies, usually in the form of high-rise blocks.

The rise and fall of cooperatives in Incek

Analysing the settlement morphology of the district along with other samples from Ankara's urban fabric, Çalışkan et al. (2023, 12–13) point out that the hybrid character of the area displays a loose pattern with both urban and rural features. They underline that this fabric was produced by the preferences of upper and upper-middle classes and realised through the partial zoning demands of the real estate sector. In fact, this fragmented morphology is also symptomatic of the shifting modes of housing production which is best illustrated in Incek (Güller, 2019). Although housing cooperatives have a history going back to the early years of the republic (Tekeli and İlkin, 1984), they gained an impetus with the implementation of the Cooperatives Act in 1969 (Koç, 2022; Mahmudov, 2024). Cooperatives played a role in mobilising unionised blue-collar workers and enabled public-private partnership in housing production. The establishment of TOKİ in 1984, this time facilitated suburbanisation in larger cities with middle-class estates. Within this trend, middle-class cooperatives began purchasing lots in and around Incek in the 1990s. While some of these cooperatives built their compounds, some were postponed due to technicalities. This resulted in the availability of such lots with owners wishing to own a home and observing the rise of a new mode of housing production in the area in the following decade.

With the increasing dominance of real estate market actors and the rising value of land, cooperatives turned to find ways to negotiate with these powerful actors. The finished cooperatives began to lose their homogeneous inhabitant profiles as the residents chose to profit by selling their homes. This resulted in a transformation: the cooperatives which had prioritised use value gradually began to adapt to the dominance of exchange value. The estates turned into gated communities with growing security measures and luxurious services implemented within them. The privatisation of estate management and the concern with the market value of houses even resulted in the change of cooperative names.

In cases of unfinished projects, the cooperatives either sold their land to large construction companies or negotiated to transform the cooperatives into larger and heterogeneous gated communities. In other words, the cooperative as a form of housing production has not become obsolete but has been subsumed into the neoliberal mode of production, adapting to its techniques of construction, marketing, sales and management. The projects initiated as cooperatives were naïve and non-competitive. When they transformed into luxurious gated communities, their design concepts, architectural features and names were reoriented along with market expectations.

The housing estates in Incek today offer apartments and villas of varying sizes. Smaller apartments and studios are becoming popular as new residential types intended for university students and young professionals. With the names and services provided as part of this new drive, the district epitomises comfort and elegance.

Several interviewees have emphasised that the housing projects in Incek targeted ‘a new socio-cultural segment’ seeking a peaceful, secure, elite and green living environment. Phrases such as ‘a new city,’ ‘a new Ankara’ and ‘a new class’ were often expressed. With this new clientele in mind, the marketing representatives of housing companies are confident that the luxurious residences they sell correspond to an actual ‘need’ that even serves as a mechanism for easing migration to big cities (*Kent Incek*, interview, 20 October 2020). Lofts, residences, luxury complexes presented with striking images and names are the new happy places for the upper classes of Ankara. These gated communities reflect a desire for status rather than shelter.

Naming as territorialisation

Suburban development in southwestern Ankara (including Incek) saw a housing construction boom between 1990 and 2000. Approximately 70 per cent of this residential development was produced by housing cooperatives (Aras, 2008, 64). An important portion of the cooperatives were organised by civil servants working in public institutions. As a result, the names of the cooperatives often reflected the institutions and government agencies that the cooperative members worked in. Sometimes they represented aspects of shared identity among cooperative members, such as profession (*Hekimköy* – “Doctors’ village”) or simply indicated the location (such as *Akkayalar*, which gets its name from the street it is located on). Another common trope was ordinary names with positive connotations (such as *Mutluköy*, ‘Happy village’). Those in Incek never contained the name of the district (which was still a village name) in this early period. With the shift to a neoliberal mode of urbanisation and its specific forms of housing production in Ankara, the construction boom in Incek also found its reflection in the increasing use of the very name itself (Figure 5; Table 2).



Figure 5 Housing projects named 'Incek', Google Maps, Ankara Map

Table 2 Housing projects in Incek district, approximate start and delivery dates, based on interviews with project officials and Google Earth 2023 data

Project	Date started	Date finished/delivery	Number of residences
Uptown Incek	2012	March 2016	226
Sinpaş Incek Life	April 2012	August 2014	548
Tim Towers	May 2013	June 2018	161
Ada Incek Konutları	May 2013	May 2020	120
Nata Incek Konutları	June 2013	March 2017	196
Incek Loft	November 2013	September 2016	1199
Incek Vista	December 2013	August 2018	265
Royal Incek	December 2014	September 2017	84
Incek Avlu	2016	January 2018	75
Bulvar Loft	January 2016	June 2019	822
Atabilge Incek	December 2016	June 2019	699
Rinnova Incek	July 2017	August 2019	33
Kent Incek	January 2017	December 2022	604
Sunset Incek	July 2018	June 2022	139

