

**THE POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS:
THE CASE OF IZMİR**

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MEHMET PENPECİOĞLU**

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Meliha ALTUNIŞIK
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay KESKİNOK
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay KESKİNOK
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Melih ERSOY (METU, CRP)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay KESKİNOK (METU, CRP)

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mustafa BAYIRBAĞ (METU, PSPA)

Assist. Prof. Dr. Osman BALABAN (METU, CRP)

Assist. Prof. Dr. Tolga ÇİLİNGİR (DEU, CRP)

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Mehmet Penpecioglu

Signature :

ABSTRACT

THE POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS: THE CASE OF IZMIR

Penpecioglu, Mehmet

Ph.D., Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay Keskinok

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Urban Development Projects (UDPs) have become hegemonic projects of redefining urban political priorities. The political construction of UDPs could not only be investigated through analyzing capital accumulation processes. To reveal how UDPs are politically constructed, this thesis investigates how governmental and non-governmental agents form a hegemonic block to mobilize hegemonic discursive practices and coercive-legislative mechanisms in the formation of UDPs. A Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective is formulated to overcome economic determinist and voluntarist agent-oriented approaches. Critical realist methodology is adopted with combining deductive and inductive strategies and qualitative and quantitative methods. In the first stage of research, the thesis critically and comparatively reviews the politics of different UDPs from different countries and then deduces initial arguments from this review. In the second stage, these arguments are reconsidered in the light of the empirical evidence of the case study. New City Center and İnciraltı Tourism Center Development Projects from İzmir are investigated in the case study through critical discourse analysis, questionnaires and in-depth interviews. The case study reveals how governmental and non-governmental agents collaborate to mobilize public support and consent for UDPs. The concept of “capacity to produce consent” is proposed to theorize hegemonically constructed discourses, activities and relations of governmental and non-governmental agents. However this hegemonically constructed capacity is not the

only base of political power. Legislative interventions operate as coercive mechanisms and play key roles in the implementation of UDPs. UDPs are politically constructed by the complementary relation and differential articulation of hegemonically constructed capacities and coercive-legislative mechanisms.

Keywords: politics of urban development, hegemony, hegemonic project, the production of space, urban development projects

ÖZ

KENTSEL GELİŞME PROJELERİNİN SİYASAL İNŞASI: İZMİR ÖRNEĞİ

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Kentsel Gelişme Projeleri (KGP) kentsel siyasal öncelikleri yeniden tanımlayan hegemonik projeler haline gelmektedir. KGP'nin siyasal inşası yalnızca sermaye birikimi süreçlerini analiz ederek incelenemez. KGP'nin siyasal olarak nasıl inşa edildiğini ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla bu tez hükümete ait ve hükümet dışı aktörlerin hegemonik söylemsel pratikler ve zorlayıcı-yasa yapıcı mekanizmaları harekete geçirmek için nasıl hegemonik bir blok oluşturduğunu incelemektedir. Tez, ekonomik determinist ve iradi aktör-yönelimli yaklaşımları aşmak için Lefebvre'den esinlenmiş neo-Gramscigil bir teorik perspektif formüle etmiştir. Tümdengelimci ve tümevarımcı stratejiler ve niteliksel ve niceliksel yöntemler birleştirilerek eleştirel gerçekçi metodoloji benimsenmiştir. Araştırmanın ilk aşamasında, tez eleştirel ve karşılaştırmalı olarak farklı ülkelerden farklı KGP'nin siyasetini yeniden incelemiş ve sonrasında bu incelemeden başlangıç argümanlarını ortaya çıkarmıştır. İkinci aşamada, bu argümanlar örnek çalışmanın ampirik bulguları ışığında yeniden düşünülmüştür. İzmir'den Yeni Kent Merkezi ve İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Gelişme Projeleri örnek olay incelemesinde eleştirel söylem analizi, anketler ve derinlemesine görüşmelerle araştırılmıştır. Örnek olay incelemesi, hükümete ait ve hükümet dışı aktörlerin KGP için kamu desteğini ve rızayı harekete geçirme amacıyla nasıl işbirliği yaptığını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Hükümete ait ve hükümet dışı aktörlerin hegemonik olarak inşa edilen söylemleri, eylemleri ve ilişkilerini kuramlaştırmak için "rıza oluşturucu kapasite" kavramı önerilmiştir. Ancak, hegemonik olarak inşa edilen bu kapasite siyasal gücün tek dayanağı değildir. Yasa yapıcı

müdahaleler zorlayıcı mekanizmalar olarak kullanılmakta ve KGP'nin uygulanmasında kilit roller oynamaktadır. KGP, hegemonik olarak inşa edilen kapasitelerin ve zorlayıcı-yasa yapıcı mekanizmaların tamamlayıcı ilişkisi ve farklılaşan eklemlenmesi ile siyasal olarak inşa edilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kentsel gelişmenin siyaseti, hegemonya, hegemonik proje, mekanın üretimi, kentsel gelişme projeleri

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xxi
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The Statement of Research Problem	1
1.2 Initial arguments and research questions	4
1.3 The Selection of Case Study	6
1.4 Research Design and Methodology	11
1.4.1 Methodological Framework	11
1.4.1.1 Critical Realism and Investigating the Political Construction of Urban Development Projects	12
1.4.1.2 The Combination of Deductive and Inductive Strategies and Qualitative and Quantitative Methods	15
1.4.2 The Design of Case Study Research	18
1.4.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis	20
1.4.2.2 Questionnaires	21
1.4.2.2.1 The Institution Questionnaire	22
1.4.2.2.2 The Neighborhood Questionnaire	24
1.4.2.3 Semi Structured In-depth Interviews	28
1.5 The Content of Thesis	29
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO INVESTIGATE THE POLITICS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS	32

2.1 Neo-Pluralist and Neo-Weberian Approaches to Investigate the Agents of Urban Development	32
2. 1. 1. Urban Regime and Producing Capacity to Govern	33
2. 1. 2. Urban Growth Machine and Land Based Business Elites.....	35
2. 1. 3. The Critical Review of Neo-Pluralist and Neo-Weberian Approaches.....	36
2. 2 Marxist Geography Approaches to investigate the economic structure of urban development.....	39
2. 2. 1 Capital Accumulation Processes and the Production of Built Environment	40
2. 2. 2 The Rent-Gap and Gentrification as a Global Capitalist Urban Strategy	42
2. 2. 3 Inter-Urban Competition and Entrepreneurial Urban Governance	45
2. 2. 3. 1 State Re-scaling and State Spatial Projects and Strategies.....	48
2. 2. 3. 2 Local Dependence and Local Political Engagement.....	51
2. 2. 4 The Critical Review of Marxist Geography Approaches.....	53
2. 3 Formulating a neo-Marxist theoretical perspective to investigate the political-ideological superstructure of urban development.....	54
2. 3. 1 Gramsci and the concepts of hegemony and force	54
2. 3. 2 A dual conception of hegemony: the dialectic between the structural hegemony and the hegemonic project	56
2. 3. 3 Jessop and a hegemony-oriented reading of Regulation School: A Neo-Gramscian Regulation Approach	59
2. 3. 4 Kipfer and reinterpretation of Lefebvre's concept of the production of space as an urbanized conception of hegemony	62
2. 3. 5 Urban Development Projects as the hegemonic projects of the production of space: Towards a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian approach	65
 3. THE POLITICS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE WORLD: DIVERSE ACTORS AND DIVERSE URBAN POLITICAL SETTINGS	70
3.1 The Baltimore Inner Harbor Revitalization Project in US	70
3.2 London Docklands Regeneration Project in UK	74
3.3 Olympic Games and Regeneration of Urban Space in Manchester.....	76
3.4 Potsdamer Platz Redevelopment Project in Berlin, Germany	78
3.5 Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project in Bilbao, Spain	81
3.6 The Development of Lujiazui Central Finance District in Shanghai	85

3.7 The Critical Review of the Politics of Urban Development Projects in the World.....	89
4. THE POLITICS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN TURKEY: INVESTIGATING THE TURKISH URBAN POLITICAL CONTEXT	97
4.1 Haydarpaşa Urban Regeneration Project in Istanbul	98
4.2 Dubai Towers in İstanbul	106
4.3 Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project	112
4.4 Ankara Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project	118
4.5 The Critical Review of the Politics of Urban Development Projects in Turkey	124
5. THE POLITICAL-ECONOMICAL BACKGROUND OF URBANIZATION AND PLANNING WITHIN THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF İZMİR	131
5.1 17. Century - 1929: A Foreign Market Dependent Agricultural Product Exporter Port city.....	132
5.1.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics.....	132
5.1.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization	133
5.2 1929 - 1945: The Construction of Nation State and State-led Industrial Development Attempts in the City.....	135
5.2.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics.....	135
5.2.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization	138
5.3 1945 – 1960: Attempts to Liberalize Local Economy and Transition Towards Import Substituted Industrialization in the City	139
5.3.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics.....	139
5.3.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization	142
5.4 1960 - 1980: Import Substituted Industrialization, Migration and Attempts to Regulate Sub-Fordist Capital Accumulation Regime in the City	146
5.4.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics.....	147
5.4.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization	150
5.5 1980 - 2000 and today: Neo-liberalization Process and Attempts to Construct an Entrepreneurial and Competitive Local Economic Structure	154

5.5.1 1980 - 1990: Roll-back Neo-liberalization and the Rise of Urbanization within the Transformation of Local Economic Structure.....	155
5.5.1.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics.....	156
5.5.1.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization	162
5.5.2 From the 2000s onwards: Roll-out Neo-liberalization and the Reorganization of Capital and State Policies in the Way of Urban Entrepreneurialism	166
5.5.2.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics.....	167
5.5.2.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization	176
5. 6 The Critical Review of İzmir's Urban Development Processes Within the Context of Political-Economic Dynamics	181
 6. THE CASE OF İZMİR: A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION OF THE POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION OF NEW CITY CENTER AND İNCİRALTI TOURISM CENTER DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS.....	191
6.1 The Comparative Investigation of Decision-Making Dynamics Behind the Formation of the Projects.....	191
6.1.1 The Chronology of Events in the Formation of Projects.....	192
6.2.2 The Existing and Changing Property Patterns and Relations in the Areas of the Projects.....	198
6. 1. 3 Leading and Dominant Actors and the Role of Their Cooperative Relations in the Formation of the Projects.....	202
6. 1. 4 The Main Findings of Critical Discourse Analysis	210
6.2 The Comparative Investigation of the Dynamics of Opinion Building in the Political-Ideological Construction of the Projects.....	218
6. 2. 1 Hegemonic Discourses and the Construction of Predominant Opinion.....	219
6. 2. 1. 1 The Formation and Dissemination of the Views of Institutions	219
6. 2. 1. 2 The Decisive Factors Behind the Mobilization of Support and Consent	224
6. 2. 1. 3 Hegemonic Discourses and the Building of Consent	232
6. 2. 1. 3. 1 Hegemonic Definitions to Construct the Problems of Project Sites ...	232
6. 2. 1. 3. 2. Hegemonic Discourses to Mobilize Public Support Through the Construction of the Capacity of Producing Consent	238

6. 2. 1. 4 The Dissemination of Hegemonic Discourses and the Construction of Public Opinion	249
6. 2. 1. 5 The Targeted Actors in the Mobilization of Consent.....	256
6. 2. 1. 6 The Views of Different Actors on the Formation of Project-Based Legislative Interventions.....	264
6. 2. 2 Counter Discourses, Oppositional Views and Actors.....	269
6. 2. 3 The Construction of Intra-Institutional Consent.....	275
6. 2. 4 Coherences and Conflicts in the Opinions of Institutional Categories	280
6.3 The Overall Summary and the Critical Interpretation of Empirical Evidence.....	284
7. CONCLUSION.....	294
7. 1 Summary and the Findings of the Research	295
7.2 Reconsidering Theories of the Politics of Urban Development Projects.....	311
7.3 Policy Implications and Further Remarks for Counter-Hegemonic Views and Projects	318
REFERENCES.....	321
INTERNET REFERENCES.....	332
APPENDICES	336
APPENDIX A: INSTITUTION QUESTIONNAIRE FORM.....	336
APPENDIX B: NEIGHBORHOOD QUESTIONNAIRE FORM.....	344
APPENDIX C: SAMPLING OF INSTITUTION QUESTIONNAIRE	351
APPENDIX D: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS.....	352
APPENDIX E: INTERVIEWEE LIST	354
APPENDIX F: CURRICULUM VITAE.....	355
APPENDIX G: TURKISH SUMMARY	356
APPENDIX H: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU	373