Project	Date started	Date finished/delivery	Number of residences
Park Hayat Incek	2020	February 2022	320
High Hill Incek	January 2020	2023	60
Faras Panorama Incek	Under construction	2024	503
Natura Incek	Under construction		408
Nest Incek	Under construction		243
Nivera Incek	Under construction		8
Akadia Incek	Under construction		910

If we look at the names listed in Table 2, we see a dominant trend where the name Incek is coupled with words in English (such as *Uptown*, *Loft*, *Vista*, *Sunset*, *Empire*, *Royal* and *Country*) or other European languages (such as *Rinnova*, *Bella Pais*, etc.). Similar to other parts of the developing world, such words are perceived to connote prestige (Spoceter, 2018; Gnatiuk and Melnychuk, 2022). The constant use of the name Incek regardless of the specific location inside or outside the official boundaries of the neighbourhood give witness to its popularity and also demonstrate its transformation into a signifier for upscale pastoral suburb with a ‘vista’ (another frequently used word in names) over Lake Mogan.

In addition to foreign words, there are examples where ‘Incek’ is coupled with company names used as brands. *Nata Incek* of Nata Holding and *Sinpaş Incek Life* of Sinpaş Holding are examples of this type. Such large companies continue to produce housing projects in different Turkish cities. They frequently name these projects with two-word combinations containing their brands together with words such as residence, tower, suites, houses, park, city, garden, villa, life, green and mansion, in tune with what Berg (2011) calls ‘banal naming’.

There are also rare cases where the cooperatives transforming into upscale projects retained control of the name of the housing estate. A prime example is *Atabilge Incek*, whose name was coined by the merger of two names: Atatürk (the founder of the Turkish Republic) and Bilge Kaan (an emperor of a medieval Central Asian Turkic state). This made-up name was a nationalistic signifier, which was later used in other housing projects in different parts of Ankara. The project officials see the success of the name turning into a brand as a reflection of the name’s trustworthiness (and by extension its ideological implications). They also explain the advantages of the cooperative form as an instrument to keep the inhabitant profile under control (Atabilge Incek, interview, 16 October 2020).

The neoliberal mode of housing production

The neoliberal mode of housing production in contemporary Turkish metropolises involves an aggressive strategy to increase rent in the purchased land through partial plan revisions often achieved via clientelistic relations with the local administration. Afterwards, the project is developed through detailed marketing strategies coupled with advertisement campaigns. In this process, the names of housing compounds, which hitherto merely aimed to represent the shared identity of the members for the housing cooperatives, emerged as an important marketing tool.

The best examples illustrating the shift in the mode of housing production in Incek are the cooperatives which were taken over by large companies, prime among which is *87 Akkayalar Housing Cooperative*, which took its name from the year of the founding of the cooperative and the street it is located on. This ordinary name without any significance in terms of market value was replaced with *Rinnova Incek*, adapting to the naming trend in the region. For the cooperative state of the project, the chosen name was meaningful for a certain community and did not contain brand value. New names, however, must serve two tasks at once; first, in order to break from the past, they must be distinctly new and unfamiliar; and second, in order to draw from the past and present types of symbolic power, they must be seen as identifiable and significant (Yurchak, 2000). The name change is a component of a larger transformational process. The cooperative as a community of members transforms into a group of landowners with shared ownership entering the real estate market through collaboration with contractors. Their giving up of the cooperative names represent their turning into anonymous market actors seeking profit within a neoliberal urbanisation process. That is, they transfer their shares to the contractor along with the naming rights.

It is crucial to note here that the new name was coined by the contractor firm. The interviews reveal that the naming process is in fact quite unsystematic. Most of the time it is an individual at a certain administrative position in the contractor company who decides the new name. No research, questionnaire or investigation is conducted among cooperative members, gated community residents or potential customers. There is no consultation or permission process with the local authorities either. Nevertheless, as the names in Table 2 illustrate, they display a significant degree of similarity. The name 'Incek' and various European words are common traits. As we have mentioned above, the frequent use of words from European languages is a typical feature in the naming practices in the developing world; neoliberal urbanisation promotes the acceleration of the disappearance of indigenous languages under the weight of the global dominance of English and other major world languages (Rose-Redwood and Alderman, 2011).

It is worth noting that the naming of public venues also follows a pattern similar to that of the housing estates. The naming of boulevards, avenues and streets are under the

jurisdiction of metropolitan municipalities. The development of new areas go hand in hand with an intricate process of street naming involving field teams, naming commission, the municipal council and the mayor's office (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Numbering Service, interview, 18 November 2020).³ Aside from the public spaces such as streets, parks and squares named by the local administration, there are also privately owned venues that are used publicly, such as shopping malls. Incidentally, Incek is an atypical district in terms of its public spaces. The district strikingly lacks public spaces and even the main boulevards are not pedestrian-friendly (Mahmudov, 2024, 77–83). The most common public venues in Incek are multi-purpose open and closed shopping complexes and country gardens specialising in wedding and organisation services. Such venues also follow similar patterns in their names. Similar to the preferences displayed in residential spaces, European names and the emphasis on 'Incek' as a location indicator are combined. *La Mozza Wedding Garden Incek* and *Country Incek* are among such country gardens. The interviews conducted with representatives of these businesses indicate that the naming process of these entertainment venues are similar to the residential compounds; generally, the decision is made by the owners of the venues.

What is striking in the case of Incek is that the public image of the district maintained by the toponyms of housing estates and public venues constructs the landscape. Incek, today, is perceived as a particular suburb different from the other middle- and upper-middle class suburbs. The general pattern of these residential areas comprises internally organised clusters displaying a certain level of concentration around public commercial centres, albeit generally exhibiting fragmented morphologies. In Incek, however, there is no centre formation. The lack of (sub)urban centres and pedestrian-friendly public nodes is in tune with the inward architectures of condensed gated communities. What is crucial for our discussion is the *reciprocity* of this development model with toponyms constructing the landscape in collective memory. That is, the more the name Incek is perceived as a signifier of a pastoral landscape (with reference to its past as a village), the more the district develops as an anti-urban suburb, significantly diverging from its counterparts in and around Ankara.

Conclusions

The relationship between place names and economic value is a growing topic of research. The contemporary dynamics of neoliberal urbanisation requires in-depth analyses on the role of toponymy in the commodification of urban space. In this paper, we addressed this issue through the case of Incek, which provides an interesting example where toponymy, the neoliberalisation of housing production and the morphology of suburbanisation combine. Today, the district, which in popular use

3 It should be noted that the Governor has the authority to cancel the municipality's naming decisions.

extends well beyond the official limits of the neighbourhood, is recognised as one of the most prestigious residential areas of Ankara. The name Incek generates surplus value in the marketing of new housing projects, owing to the popularity, prestige and recognition it has gained in the last two decades. As using 'Incek' in the names of housing estates, regardless of exact location in relation to the neighbourhood, increases real estate prices, its geographical use expands. Thus, the first finding of our research is the unfixed nature of the toponym in terms of location.

Our second finding is the role of toponyms in the shift to a different mode of housing production. In Ankara, middle- and upper-middle class housing estates had previously developed as cooperatives, which guided the suburbanisation process. Incek represents the emergence of a neoliberal mode of housing production in the form of luxurious high-rise gated communities. Yet, this new mode of housing production did not occur in an empty fringe that was opened to development. Most of the area was already occupied by cooperative estates or lots owned by such cooperatives waiting to proceed with construction. Thus, the emergence of the neoliberal mode of housing production in Incek was rather a transformation into a new form. Significantly, estate names comprised a component of this transformation.

Our third finding concerns naming rights. Although the naming of public spaces is strictly controlled by authorities in Turkey, the names of housing estates and privately owned venues are not. Moreover, the naming of the housing projects reflects an unsystematic process based on individual preference rather than market research or public opinion. Nevertheless, in Incek, market value is so heavily related to the toponyms that the final outcome is often chosen for a small pool of descriptors. The estate names most often reflect a combination of the word 'Incek' together with cliché words used ubiquitously to promote suburban lifestyle.

Our fourth finding is the reciprocity between the toponym and the image of the particular site. It is true that Incek was a village, and it has always been imagined as an idyllic outskirts. However, the constant use of the name in the new housing projects also constructs a particular suburban image; an urban frontier of high-rises within a pastoral landscape. This image promotes new functions, such as country weddings, which have become very popular in Incek. The planning of Incek disregards public spaces such as squares, commercial strips, etc., instead prioritising the gated communities embodying such facilities. In a sense, the district has developed through a strategic choice to deny the formation of urban (sub-)centres, and the exteriors in the district complement this anti-urban strategy. What is striking is that, while this situation could be interpreted as a failure, in Incek it is perceived as consistent with the image of the district maintained by toponyms. Thus, it is necessary to study the relationship between toponyms and economic value not simply in a unidirectional way where the former is determined by the latter, but rather in reciprocal relation where toponyms are constitutive elements in the production of space.

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