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1.1 Initial Arguments, Research Questions and Empirical Research Methods in the Design of Case Study Research	19
Table 1.2 The Framework of Critical Discourse Analysis Adopted in Research	21
Table 2.1 Theoretical Framework of Thesis	69
Table 3.1 The Comparison of Key Dimensions of Six UDPs From Different Countries of the World	93
Table 3.2 The Political Construction of Urban Development Projects in the World	96
Table 4.1 The sale of properties in the rising Central Business District of İstanbul	109
Table 4.2 The Comparison of Key Dimensions of Four UDPs From İstanbul And Ankara	127
Table 4.3 The Political Construction of Urban Development Projects in Turkey	130
Table 5.1 Some Prominent Legislative Interventions Gave Rise to the Sectoral Recentralization of Planning Powers	173
Table 5.2 Winning Parties and Their Rate of Votes in Greater Municipality Elections in 1999, 2004 and 2009	174
Table 5.3 The Six Trajectories of Urbanization with reference to Changing Local Economic Structure and Political Dynamics	188
Table 6.1 The Chronology of Events and Developments in the Formation of NCC Project..	195
Table 6.2 The Chronology of Events and Developments in the Formation of İTC project ...	198
Table 6.3 The Main Framework of Critical Discourse Analysis	213
Table 6.4 The Main Findings of Critical Discourse Analysis	215
Table 6.5 Comparative Analysis of Case Study Research Findings	292
Table 7.1 Key Dimensions of the Political Construction of Urban Development Projects ...	314

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1. 1 New City Center Development Project	8
Figure 1.2 İnciraltı Tourism Center Development Plan.....	10
Figure 1.3 Critical Realist Research Methodology of Thesis, combining inductive and deductive strategies and quantitative and qualitative methods.....	17
Figure 1.4 Rate of Institutional Categories in the Sampling of Institution Questionnaire.....	23
Figure 1.5 The Project Areas that were Subjected to the Application of Neighborhood Questionnaire	26
Figure 1.6 Different Class Positions in the Sampling of Neighborhood Questionnaire	27
Figure 1.7 Different Income Groups in the Sampling of Neighborhood Questionnaire.....	27
Figure 1.8 The Institutional Categories of Interviewees.....	28
Figure 2.1 The structure of relations between the primary, secondary and tertiary circuits of capital.....	41
Figure 2.2 The devalorization cycle and the evolution of the rent gap	43
Figure 2.3 The duality of hegemony	58
Figure 3.4 A view from revitalized Baltimore Inner Harbor.....	71
Figure 3.5 A View from Canary Wharf, one of the most attractive regenerated site of London Docklands.....	75
Figure 3.6 The City of Manchester Stadium, designed as part of Manchester's failed bid for the 2000 Summer Olympic	77
Figure 3.7 Aerial view looking south over Potsdamer Platz in Berlin	79
Figure 3.8 A view along Abandoibarra waterfront	82
Figure 3.9 A View from the sea side towards Lujiazui Central Finance District.....	86
Figure 3.10 A View of Lujiazui Central Finance District	87
Figure 4.1 An imaginative view of Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruiser Port Project 1, symbolizing the idealized image of Manhattan.....	100
Figure 4.2 An imaginative view of Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruiser Port Project 2, symbolizing the idealized image of Venice for Haydarpaşa.....	101
Figure 4.3 An Imaginative View of Dubai Towers	108
Figure 4.4 A view from Northern Ankara.....	112

Figure 4.5 An Imaginative View From Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project, Recreational Facilities and Residents.....	115
Figure 4.6 Another Imaginative View From Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project, Luxury Residents and Villas	115
Figure 4.7 A View From Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project Area.....	119
Figure 4.8 The Layout Plan of Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project.....	120
Figure 4.9 An imaginative view of Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project	121
Figure 5.1 The Plan of Danger & Prost, 1925	134
Figure 5.2 The Layout Plan of Kültürpark	138
Figure 5.3 The Spatial Development of Squatters	142
Figure 5.4 The Plan of Le Corbusier, 1925	143
Figure 5.5 The Development Plan of Aru, Canbolat and Özdeş, 1952.....	145
Figure 5.6 Densely Populated Squatter Neighborhoods in İzmir, 1972.....	149
Figure 5.7 The Plan of İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau, 1973	152
Figure 5.8 The Plan of İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau, 1978	153
Figure 5.9 The Shares of Economic Sectors in GDP of İzmir, 1987-2001.....	157
Figure 5.10 The Numbers of Established Firms by Economic Activities in İzmir, 2001-2009.....	157
Figure 5.11 The Increase in the Number of Buildings in İzmir, 1929-2000.....	158
Figure 5.12 The Number of Buildings in İzmir and Turkey According to Construction Permits, 1980-2010	159
Figure 5.13 The change in the Numbers of In-migration, Out-migration and Net Migration of İzmir, 1985-2010	160
Figure 5.14 The Number of Employment by Economic Activity in İzmir, 2004-2010	161
Figure 5.15 The Master Plan of İzmir Metropolitan area, 1989	163
Figure 5.16 Reclamation Plans in İzmir prepared according to 1989 Master Plan.....	164
Figure 5.17 Foreign Trade Surplus/Deficit of İzmir, 1996-2011.....	168
Figure 5.18 The Rate of Unemployment in İzmir and Turkey Average, 1980-2010	168
Figure 5.19 The Number of Buildings in İzmir and Turkey, 2000-2010	172
Figure 5.20 İzmir Urban Region Development Plan.....	177
Figure 5.21 A Part of İzmir Urban Region Development Plan, showing the urban macroform of İzmir	178
Figure 5.22 The Program Areas of İzmir Urban Region Development Plan.....	179
Figure 5.23 Key Events and Development in the Formation of the Political-Economic Background of Urbanization and Planning of İzmir, 17. Century - 1980	184

Figure 5.24 Key Events and Development in the Formation of the Political-Economic Background of Urbanization and Planning of İzmir, From 1980s Onwards.....	185
Figure 6.1 The actors that are considered as the collaborative-cooperative partner of İGM in the formation of NCC project (institution questionnaire, rating).....	208
Figure 6.2 The actors that are considered as the collaborative-cooperative partner of MCT in the formation of İTC project (institution questionnaire, rating).....	209
Figure 6.3 Leading actors and their cooperative relations in formation of NCC project.....	210
Figure 6.4 Leading actors and their cooperative relations in formation of İTC project	210
Figure 6.5 Institutional views whether or not decided for NCC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	220
Figure 6.6 Institutional views whether or not decided for İTC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	221
Figure 6.7 The institutions whose views are adopted in the formation of NCC project (institution questionnaire, rating).....	221
Figure 6.8 The institutions whose views are adopted in the formation of İTC project (institution questionnaire, rating).....	222
Figure 6.9 The ways of disseminating the views of institutions in NCC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	222
Figure 6.10 The ways of disseminating the views of institutions in İTC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	223
Figure 6.11 Existence of support to the NCC project from categories of institutions (institution questionnaire , cross-tabulation).....	224
Figure 6.12 Existence of support to the İTC project from categories of institutions (institution questionnaire , cross-tabulation).....	225
Figure 6.13 Existence of support to the NCC project from people living in different project sites (neighborhood questionnaire , cross-tabulation)	226
Figure 6.14 Existence of support to the İTC project from people living in different project sites (neighborhood questionnaire , cross-tabulation)	227
Figure 6.15 The existence of support to the NCC project from property owners, tenants, households and workplaces (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	227
Figure 6.16 The existence of support to the İTC project from property owners, tenants, households and workplaces (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	228
Figure 6.17 The existence of support to the NCC project from different class positions (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	229

Figure 6.18 The existence of support to the ITC project from different class positions (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	229
Figure 6.19 The existence of support to the NCC project from different income levels (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	230
Figure 6.20 The existence of support to the ITC project from different income levels (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	231
Figure 6.21 Hegemonic definitions in constructing the problems of NCC project site (neighborhood questionnaire, rating)	233
Figure 6.22 Hegemonic definitions in constructing the problems of NCC project site (institution questionnaire, rating).....	233
Figure 6.23 Hegemonic definitions in constructing the problems of ITC project site (neighborhood questionnaire, rating)	234
Figure 6.24 Hegemonic definitions in constructing the problems of ITC project site (institution questionnaire, rating).....	234
Figure 6.25 The hegemonic definitions of NCC project site according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	235
Figure 6.26 The hegemonic definitions of ITC project site according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	236
Figure 6.27 The hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent in the formation of NCC project (neighborhood questionnaire, rating).....	240
Figure 6.28 The hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent in the formation of NCC project (institution questionnaire, rating)	240
Figure 6.29 The hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent in the formation of ITC project (neighborhood questionnaire, rating).....	241
Figure 6.30 The hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent in the formation of ITC project (institution questionnaire, rating).....	241
Figure 6.31 The hegemonic discourses in the mobilization of public support to NCC project according to class positions (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	242
Figure 6.32 The hegemonic discourses in the mobilization of public support to ITC project according to class positions (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	242
Figure 6.33 Influential mechanisms in the dissemination of hegemonic discourses (neighborhood questionnaire, rating)	250
Figure 6.34 Influential mechanisms in the dissemination of hegemonic discourses (neighborhood questionnaire, rating)	250

Figure 6.35 An imaginative view of Folkart towers project constructed in NCC site	252
Figure 6.36 An imaginative view of EXPO Fair Site planned to be located in İnciraltı Waterfront	253
Figure 6.37 Newspaper clippings reflecting the pressure over the formation of oppositional-counter views against İTC project	254
Figure 6.38 The targeted actors to cooperate for the formation of NCC project (institution questionnaire, rating)	257
Figure 6.39 The targeted actors to cooperate for the formation of İTC project (institution questionnaire, rating)	258
Figure 6.40 The views of institutions on the formation of project-based legislative interventions (institution questionnaire, frequencies).....	266
Figure 6.41 The views of institutions on project-based legislative interventions according to the categories of institutions (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)	266
Figure 6.42 The number of local residents having no idea on the formation of project-based legislative interventions (neighborhood questionnaire, frequencies)	267
Figure 6.43 The oppositional discourses against the formation of İTC project (institution questionnaire, rating)	270
Figure 6.44 The oppositional discourses against the formation of İTC project (institution questionnaire, rating)	271
Figure 6.45 The leading actors in formation of oppositional views against İTC project (institution questionnaire, rating).....	272
Figure 6.46 The level of intra-institutional consent in NCC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation).....	276
Figure 6.47 The level of intra-institutional consent in İTC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)	277
Figure 6.48 The level of intra-institutional consent in NCC project according to the duties of the people (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)	277
Figure 6.49 The level of intra-institutional consent in İTC project according to the duties of the people (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)	278
Figure 7.1 Key Dimensions of the Political Construction of Urban Development Projects ..	308

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPC	Capacity of Producing Consent
CsPC	Capacities of Producing Consent
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
İETT	Istanbul Electricity, Tramway and Tunnel General Management
İGM	İzmir Greater Municipality
İTC	İnciraltı Tourism Center
JDP	Justice and Democracy Party
LDDC	London Docklands Development Corporation
MCT	Ministry of Culture and Tourism
MP	Motherland Party
NCC	New City Center
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation
RPP	Republican People's Party
RWP	Right Way Party
SPO	State Planning Organization
TARİŞ	Agricultural Sales Cooperatives Union
TCDD	Turkish State Railways
TOKİ	Mass Housing Administration
UCTEA	Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects
UDP	Urban Development Project
UDPs	Urban Development Projects
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction chapter of the thesis consists of five parts. In the first part, the main rationale behind the research of the thesis is explained with the statement of problem. Second part puts forward initial arguments and research questions of the thesis. Four initial arguments are formulated to constitute the framework of research. In the third part the reason behind the selection of case study is stated and a brief information on New City Center (NCC) and İnciraltı Tourism Center (İTC) Development Projects is given to introduce these two Urban Development Projects (UDPs) to reader. In the fourth part, methodological framework is explained. In this methodology part, it is clarified how deductive and inductive strategies and quantitative and qualitative methods are combined within the critical realist methodology. Qualitative methods of case study are also clarified in this part. In the last part of conclusion chapter, the content of thesis is given by explaining the scope of each chapter.

1.1 The Statement of Research Problem

The production of urban space is a politically constructed process to reproduce social, economical and spatial dynamics of capitalism. In this political process, a hegemonic-ideological power is constructed by the state and capital over the definition of urban policy and planning priorities. Urban Development Projects (UDPs), in this political process, could be investigated as politically-ideologically constructed hegemonic projects, providing dynamics for the reproduction of capitalist social and spatial relations.

UDPs, in this thesis, are presumed as a general definition of producing capitalism's abstract space, including new central business districts, profit-oriented urban regeneration projects, tourism-oriented consumption complexes, gated and luxury residences and shopping malls ...etc. UDPs have become strategic and dominant mode of producing these spaces in capitalist countries over the last three decades. With the formation and implementation of UDPs, such "competitive" and "attractive" urban spaces are produced for the sake of capital accumulation.

However, the political construction of UDPs could not only be understood through analyzing the relations between the formation of UDPs and the economic structure of capital accumulation. In order to reveal the political construction of UDPs, we should also critically investigate how governmental and non-governmental agents form a coalition of social forces to organize and mobilize hegemonic-ideological superstructural powers in the formation of UDPs. This thesis compares the political construction of different UDPs in the world and Turkey through literature review and then reconsiders the findings of this review in the light of the empirical evidence that is derived from case study research.

In the literature of urban development politics, there are different views on the politics of UDPs. Neo-pluralist and neo-Weberian perspectives like “urban regime” and “growth machine” approaches put emphasis merely on agent-based aspects, relations and organizations in the political construction of UDPs. Urban regime approach emphasizes formal and informal network relations between the agents of government and business (Stone, 1989). Growth machine approach underlines the central role of growth-oriented coalitions and reveals how such coalitions are formed by the involvement of land-based business elites, local media, universities and local non-governmental organizations (Logan & Molotch, 1987). However, these neo-pluralist and neo-Weberian perspectives neglect to research the capitalist economic structure behind UDPs and furthermore, they ignore the role of capital accumulation processes, class conflict and hegemony construction and struggles in the political construction of UDPs and fail to reveal how state intervenes to these process (Macleod & Goodwin, 1999). These approaches develop an overtly emphasized agent-oriented focus at the expense of ignoring structural capitalist dynamics behind the formation of UDPs. Therefore they propose voluntarist explanations for the investigation of the political construction of UDPs.

On the other hand, there are Marxist geography approaches, focusing on capitalist economic structure of urban development processes. As the leading Marxist Geographer, Harvey (1989a) argues that there is a structural relation between the production of space and capital accumulation. UDPs, within this approach, reflect entrepreneurial urban policy mechanisms, aiming to provide a “good business climate” for a better functioning of capitalist market forces under the dominance of “coercive laws of inter-urban competition” (Harvey, 1989b). Through following Harvey’s framework of capitalist urbanization, Smith (2002) points out that UDPs have become global capitalist urban strategies to reduce the

rent-gap between actually ground rent realized from the present and highest best use in terms of exchange value.

Marxist geography approaches are also criticized since they overtly emphasized the role of structural dynamics and develop an economic determinist/reductionist approach in explaining the political-ideological dynamics in the formation of UDPs. Marxist geography approaches do not provide a critical theoretical base to investigate the political-ideological superstructural dynamics of UDPs. Which governmental and non-governmental agents play what role through which hegemonic discourses and activities in the political construction of UDPs? To answer these questions, neo-Marxian perspectives of urban politics should move beyond both the economic determinist explanations of Marxist geography approaches and voluntarist-agent oriented explanations of neo-Weberian and neo-Pluralist approaches. Thesis argues that in order to answer such questions it is needed to adopt the dialectic relation between the economic structure and social-political agents of urban development processes and to reveal how UDPs are politically-ideologically constructed by a coalition of governmental and non-governmental, political and social forces.

Therefore, the main research problem of this thesis is to investigate the political construction of UDPs through uncovering hegemonic discourses and activities of governmental and non-governmental agents, the collaborations and struggles of these agents in the formation of UDPs. Thesis developed a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective to elucidate how Gramsci's concept of "hegemony" and Lefebvre's conception of "the production of space" are interrelated and how a synthesis of these concepts provide a critical framework to investigate the political-ideological superstructural capacities, mechanisms and relations in the political construction of UDP.

Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective is operationalized, for the case study research, through formulating initial arguments and research questions of the thesis. These arguments and questions are derived from theoretical perspective and the analysis of the politics of UDPs in the world and Turkey and they set up the introductory base of research for the case study. Initial argument and research questions of the thesis and the way how they are deduced are mentioned in the following part of introduction chapter.

1.2 Initial arguments and research questions

Initial arguments of the thesis are mentioned below. These initial arguments provide a framework to investigate the political construction of UDPs in the case study. The first and second initial arguments are derived from the theoretical framework of the thesis. They reflect how Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective views the political construction of UDPs. The third and the fourth initial arguments are derived from analyzing the politics of UDPs in the world and Turkey. Six UDPs from different capitalist countries of the world and four UDPs from İstanbul and Ankara are critically and comparatively investigated and these third and fourth initial arguments are deducted through this investigation.

Initial Argument 1: UDPs (Urban Development Projects) are attempts to form “hegemonic projects of the production of space”, therefore UDPs have become the mechanisms of constructing hegemony over the definition of urban political priorities.

Initial Argument 2: UDPs are politically constructed through the hegemonic arguments, discourses and narratives of key decision-makers and these discursive practices have been used to mobilize public support and consent of different social forces.

Initial argument 3: In the political construction of UDPS; not only discursive practices of hegemony construction, but also coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state (new laws, change in the existing laws, decree laws ...etc.) play a key role.

Initial Argument 4: UDPs are politically constructed through the complementary relation and differential articulation of the discursive practices of hegemony construction and coercive-legislative mechanisms of the capitalist state.

Initial arguments put emphasis on hegemonically constructed discourses and coercively imposed legislative interventions in the political construction of UDPs. These arguments frame the focus of research to investigate the political construction of UDPs in the case study. Four sets of research questions are formulated for the case study research within the context of these four initial arguments. These four sets of research questions mentioned below constitute the empirical focus in designing case study research of the thesis.

- Which hegemonic discourses (as discursive persuasion practices) have been produced, used and disseminated by whom in the political construction of the UDPs? In this regard, which urban (re)development “problems” are defined within the formation of the UDPs and why they are defined as “problems”? How the UDPs have been proposed as “solutions” to overcome these “problems”? Which concepts and arguments are used by whom in the definition of these “urban problems” and “solutions”?

- Hegemonic discourses intend to persuade which social forces to acquire their consent in the formation of the UDPs? What roles central and local government politicians and officers, local business associations, property owners and investors, chambers and universities, media and non-governmental organizations ...etc. (political society + civil society) play in the political construction of UDPs? Key decision-makers of the UDPs target to persuade which one of these actors? And Why?

- How these hegemonic discourses have been produced, disseminated and imposed to persuade different social forces in the formation of the UDPs? Through which urban political agenda setting practices these hegemonic discourses have been disseminated? What is the role of media in this process?

- What role legislative interventions (new laws and regulations, change in the existing laws, decree laws... etc.) play in the political construction of the UDPs? What kind of a relation exists between the discursive persuasion practices of hegemony construction and the coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state in the formation of UDPs?

In order to test the validity of initial arguments and to reconsider them in the light of case study’s empirical evidence, these four sets of research questions are formulated and they play an important role in determining research methodology, selecting case study and employing methods in the case study. To answer these research questions of thesis, an appropriate case study and research methodology are selected. The main rationales behind these selections of case study and methodology are mentioned in the following part of introduction chapter.

1.3 The Selection of Case Study

The main research problem of this thesis is to reveal which governmental and non-governmental agents play what roles in the political construction of UDPs in Turkey. This main research task is accomplished through uncovering hegemonic discourses, activities and collaborative relations of governmental and key non-governmental agents in the formation of UDPs. Therefore, it is essential for this thesis to make empirical research of the case study in an urban socio-political context where the agents of civil society are developed, organized and have collaborative or conflictual relations with government institutions in the formation of UDPs.

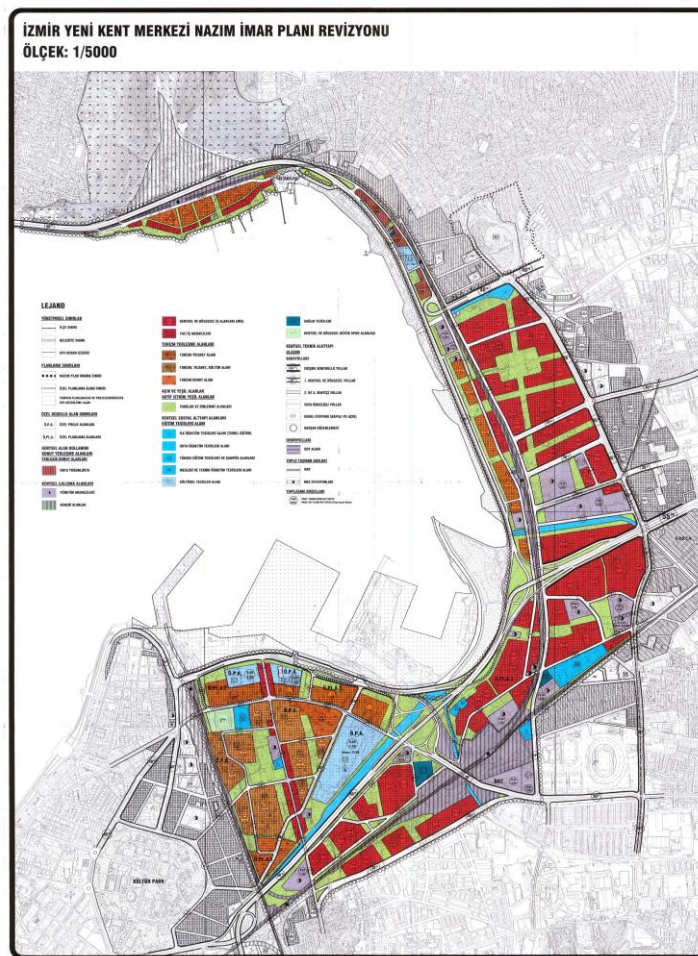
İzmir has such an urban socio-political context in Turkey. The agents of civil society in İzmir are relatively well developed, conscious, organized and politically mobilized when compared to other cities of Turkey. Furthermore, these organized agents of civil society including local business associations, chambers (affiliated to Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects-UCTEA), environmentalist non-governmental organizations, universities and media institutions tend to develop collaborative or conflictual relations with governmental decision-makers in the formation of UDPs. Thus, the first reason behind the selection of İzmir as case study depends on the city's developed, organized and politically mobilized agents of civil society, most of which have play key roles in the formation of UDPs in İzmir.

The second reason behind the selection of the case study is the political struggle between central and local governments. Unlike most of the Turkish metropolitan cities, local governments of İzmir are controlled by the main oppositional party of Turkey (Republican People's Party-RPP). There is a fierce competition between ruling political party of central government (Justice and Democracy Party-JDP) and prevailing local political authority of main oppositional party to control local governments of İzmir by winning local elections. Controlling local governments of İzmir is particularly important for ruling political party of Turkey, since governing urban development of İzmir provides opportunities to produce and distribute a significant amount of urban rent. Therefore, JDP government pays a particular attention to form and implement rent-based UDPs in İzmir. İnciraltı Tourism Center (İTC) Development Project is such a rent-based tourism development project, with which JDP government aims to enhance its local political power in İzmir. Prevailing local political power of RPP also develops such rent-based UDPs to secure its local political power in

İzmir. New City Center (NCC) Project, formed by the Greater Municipality of İzmir, represents the most prominent rent-based UDP of RPP in İzmir. Thus, NCC project of local government and İTC development project of central government are comparatively investigated since they reflect how different political authorities aim to enhance or secure their political power in İzmir. A brief summary of NCC and İTC planning processes and the hegemonic role governmental and non-governmental actors play in these processes are discussed in the following paragraphs to explain further why NCC and İTC projects are selected as the case study of this thesis.

NCC project has become a flagship urban regeneration project to attract investment through producing the spaces of a new central business district, commerce and consumption-based activities, luxury and gated residents and shopping malls. The formation of NCC project dates back to 2000s. Since the first years of 2000s; İzmir Greater Municipality, district municipalities, investors, local business associations and chambers (affiliated to UCTEA) have made a series of meetings and discussions in the formation of NCC development plan.

İzmir Greater Municipality paid particular attention to incorporate the views of these non-governmental actors in the planning process and the demands of them were taken into consideration in the formation of land-use and density decisions of NCC development plan. In fact, this was a strategic decision to cooperate and collaborate with local capital and chambers. As a result, NCC development plan was approved in the year 2005 with the consensus of local government institutions, local capital (including investors and local business associations) and chambers.



NCC development plan was introduced and presented to public as “the crucial opportunity to regenerate declining and abandoned backside of the port” (İYKMNİP, 2010). The project also announced to public as “a viable basis to provide new urban images, flagship urban design and regeneration projects to make İzmir an internationally competitive word city” (İZBB, 2011). Powerful governmental and investor-business actors of NCC project argued that this projects site “should become a locomotive power of İzmir’s competitiveness and entrepreneurialism within the context of new global and local economic development dynamics” (İYKMNİP, 2010).

The Greater Municipality of İzmir did not only intend to shape and build a supportive public opinion through the domination and manipulation of such “regeneration” and “competitiveness” based hegemonic discourses, but it also produced and disseminated “collaboration” and “cooperation” based hegemonic discourses uttering that “NCC project

was prepared with the involvement of different stakeholders including investors, chambers and business associations". The years between 2002 and 2006 passed through the dominance of such hegemonic discourses and the Greater Municipality, investors, local business associations and chambers played an important role in the production and dissemination of such hegemonic discursive practices.

Owing to the demands of investors, Greater Municipality of İzmir revised the plan and increased the density of building with this plan revision in 2006. İzmir Branch of the Chamber of Architecture (whose leader served as the consultant of the Mayor of Greater Municipality in this period) supported to this plan revision. The Greater Municipality of İzmir and investors argued that this revision of building density should be understood as a "promotion to attract investment in the project area". After a few judiciary actions against NCC development plan between 2007 and 2010, this development plan was revised again and it was started to be implemented in 2011

On the other hand, the formation of İnciraltı Tourism Center (İTC) Development Project follows a different path in terms of the planning process and the relations of governmental and non-governmental actors. In fact, the "development problem" of İnciraltı dates back to 1989 the year when İnciraltı was declared as a Tourism Center by the central government. Before the 1990s, İnciraltı was an agricultural area with a diversity of ecological resources. After the tourism center decision, since the 1990s, it has been subjected to various development efforts although there were important counter decisions declared that İnciraltı is an agricultural and ecological area that should be absolutely conserved.

As the leading local business association, İzmir Chamber of Commerce stated that "İnciraltı should be developed as a site of fair and tourism to attract investment with EXPO" (İZTO, 2006). Central and local governments (Ministry of Culture and Tourism and İzmir Greater and Balçova Municipalities) supported and advanced this proposal in 2007 through starting the planning procedure for development. In the year 2007, İTC development plans are prepared and approved with the collaboration of central and local governments, local business associations and property owners in the project area. Within the İTC project, İnciraltı waterfront was determined as the fair site of EXPO 2015 and furthermore EXPO 2015 İzmir Executive Committee was established as a public-private partnership to manage

EXPO 2015 candidacy process of İzmir. These developments show that hosting a mega event has been used as a catalyst in the formation of İTC project.

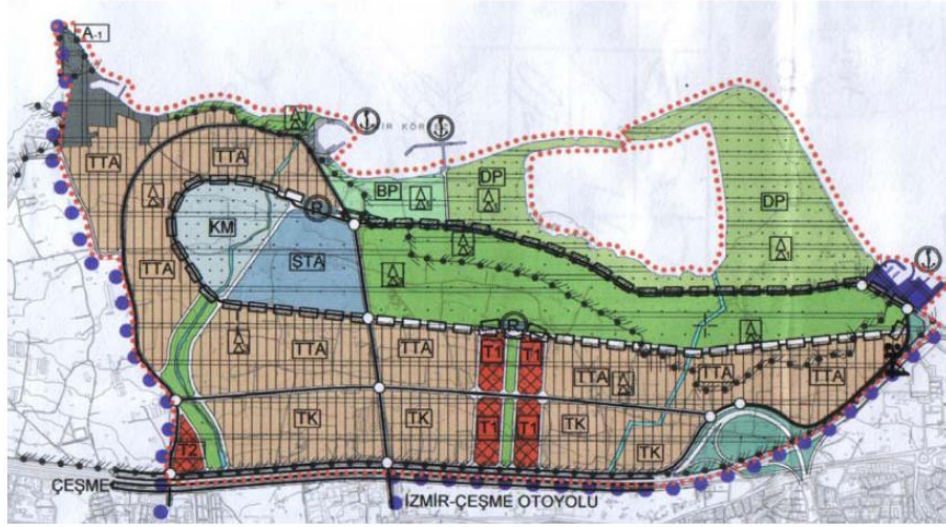


Figure 1.2 İnciraltı Tourism Center Development Plan (Source: KTB, 2011)

However, chambers affiliated to UCTEA opposed to rent-based development approach of İTC project and they brought judiciary actions for the cancel of İTC development plans in 2007 and 2009. As a result of these judiciary actions, İTC development plans were canceled two times. Since 2010, governmental and investor-business actors behind the İTC project started to discuss the legislation of a project-based law to facilitate the implementation of İTC project. Currently, there is not any project-based legislative intervention enacted to bypass court decisions and to facilitate the implementation of İTC project; however it is a high probability that such a project-based legislative intervention could be enforced within the EXPO 2020 candidacy process to overcome oppositional activities of chambers. Although İTC project is not implemented yet, there is an EXPO-based government and investor-business collaboration aggressively supporting to the implementation of İTC. As the attempts to implement İTC project fail, this EXPO-based collaboration tend to mobilize legislative power of the state to form a coercive base of power for the implementation of İTC project.

Since 2000s, it is undoubtedly apparent that the most important UDPs, that are expected to attract the highest level of investment in İzmir, are NCC and İTC Development Projects. It is widely agreed that these two leading UDPs will radically transform the existing social and spatial structure of urban space and furthermore, it has been observable in the last ten

years that “economic growth”, “investment” and “employment” based hegemonic discourses of governmental and investor-business actors have been concentrated on these two UDPs. In fact, NCC and ITC projects are formed within a political-economic context in which agriculture and industry based sectors are declining and commerce, tourism and consumption-oriented activities are gaining attraction. This transformation of the political-economic context, behind the formation of the two UDPs, also reflects that these projects are the product of a change in the regime of capital accumulation. Therefore, these two UDPs reflect and embody the changing relations and strategies in the regime of capital accumulation. However, analyzing the restructuring of local economy and capital accumulation dynamics is not adequate to reveal how hegemonic-ideological and coercive-legislative powers have been constructed and mobilized through these UDPs. We need to critically investigate the political construction of UDPs to elucidate through which hegemonic-ideological discursive practices and coercive-legislative mechanisms these two UDPs have become the “hegemonic projects of the production of space”.

1.4 Research Design and Methodology

Methodological framework of this thesis is organized through a critical realist methodology combining deductive and inductive research strategies and qualitative and quantitative research methods. In this part, this research design of thesis is explained in detail to answer why such a methodological framework is developed and how it is used in different stages of research.

1.4.1 Methodological Framework

Methodological framework of the thesis is explained in two parts. Firstly, the general framework of critical realist epistemology and its methodological implications to research the politics of urban development are put forward. Furthermore, in this part it is also explicated how critical realist methodology of the thesis combines deductive and inductive, qualitative and quantitative research strategies and methods. In the second part, the design of case study is brought up by explaining which qualitative research methods are used to provide answers of which research questions. In this second part, some methodological remarks are also stated to shed light on the organization and application of critical discourse analysis, questionnaires and semi-structured in-depth interviews, all of which constitute qualitative research methods of the case study research.

1.4.1.1 Critical Realism and Investigating the Political Construction of Urban Development Projects

Critical realism provides the best methodological framework for the research. Critical realist paradigm of social sciences aims to construct a middle way between positivism and interpretivism through criticizing both of these two methodological frameworks. Empiricism, and positivism more generally, research socio-spatial phenomenon through only focusing on observable events. However as critical realism puts forward, causal explanations behind socio-spatial phenomenon could not be revealed by this positivist and empiricist way of research, since they merely concentrate on the level of regular and observed events (Blaikie, 2007). There are unobservable levels of socio-spatial reality and empiricist and positivist research methodologies face serious problems in uncovering generative structures and mechanisms behind this socio-spatial reality (Bhaskar, 1997).

On the other hand, there are interpretivist methodology stresses the meaningful nature of people's participation in social and cultural life. This methodological framework aims to research socio-spatial reality through considering behaviors, narratives, discourses and motivations of the people involved in particular socio-spatial processes. However this approach of social science could also be criticized since it pays an over emphasis on the role of agent's individual perspectives in explaining a socially constructed phenomenon. Interpretivist methodological frameworks adopt voluntarist explanations and most of them ignore structural causal dynamics and generative structures behind socio-spatial reality.

As a socio-spatial reality, the politics of urban development could be best researched by a critical realist methodology of social science. In order to reveal the political construction of UDPs, it is needed to move beyond both economic determinist perspective of empiricism and voluntarist agent-based perspective of interpretivism. Thesis argues that there is a dialectical relation between economic structure (capital accumulation) and political-ideological superstructure (hegemony construction and struggles) in the formation of UDPs and this dialectic could be best investigated relationally through a critical realist methodological framework.

Critical realist methodology argued that there are three levels of the social world namely: the real, the actual and the empirical. The real level consists of mechanisms and structures which could not be observed by social scientist. The actual level could be described as the realm of events being produced by these mechanisms and not all the events in this domain are observed. Lastly, there is empirical level referring to the observable events (Bhaskar, 1997). Critical realism is a search for generative structures and mechanisms behind the social reality (Sayer, 1992). Furthermore, in contrast to empiricist and positivist epistemologies, critical realists believe that knowledge claims could not only based on observation alone; but they are also dependent on the theoretical perspectives that researchers subscribe to. A critical realist researcher could not propose initial arguments or hypothesis through isolating related theories in the research field. Critical realist researchers adopt a theory-informed research approach in the designing of empirical survey. Such an approach also requires a combination of inductive and deductive, retroductive and abductive research strategies.

Thesis adopts such a critical realist methodology through employing it with a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective. The main empirical focus of critical realist research methodology of thesis is to reveal how a hegemonic power has been constructed with UDPs over the definition of urban political priorities. To answer this question, thesis adopts Joseph's (2000; 2002) critical realist interpretation of hegemony. This interpretation of hegemony brings forward to discuss five main dimensions of research methodology.

Firstly, the construction of hegemony and the role hegemonic projects play in this process are not only an inter-subjective phenomenon. Hegemonic projects are also grounded in material conditions which defined by Gramsci as the "decisive nucleus of economic activity" (Gramsci, 1971). Therefore, UDPs as the "hegemonic projects of the production of space" are critically investigated relatedly with the structural dynamics of economy and capital accumulation processes. The second point to explain about methodology of thesis is that a critical realist conception of hegemony requires an examination of different hegemonic projects, the particular social groups and classes involved, the interest that they represent, the various values and world-views that they hold and the political blocks and alliances that are constructed (Joseph, 2002). Moreover, these agent-based aspects of hegemony should not be investigated by ignoring the structural conditions of capitalism. There is always a determinative relation between structure and superstructure in the formation of capitalist

political power and UDPs play a very important role in this relation as the “hegemonic projects of the production of space”.

The third dimension points out the site of hegemonic projects. Hegemonic class fractions organizes themselves through the state, bringing together differing interests and forging them into a hegemonic block (Joseph, 2000). Therefore, state and its urban policy making and planning processes and mechanisms have become strategic terrains for the formation and implementation of hegemonic projects. Thus; state (in the integral sense) and its regulative power over the formation of UDPs constitute the central site of empirical survey in this thesis.

The fourth point stresses that critical realist interpretation of hegemony entails the use of critical discourse analysis because hegemony is constructed through the production, dissemination and domination of hegemonic discourses of governmental and key non-governmental actors. Fairclough et al. (2005) argue that critical realism is compatible with critical discourse analysis because discourses frame social interaction and contributes to the construction of social and political relations. Critical discourse analysis, in this respect, provides such a base of qualitative survey. Through using critical discourse analysis, it is possible to provide answers to the question of how hegemonic discourses provide a motivational force behind the actions of governmental and non-governmental agents in the formation of UDPs. Hegemonic discourses and narratives in the formation of UDPs and the persuasive role they play to acquire the consent of different social forces could be investigated with a combination of critical realist methodology and critical discourse analysis. Although it plays a central role in the design of case study research, critical discourse analysis is not proposed as the only way of empirical survey in the thesis. Rather, it is applied as a part of the mixed methodological framework, consisted of inductive and deductive strategies and qualitative and quantitative methods.

Methodological framework of the thesis and the rationale behind the selection of this methodology are explained in this part of introduction chapter. The following part shows why and how deductive and inductive strategies, quantitative and qualitative methods are combined within the critical realist methodology of the thesis. The later part also elucidates which empirical survey methods (critical discourses analysis, questionnaires and in-depth interviews) are used to answer which research questions of thesis.

1.4.1.2 The Combination of Deductive and Inductive Strategies and Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

This thesis adopts a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian critical realist methodology and within this methodological framework different research strategies and methods are used complementarily to reveal how UDPs are politically constructed. In the first stage of research, politics of UDPs is investigated through focusing on six UDPs from different capitalist countries of the world. In the later stage, the political construction of UDPs, the role of hegemonic-ideological discursive practices and coercive-legislative mechanism are elucidated through comparing four UDPs from İstanbul and Ankara. These two stages of research provided important deductions since they uncovered observed regularities and characteristics of capitalist urbanization patterns. Furthermore, they also unveiled the urban socio-political context of Turkish metropolitan cities in which UDPs are politically constructed. These two stages of research identify UDPs as observed regularities of capitalist urbanization and they provided key deductions to formulate the third and the fourth initial arguments and to design the framework of the case study research. In the third stage of research, a quantitative analysis of local economic structure of İzmir is made with reference to capital accumulation processes and the role of urbanization in these processes. This quantitative analysis of economic growth, employment and built environment production indicators also provided deductions, since it explained underlying structural economic dynamics of capitalist urbanization processes in İzmir. Analysis of local economic structure and capital accumulation processes of İzmir give rise to the deduction of key information to show how UDPs are proposed as solutions to overcome structural problems of neo-liberalization regime in İzmir. These three stages of research, consisted of literature review on UDPs and quantitative analysis of local economic structure, reflect deductive research strategy of thesis. Through making deductions within these research stages, initial arguments three and four are formulated and they designed the framework of case study.

Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective and the first two stages of research provide a base for us to formulate initial arguments of thesis. After formulating these arguments, the case study research is organized to test the validity of these arguments in İzmir. Qualitative methods are used in case study research to comparatively investigate how NCC and İTC development projects are politically constructed. There are

four interrelated components of this qualitative analysis, which are documentary analysis, media analysis, questionnaires and semi-structured in-depth interviews. Documentary analysis includes the analysis of plan reports and related documents concerning the formation of two UDPs in İzmir. In this context; the reports of NCC and İTC Development Plans and İzmir Urban Region Development Plan are critically analyzed. To make media analysis, news and articles on NCC and İTC projects in mass media tools including newspaper, television channels and internet web sites are systematically checked and reviewed. A critical discourses analysis of these documents and media texts is made. The main findings of discourses analysis play a key role in designing the questions of questionnaires and interviews and therefore they led and oriented the organization of urban field research. The empirical evidence of the case study led research to make inductions to reveal the characteristics and patterns of the political construction of two UDPs in İzmir. Through collecting a comprehensive qualitative data with discourse analysis, questionnaires and interviews, this thesis made important inductions to describe how NCC and İTC projects are politically constructed and how they provide evidence to reconsider initial arguments. The figure mentioned below shows how deductive and inductive research strategies and quantitative and qualitative research methods are combined to investigate the political construction of UDPs.

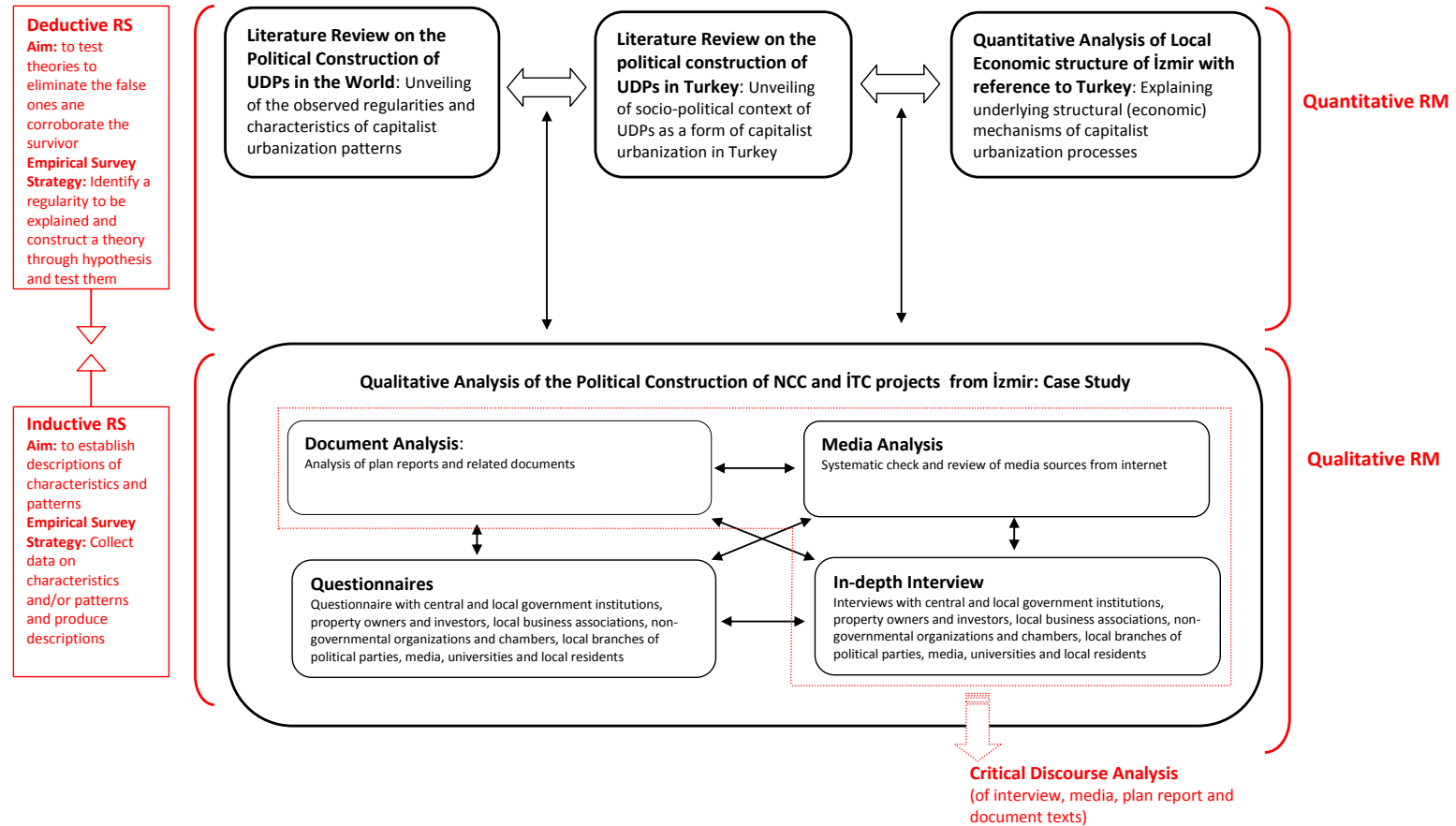
Research Strategies (RS)**Research Methods (RM)**

Figure 1.3 Critical Realist Research Methodology of Thesis, combining inductive and deductive strategies and quantitative and qualitative methods (Source: Texts in the boxes of Research Strategies are taken from Blaikie, 2007)

The investigation of the political construction of UDPs is a multi-dimensional and comprehensive research topic. It includes (1) the literature review on the politics of UDPs, (2) the quantitative analysis of local economic structure and capital accumulation processes and lastly (3) the analysis of case study through using different but complementary qualitative methods. This wide range of research could only be carried out through combining deductive and inductive strategies and quantitative and qualitative methods. This mixed critical realist methodological framework of thesis provides critical perspective to reveal through which hegemonic-ideological discursive practices and coercive-legislative mechanism UDPs are politically constructed. The design and the main components of case study research are explained with detail in the following part.

1.4.2 The Design of Case Study Research

The design of case study research is outlined with reference to initial arguments, research questions and empirical research methods, that are mentioned in the table below. Thesis intends to find out the answers of these research questions through employing different research methods within the comparative case study of New City Center and İnciraltı Tourism Center Development Projects in İzmir. Table shows four initial arguments and research questions. The comparative case study is designed to provide answers to these research questions. Different empirical research methods including critical discourse analysis, questionnaire and semi-structured in-depth interviews are combined and used to find out the answers of research questions.

Table 1.1 Initial Arguments, Research Questions and Empirical Research Methods in the Design of Case Study Research

Initial Arguments	Research Questions	Empirical Research Methods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UDPs (Urban Development Projects) are attempts to form “hegemonic projects of the production of space”, therefore UDPs have become the mechanisms of constructing hegemony over the definition of urban political priorities. • UDPs are politically constructed through the hegemonic arguments, discourses and narratives of key decision-makers and these discursive practices have been used to mobilize public support and consent of different social forces. • In the political construction of UDPs; not only discursive practices of hegemony construction, but also coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state (new laws, change in the existing laws, decree laws ...etc.) play a key role. • UDPs are politically constructed through the complementary relation and differential articulation of the discursive practices of hegemony construction and coercive-legislative mechanisms of the capitalist state. 	<p>Which hegemonic discourses (as discursive persuasion practices) have been produced, used and disseminated by whom in the political construction of the UDPs? In this regard, which urban (re)development “problems” are defined within the formation of the UDPs and why they are defined as “problems”? How the UDPs have been proposed as “solutions” to overcome these “problems”? Which concepts and arguments are used by whom in the definition of these “urban problems” and “solutions”?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Critical Discourse Analysis (of plan report, related document and media texts) ▪ Questionnaire <u>The Neighborhood Questionnaire</u> (Questionnaire with the people living and working in the project areas) <u>The Institution Questionnaire</u> (Questionnaire with central and local governments, investors, local business associations, non-governmental organizations and chambers, political parties, media and universities) ▪ In-depth Interviews (Interviews with central and local governments, local residents, investors, local business associations, non-governmental organizations and chambers, political parties, media and universities)
	<p>Hegemonic discourses intend to persuade which social forces to acquire their consent in the formation of the UDPs? What roles central and local government politicians and officers, local business associations, property owners and investors, chambers and universities, media and non-governmental organizations ...etc. (political society + civil society) play in the political construction of UDPs? Key decision-makers of the UDPs target to persuade which one of these actors? And Why?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Questionnaire <u>The Neighborhood Questionnaire</u> (Questionnaire with the people living and working in the project areas) <u>The Institution Questionnaire</u> (Questionnaire with central and local governments, investors, local business associations, non-governmental organizations and chambers, political parties, media and universities) ▪ In-depth Interviews (Interviews with central and local governments, local residents, investors, local business associations, non-governmental organizations and chambers, political parties, media and universities)
	<p>How these hegemonic discourses have been produced, disseminated and imposed to persuade different social forces in the formation of the UDPs? Through which urban political agenda setting practices these hegemonic discourses have been disseminated? What is the role of media in this process?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Questionnaire <u>The Neighborhood Questionnaire</u> (Questionnaire with the people living and working in the project areas) <u>The Institution Questionnaire</u> (Questionnaire with central and local governments, investors, local business associations, non-governmental organizations and chambers, political parties, media and universities) ▪ In-depth Interview (Interviews with central and local governments, local residents, investors, local business associations, non-governmental organizations and chambers, political parties, media and universities) ▪ Critical Discourse Analysis (of media, document and interview texts)
	<p>What role legislative interventions (new laws and regulations, change in the existing laws, decree laws... etc.) play in the political construction of the UDPs? What kind of a relation exists between the discursive persuasion practices of hegemony construction and the coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Questionnaire <u>The Institution Questionnaire</u> (Questionnaire with central and local governments, investors, local business associations, non-governmental organizations and chambers, political parties, media and universities) ▪ In-depth Interview (Interviews with central and local governments, local residents, investors, local business associations, non-governmental organizations and chambers, political parties, media and universities)

1.4.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis formed an initial outline to investigate the political construction of two UDPs. It provided preliminary findings on the formation of NCC and ITC projects and oriented urban field research through playing an important role in designing the questions of questionnaire and interview. Discourses of key actors in the formation of two UDPs were critically analyzed before the field survey. This critical analysis of discourse concentrated on plan reports, related documents and media texts. These textual resources to which discourse analysis was applied is mentioned below.

- News and Articles reflected in mass media tools (including newspapers, television channels and internet web sites)
- The competition brief of International Urban Design Competition for the Port District of İzmir
- The deciphered texts from the voice record of a symposium called “İzmir Bütününde Narlıdere-İnciraltı Sempozyumu” held in İzmir in 1995
- The deciphered texts from the voice record of a panel called “Değişen Kentler, Değişen İzmir” held in İzmir in 2001
- The deciphered texts from the voice record of a forum called “İnciraltı Forumu” held in İzmir in 2006
- The deciphered texts from the voice record of a meeting called “İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlaması Halkın Katılımı Toplantısı” held in İzmir in 2010
- The Report of İzmir Urban Region Development Plan
- The Report of İzmir New City Center Development Plan
- The Report of İnciraltı Tourism Center Environmental Plan

The discourses of central and local government politicians and officers, investors and property owners, the leaders of local business associations, chambers and other non-governmental institutions constitute these textual resources. Therefore; coherent and conflicting discourses, views and opinions of these actors were declared, manifested and discussed in these textual resources. An analysis of these discourses is made through employing Fairclough’s framework of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995; 2001). Fairclough (2001) focuses on six main dimensions of discourse particularly in investigating the political-ideological dynamics behind the construction of dominant views and widely-accepted opinions. According to him, a predominant view on the formulation of a particular state policy has been constructed through the production, dissemination and domination of

key discourses. Discourses have become hegemonic discursive practices by this way and they provide crucial roles in mobilizing public support and consent behind a particular state intervention or policy. To reveal these roles of discourses, the case study research concentrated on Fairclough's six critical dimensions of discourse analysis, which include vocabulary, grammar, textual structures, the force of utterance, intertextuality and the ideological coherence of texts. The framework of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, adopted in this research, is mentioned below in the table.

Table 1.2 The Framework of Critical Discourse Analysis Adopted in Research

(1) Vocabulary <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Rewording, overwording and emphasized words ▪ Ideologically constructed and contested words ▪ Ideologically relevant and significant meaning relations between words
(2) Grammar <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sentence structures through which the subject, causality and responsibility of action are obscured ▪ Grammatical modes adopted in the declarations and news (three major modes; declarative, grammatical question, imperative) ▪ The Use of Pronouns we and you to ideologically define and separate subject positions
(3) Textual structures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The constitution and the designing of texts, heading and articles in the formation of news
(4) The Force of Utterance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ideological meanings and reinforcements through the observation of acts of speech
(5) Intertextuality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The finding of common themes (written and/or verbal) within several texts in several documents ▪ The uncovering of a "historical perspective" often used in documents to displace previously embedded ideology and to deploy new ideological messages.
(6) The Ideological coherence of texts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ideological coherence and contradictions of texts

Source: Fairclough, 2001

The findings of critical discourse analysis are presented in the tables which are mentioned in the case study chapter. These tables show predominant and oppositional discourses, their speaker actors and targeted audiences and the mechanisms disseminating these discourses. The findings of discourse analysis also indicate how the powerful and predominant actors of the UDPs construct and reinforce some definitions, meanings and perceptions through using and manipulating certain vocabularies and grammatical features in their discourses

1.4.2.2 Questionnaires

The preparation of the questionnaire and the selection of the sampling depend on the findings of critical discourse analysis. Discourse analysis provided a base of preliminary findings to unveil which hegemonic discourses have been produced, disseminated and dominated by whom in the political construction of UDPs. These preliminary findings of

discourse analysis gave a direction to urban field survey through playing an important role in the designing of questionnaires and interviews. Critical discourse analysis not only contributed to the preparation of the questions of questionnaires and interviews, but it also identified key institutional actors in the formation of two UDPs. The sampling of the questionnaire is designated by this identification of key actors.

Questionnaires basically investigated to what extend these hegemonic discourses have been internalized and reproduced by the institutions and the local residents (people living or working in the project sites). Questionnaires detected the motivations behind the supportive and oppositional tendencies of different institutional actors and local residents in the formation of UDPs. Why they support for or oppose against the formation of these two UDPs? Which decisive factors play what kind of roles in the formation of these supportive and oppositional tendencies? Through which mechanisms public support and consent have been mobilized and which actors (as the social forces of urban politics) play what kind of roles in the formation of supportive and oppositional positions? Questionnaires are prepared to find out concrete answers of these questions and they applied to the related institutions and local residents living or working in the neighborhoods where the projects are planned to be implemented.

There are two types of questionnaires applied in the field survey. These are “Institution Questionnaire” and “Neighborhood Questionnaire” having same and different questions. Two different types of questionnaire used different sampling methods. But the findings of different questionnaires are interrelated and they are presented, discussed and interpreted together in the case study chapter.

1.4.2.2.1 The Institution Questionnaire

A non-random sampling method is used in the application of Institution Questionnaire. The reason behind the selection of this non-random sampling is that there is not a universe of institutional actors concerning the formation of NCC and ITC projects. There are different institutions in İzmir including central and local governments, local business associations, property developer and investor firms, political parties, unions, chambers, universities and all other non-governmental institutions. Some of these institutions are decision-makers in the formation of these UDPs, therefore they have an official opinion for the projects. There are other institutions having no power of decision-making but forming an opinion on the

basis of their interests, orientations and motivations. Lastly, there are also irrelevant institutions do not have any idea or view for these UDPs. Thus, a universe of institutional actors could not be defined simply for the application of institution questionnaire. However, critical discourse analysis solved this sampling problem through the identification of key institutional categories and actors in the formation of UDPs. A number of 118 institutions are identified in this respect and these institutional actors are considered as a relevant sampling since they develop, reflect and share similar and different opinions concerning the formation of NCC and ITC projects. Institution questionnaire is applied to these non-randomly selected sampling of institutional actors which reflect a relevant and interested section of what Gramsci calls “political society + civil society”. It is applied 124 institution questionnaire to these 118 different institutions. The rate of different institutional categories in the formation of the sampling is mentioned below. The list of non-randomly selected sampling and the form of institution questionnaire are mentioned in the appendices.

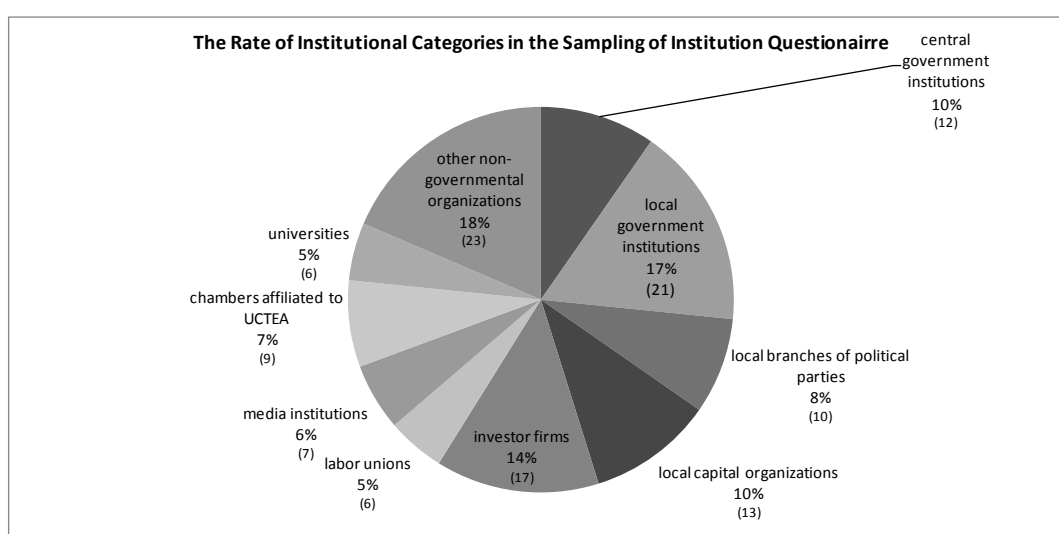


Figure 1.4 The Rate of Institutional Categories in the Sampling of Institution Questionnaire

In the application of institution questionnaire, it is assumed that the persons to whom the questionnaire is applied reflect the official view of their institutions. In other words, it is made a general presumption that all the people to whom the questionnaire is applied are assumed as representing the official view of their institution (whatever their duties in their institutions, administrative or occupational). However, this assumption is also tested with the questions in the questionnaire and it is examined to what extent these persons reflect the official view of their institutions.

In the application of questionnaire it is made one institution questionnaire with one person and assumed that this person reflects the official view of his/her institution. However, a total of eight institution questionnaires are made with the Greater Municipality of İzmir and Ministry of Culture and Tourism owing to their key and central roles in the formation of NCC and İTC projects. The reason behind this exceptionality is that it is intended to investigate the coherent, conflicting and oppositional views on the formation of these UDPs in the same institution. For instance, it is detected conflicting views among the administratively and occupationally charged persons in the same institutions like the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Institution questionnaire, in this respect, contributes to the investigation of how the official and dominant views (on the formation of the projects) of institutions have been shaped and also it is revealed how these views of institutions have been opposed through the counter and oppositional discourses and views of the people working inside and outside of these institutions.

1.4.2.2.2 The Neighborhood Questionnaire

Field survey of case study does not only concentrated to unveil the predominant and oppositional views and discourses of particular institutions (considered as related institutional actors in the formation of the projects), but it also pays particular attention to elucidate how local residents (people living or working in the areas of the projects) are reacted to these predominant and oppositional views, how their supportive or oppositional views (concerning the formation of the projects) have been shaped and which decisive factors and hegemony construction practices play roles in the constitution of these supportive or oppositional positions of local residents. To provide concrete answers to these questions, a neighborhood questionnaire is prepared and applied to the people living or working in the areas of the projects. The form of neighborhood questionnaire is mentioned in appendices.

There are four neighborhoods under investigation within the spatial concentration of New City Center (NCC) and İnciraltı Tourism Center (İTC) Development Projects. Two of them are Ege and Umurbey Neighborhoods located in the backside of Alsancak Port and constitute a large part of the area of NCC project. Umurbey Neighborhood was developed historically with port-related storage functions and small-scale industry. Ege Neighborhood was developed as a migrant settlement of unauthorized housing and provided low-wage labor

for the development of informal urban economy for decades. These two neighborhoods are facing a process of urban decay owing to the industrial decline and local economic restructuring. According to 2011 population census, the number of total population in Ege and Umurbey Neighborhoods is 2757. 120 neighborhood questionnaires were applied with a random-sampling method to the people living or working in Ege and Umurbey Neighborhoods. Therefore, (randomly-selected) number of sampling represents %4,35 of the local residents living in these neighborhoods that are subjected to the implementation of NCC Project (the rate of random-sampling for NCC Project is %4,3).

Other two neighborhoods are investigated within the context of İTC project. These neighborhoods are İnciraltı and Bahçelerarası and they were not subjected to development owing to their ecological characteristics and conservation-oriented decisions taken to inhibit development in this site. In fact, İnciraltı and Bahçelerarası stayed as an ecological-agricultural conservation site where small land owners cultivate citrus fruit for decades. However, the pattern of property and conservation-oriented decisions has been changed and Ministry of Culture and Tourism plans to develop İnciraltı as tourism-oriented space within the context of İTC project. According to 2011 population census, the total number of population (living in İnciraltı and Bahçelerarası Neighborhoods) which is expected to be directly affected by İTC project is 2757. 122 neighborhood questionnaires were applied with a random-sampling method to this 2757 people living in İnciraltı and Bahçelerarası Neighborhoods. The rate of random-sampling for İTC Project is %5,45. These rates of random-sampling for each project is represented with the figure mentioned below

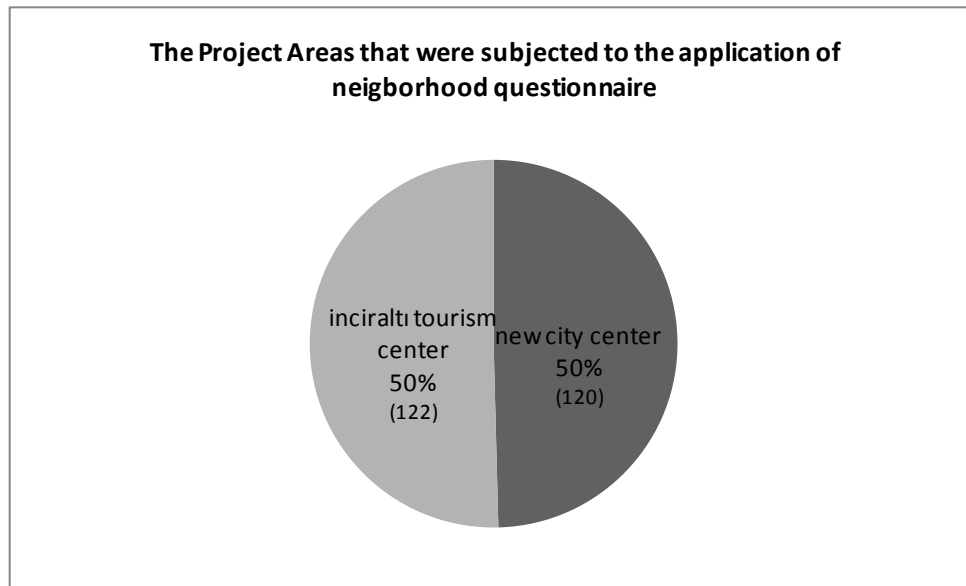


Figure 1.5 The Project Areas that were Subjected to the Application of Neighborhood Questionnaire

Note: Randomly-selected sampling populations represent %4,3 of total population for NCC project area and %5,4 of total population for İTC project area. These rates of sampling will not be displayed under each figure of neighborhood questionnaire findings.

As Figure shows, in the application of neighborhood questionnaire different local residents are randomly selected from different project areas. These local residents did not only express their views and opinions on the particular project which is expected to directly affect them. They also stated their views and opinions (if available) on the other project which is not expected to directly affect them. In other words, through the application of neighborhood questionnaire, a cross-investigation of the views of local residents is made to reveal both the views of Ege-Umurbey Neighborhoods population on the formation of İTC Project and İnciraltı-Bahçelerarası Neighborhoods population on the formation of NCC Project. Neighborhood questionnaire fulfils such a cross-investigation to enlighten whether or not geographical proximity matters in the construction of the views of local residents.

Furthermore, there are different class positions within the randomly-selected sampling of neighborhood questionnaire. There are upper and petty bourgeois, blue and white collar workers, retired and unemployed people, composing different social classes in the investigation of the views of local residents. Furthermore, not only different social classes but also different income groups are included in the application of neighborhood questionnaire.

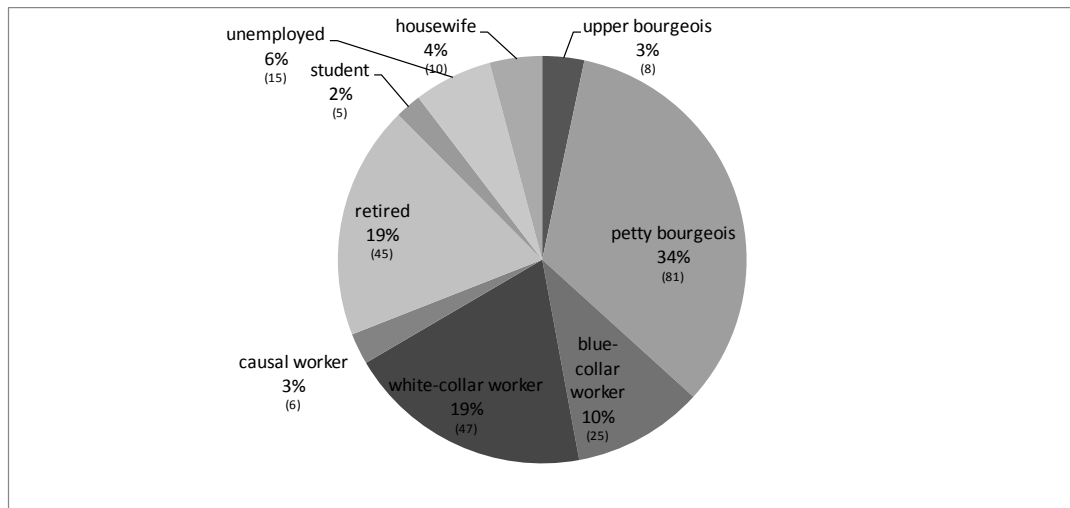


Figure 1.6 Different Class Positions in the Sampling of Neighborhood Questionnaire

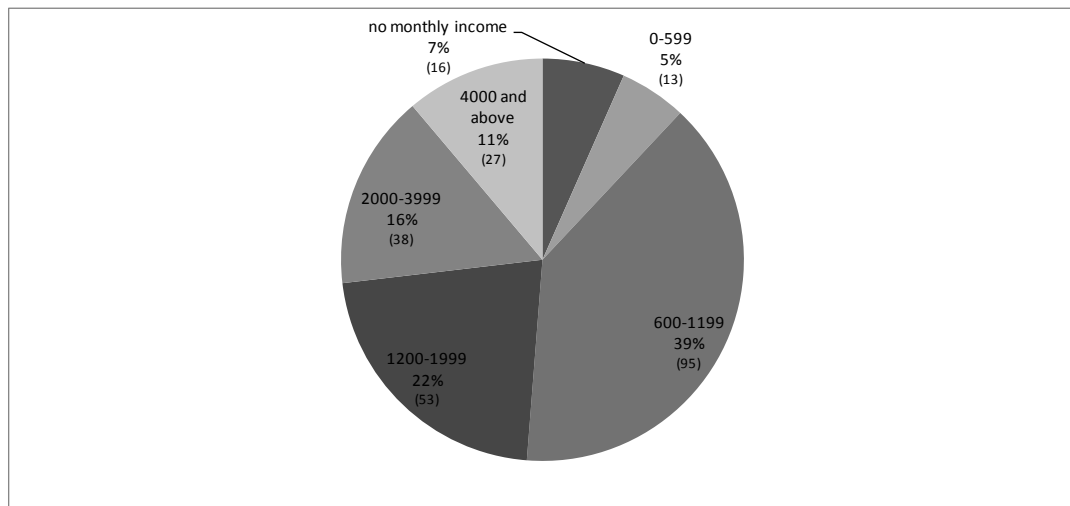


Figure 1.7 Different Income Groups in the Sampling of Neighborhood Questionnaire

To sum up, neighborhood questionnaire includes different social classes and it is applied with a randomly selected sampling, composed of 262 people living or working in four neighborhoods. Through the application of neighborhood questionnaire, case study aims to reveal how local residents are reacted to the predominant and oppositional views of institutional actors. This survey aimed to shed some light on the construction of supportive or oppositional views concerning the formation of both of the two UDPs. The role of decisive factors and hegemonic discourses behind the construction of these views of local residents are explored within a cross-investigative manner, which is not only researching the construction of the views of the people from the perspective of inhabitants (local residents

living or working in the project area) but also from the aspect of outsiders (people not living or working in this particular project area).

1.4.2.3 Semi Structured In-depth Interviews

In the field survey, before and after the application of questionnaires, 45 semi-structured in-depth interviews were made with 44 people, including local and central government politicians and bureaucrats, investors, leaders of local business associations and chambers, academicians and lawyers and local residents from different neighborhoods (the list of interviewees is mentioned in the appendices). These interviewees were selected because they play key roles in the construction of supportive and oppositional views in the formation of NCC and İTC projects. Interviews were made on February 2010 and August 2011. In addition to this semi-structured interviews, the voice record of a meeting (organized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism) which is called “the Meeting of Public Participation in the Planning of İTC” (İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlaması Halkın Katılımı Toplantısı) was deciphered. Approximately 30 hours voice record (from interviews and meeting) was deciphered and analyzed within the case study. The names and personal information of interviewees are not stated in thesis, but the different institutional categories of these interviewees are pointed out in the figure mentioned below.

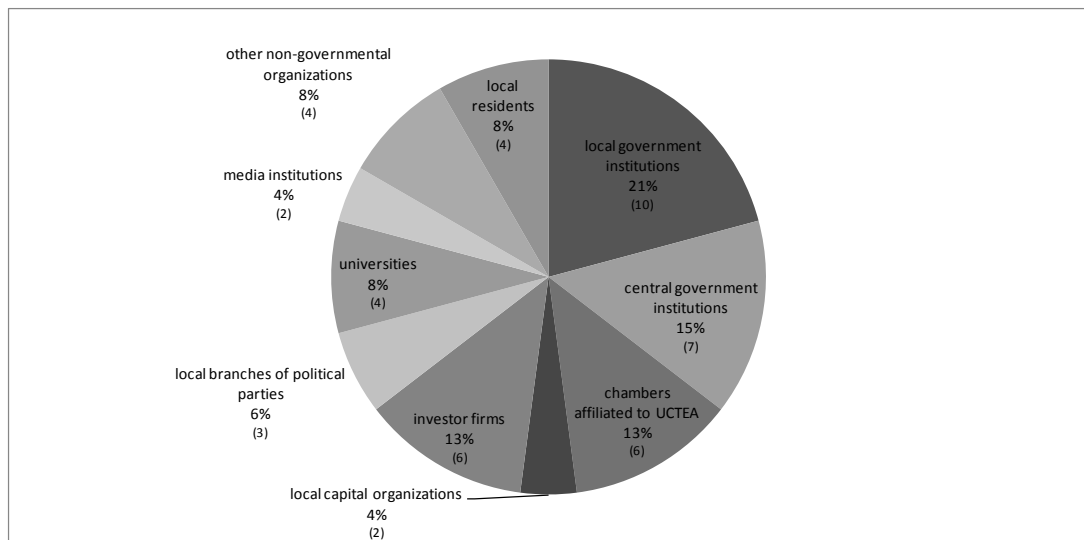


Figure 1.8 The Institutional Categories of Interviewees

In the application of semi-structured in-depth interview, different questions were asked to different interviewees based on their roles, positions and discourses in the construction of predominant and oppositional opinions. Different question sheets were used in the

interviews to ask questions and to give direction to the development of discussion with the interviewees. One of the interview question sheet is mentioned in the appendices.

Through in-depth interviews, the case study intended to deeply investigate how the widely-accepted common-sense opinion has been hegemonically constructed in the formation of two UDPs. A critical interpretation of interview texts provided deeply analyzed answers to the questions like how and why hegemonic discourses of two UDPs have been embraced, produced, disseminated and opposed by different social forces of urban politics. By this way, the findings of interview complemented the findings of questionnaire through providing deeper analysis and causal explanations behind the detected discourses, views and roles of particular actors in the formation of NCC and ITC projects.

1.5 The Content of Thesis

In this latest part of introduction chapter, the contents of thesis are explained. This thesis consists of seven chapters. In the **first chapter**, the introduction to thesis is explained through specifying research problem, initial arguments, research questions, research design and methodological framework of study. Following the introduction, the **second chapter** lays out the theoretical framework of the thesis. In the second chapter, different theories of urban development politics are critically discussed to formulate a neo-Marxian theoretical perspective for the thesis. In this context, agent-oriented perspectives of neo-pluralist urban regime theory and neo-Weberian growth machine approach are critically elaborated. In addition to them, structuralist accounts of Marxist geography approach and neo-Marxian urban governance perspectives are also critically examined. Through elaborating, discussing and criticizing different theoretical approaches, a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective is formulated and proposed to investigate the political construction of UDPs. In formulating such a neo-Marxian perspective, a particular emphasis is given to discuss the interrelations amongst concepts like “hegemony”, “force”, “hegemonic projects”, “the production of space”. UDPs, in the second chapter, are theorized as “hegemonic projects of the production of space”, whose political power has constructed by both hegemonic and coercive mechanisms. In the last part of the second chapter, the first and second initial arguments of the thesis are formulated within the context of Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian perspective.

Chapter three involves the critical review of the politics of six UDPs from different capitalist countries of the world. This critical review shows that “economic growth”, “investment” and “regeneration” based hegemonic discourses of governmental and investor-business actors have constructed a hegemonic-ideological power over the definition of urban policy and planning priorities. However, this chapter also underlines that these hegemonic discursive practices are not the only base of political power, coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state (like project-based laws, empowered state institutions ...etc.) also play constitutive roles in constructing the political power in the formation of UDPs. The review of the politics of UDPs from İstanbul and Ankara in chapter four supports to the main findings of chapter three. In **Chapter four**, the role of hegemonic discourses, activities and coercive-legislative mechanisms, predominant and oppositional political and social actors and their collaborative and conflictual relations in the formation of four UDPs from İstanbul and Ankara are investigated. Fourth chapter of thesis concluded that hegemonically constructed discourses, relations and coercively-legislatively imposed mechanisms are articulated in the formation of UDPs and their articulation differentiate according to different state-civil society relationship patterns. Chapter three and four also together provided a base to formulate third and fourth initial arguments of thesis.

Chapter five critically reviewed İzmir’s urban development processes within the context of changing political-economic dynamics throughout history. This chapter revealed that urban development plans and projects are formed and implemented in different time periods to reproduce the dynamics of capitalist local economic structure. Since 2000s, UDPs in İzmir are proposed as solutions to overcome structural problems of neo-liberalization regime, including stagnant economic growth, unemployment and trade deficit. However, this chapter concluded that to reveal how hegemonic power has been mobilized with these UDPs, it is not enough to shed light on economic structure and capital accumulation relations, but rather we should investigate through which discourses and activities of hegemony construction, a powerful political-ideological superstructural basis is constructed for the formation of UDPs.

In **Chapter six**, comprehensive empirical evidence of case study chapter are presented and discussed with a critical and comparative manner. Planning processes, hegemonic discourses and activities, collaborative and conflictual relations amongst different governmental and non-governmental actors are investigated in the comparative case study

of NCC and ITC development projects. The findings of critical discourses analysis, questionnaires and in-depth interviews in case study provide an empirical base to reconsider the political construction of UDPs. In the **conclusion chapter**, an overall summary of chapters and the findings of literature review and the case study research are specified. Theoretical perspective of the thesis are reconsidered in the light of the findings and results of research. In this final part of thesis, it is elucidated how Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective of this thesis contributes to the analysis of the politics of UDPs. In the final part of conclusion chapter, some policy implications and further remarks are proposed to organize political power of urban planning against the hegemony of capitalist urban development visions.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO INVESTIGATE THE POLITICS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Urban development projects (UDPs) are politically constructed mechanisms of the production of space. This politically constructed mode of producing space has become one of the main dynamic reproducing socio-spatial relations within the capitalist system. Therefore, in order to investigate the political construction of UDPs; the agents, economic structures and political-ideological superstructures of urban development processes should be critically reviewed.

Theoretical approaches and concepts critically elaborated in this part provide a framework to investigate the political construction of UDPs. There are different theoretical approaches on urban development politics, originated from different paradigms of politics. Neo-pluralist and neo-Weberian approaches put emphasis on agent-based aspects, relations and organizations in analyzing the politics of urban development. Marxist geography approach, on the other side, focuses on the structural relation between the production of space and capital accumulation processes. Furthermore, there are neo-Marxist approaches investigating political-ideological superstructures of urban development and revealing how state-capital-society relations and political power have been organized in urban development processes. All these different approaches provide crucial insights for thesis and they are critically discussed and reviewed to formulate a critical theoretical perspective to investigate how UDPs have been political constructed.

2.1 Neo-Pluralist and Neo-Weberian Approaches to Investigate the Agents of Urban Development

Neo-pluralist and neo-Weberian approaches provide critical theoretical insights to investigate how powerful governmental and business actors organize their political power in the formation of UDPs. As a neo-pluralist view, urban regime approach explores how “a capacity to govern” is constructed in urban development processes. Strongly influenced by Weberian neo-elitist perspective, growth machine approach stresses the powerful role of

land based business elites in the making of urban development policies. The following parts are devoted to critical elaboration of these theoretical approaches.

2. 1. 1. Urban Regime and Producing Capacity to Govern

Through analyzing urban development politics of US, Stone (1989) defined urban regime as “an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in urban policy-making processes”. Urban regime is conceptualized as “capacity to govern”, rather than “power over others” or “social control”, since the production of such a governing capacity requires the construction of hegemony in Gramscian sense. How these capacities to govern are produced and therefore, how urban regimes have been formed ?

Stone provided the answers of these questions by analyzing the politics of urban development in Atlanta. According to Stone (1989), as strategically constructed urban coalitions governing capacities have been shaped under the effects of three key factors, which are (1) the composition of urban coalition (capital, labor or the state... which actor dominates the formation of the coalition?), (2) the nature of the relationships between the members of urban coalition (who dominates the network of relations within the coalition?) and (3) the resources brought to the coalition by the members (time, money, media power... etc).

In addition to these key constitutive factors, Stone (1989) described four types of power produced, exercised and dominated in the formation of urban regimes. Firstly, there is systemic power reflecting business control over the redistribution of resources and investments. This type of power is available to certain groups like business associations including chambers of commerce, industry and all sorts of business-oriented associations. Secondly, there is power of command/social control. Such a base of power requires resources to achieve domination over interests. Some of the key resources are information, media, finance and reputation. Thirdly, there is coalition power depending on bargaining rather than domination. Fourth type of power signifies the importance of social (re)production which has a key role in constructing long-term capacities to govern in cities. Urban regimes represent the production of governing capacities through the operation of these four types of power.

Ten years after Stone's influential study of Atlanta, Stoker and Mossberger (2001) critically reinterpreted the role of urban regime approach in explaining the dynamics of urban development politics. They argue that urban regimes are some sort of urban political coalition formations based on informal relations and networks as well as formal ones (Stoker and Mossberger, 2001). According to them, several core criteria are needed to be observed in the application of urban regime approach to diverse urban political settings. In other words, they aimed to identify to which context we could apply urban regime approach. Firstly, to apply urban regime theory in a particular urban political setting, coalition formations under-investigation should depend on formal and/or informal partnership of governmental and non-governmental actors. Involvement of non-governmental actors requires participation of business-driven interest groups but they are not limited to business-oriented groups. Secondly, urban coalition formations should be capable to bring together fragmented resources for the power to accomplish tasks. Thirdly, urban coalition formations should have identifiable policy agendas that could be related to the composition of the participants in the coalition. And lastly, rather than a temporary collaboration, a long standing pattern of collaboration-cooperation should be observed between the participants of urban coalition formations. According to Stone (2005) these four criteria also show that a produced capacity to govern become an urban regime under four conditions; (1) if it has an identifiable urban policy agenda, (2) if it succeeds to form a governing coalition around this specific agenda, (3) if it mobilizes required resources for the pursuit of agenda and lastly, (4) if it has become a long term cooperation between coalitions members.

Which inferences "urban regime" approach and "capacity to govern" concept provide for the investigation of the political construction of UDPs? With reference to urban regime approach, it could be argued that UDPs are "identifiable urban policy agendas" around which "governing coalitions" have been formed through "the involvement of powerful governmental and non-governmental actors". It is also known that to become a powerful "capacity to govern" these governing coalitions mobilize and utilize key "resources" like media power, finance, occupational professions, human resources and universities ...etc. In other words, different sorts of resources are needed not only for the implementation of UDPs, but also for their political-ideological construction with which public support and consent of large segments of civil society have been mobilized.

Thus, as neo-pluralist paradigm of urban politics, urban regime approach shows that in order to investigate the political construction of UDPs, we need to analyze through which hegemonic discourses UDPs have become an identifiable urban policy agenda of which powerful governmental and non-governmental actors ? Which kind of resources are mobilized through which ways in the political construction of UDPs ? How governing capacities of UDPs have been constructed ? Which actors play what kind of roles in this process ? From the perspective of urban regime approach, answering of these questions is important to investigate the political construction of UDPs.

2. 1. 2. Urban Growth Machine and Land Based Business Elites

Like Urban Regime approach, there was another US based theory of urban development politics called “Growth Machine” started to dominate the literature since 1980s. Growth Machine approach adopted a Weberian neo-elitist perspective and therefore focused on the role of local economic elites in pursuing growth.

Growth Machine approach originated on the idea that the commodification of place is the main motive behind the urban growth. According to Logan and Molotch (1987), like all commodities place has both exchange and use values and these values are in a conflict since different local social groups pursue different values. In other words, capitalist interests in the city privilege the exchange value of place over its use value through commodification of it and this prioritization of exchange value is in direct conflict with use value oriented priorities and expectations of local residents.

In this commodification of place, Growth Machine approach stresses the role of local business community actors (property developers, rentiers, financiers, construction companies...etc) in shaping urban policies (Logan and Molotch, 1987). In explaining the dynamics of urban development politics from a neo-Weberian agent-oriented perspective, Logan & Molotch (1987) conceive urban space as the areal expression of the interests of city's land-based business elites. These land-based business elites comprise local businessmen, property owners, financiers, construction companies, shopkeepers, hotel owners, realtors, utility companies, lawyers as well as universities and the local media. As the first set of actors in Growth Machines; property developers, financiers and construction companies directly benefit from economic growth and urban development. Second group of actors including local media and utility companies indirectly benefit from economic

growth. As auxiliary players, third set of actors like universities, cultural institutions, sport clubs and labor unions support growth since it is conducive to their own plans of expansion. Converging in the same imperative of growth, these three sets of actors form formal and informal communities, looking for prospects of shaping the urban policy-making process.

To sum up, Logan & Molotch argued (1987) that in the socio-political context of US, land-based business elites have often been successful in dominating planning bureaucracies, political parties, and elected officials, pushing for urban policies to increase surplus value that is generated from urban rent. Growth Machines espouse an “ideology of value-free development” claiming that economic growth with an expanding metropolitan city provides development opportunities for all classes.

Growth Machine approach shows that land based business elites constitute the most powerful group of actors in the political construction of UDPs. These actors forming the basis of Growth Machines dominate an “ideology of value-free development” through bringing UDPs to the agenda of urban politics. Through the discourses and activities of Growth Machines, UDPs are introduced and presented to public as an inevitable and irrefusable opportunity to boost local economic growth. Therefore any political consideration of UDPs needs to investigate the formation and organization of Growth Machine actors like property developers, local business associations, local media and universities ...etc. In order to reveal how UDPs have been politically-ideologically constructed, the inter-relations, motivations and hegemonic discourses of growth machine actors and their roles in imposing the “ideology of value-free development” should be investigated with a critical manner. The following part discusses the inadequacies of Urban Regime and Growth Machine approaches in analyzing the politics of UDPs.

2. 1. 3. The Critical Review of Neo-Pluralist and Neo-Weberian Approaches

Urban Regime and Growth Machine approaches are criticized from a neo-Marxian regulation perspective to uncover their limitations and inadequacies for the investigation of urban development politics. As a general critique, it could be argued that neo-pluralist and neo-Weberian theories like Urban Regime and Growth Machine approaches put emphasis on agent-based relations. Urban Regime approach emphasizes formal and informal relations and networks between the agents of government and business. Growth Machine approach underlines the central role of growth-oriented coalitions and reveals how such

coalitions have been formed by the involvement of land-based business elites. These agent-oriented perspectives ignores and neglects the role of capital accumulation, class conflict and hegemony in the political construction of UDPs and fail to reveal how state intervenes these processes. This general framework of critiques will be discussed with detail in the following paragraphs.

Urban Regime approach presumes a pluralist participation of diverse social interest groups in urban politics and theorize state power as an independent arbiter of these diverse interest groups. This pluralist assumption of state-capital-society relations neglects the actually existing role of state in regulating capitalist socio-political relations and underestimate the broader social and spatial forces operating beyond the local. In this respect, it could be identified two main criticism to Urban Regime approach. Firstly, although regime approach focuses on locally constructed formal and informal relations between governmental and business actors, it investigates these relations through isolating them from wider political-economic process. In other words, it makes an over-emphasis on local coalitions and relies too much on internal alliances of the local level which cause a neglect of the political-economic forces operating outside the local scale (MacLeod and Goodwin, 1999). For instance, the neo-liberalization of state policies, spatial and scalar restructuring of state power all influence the formation of urban coalitions at the local level and therefore such supra-local political-economic dynamics should be taken into consideration in analyzing urban regimes. Secondly, the empirical basis of regime approach is constituted by the experiences of US cities and because of this it is questionable to what extent regime approach is capable to explain different dynamics of urbanization in different social and political contexts of different countries in the world. According to Macleod and Goodwin (1999), Urban Regime approach fails to consider the important role of central state. Since regime approach takes decentralized American political system as empirical evidence, it could not be successfully applied to other countries where central state is powerful than the local state. As Macleod and Goodwin (1999) argue, in European context of policy-making and even in Turkey central state institutions have key authorities in distributing resources. In these highly centralized administrative and political systems, it is not possible to directly apply urban regime approach to investigate how urban coalitions have been formed. To enrich the perspective of urban regime approach, we need to consider state power correctly and take the role of central state into account in the analysis of local/urban coalitions of development.

In line with the criticism to regime approach, Growth Machine approach is also criticized from a neo-Marxian regulation perspective. Two critiques come into prominent in this respect. Firstly, there is an over-emphasis on the dreams, plans and strategies of local business-driven groups in Growth Machine literature. However, this over-emphasis on local dynamics neglect the role of supra-local political-economic forces. For instance, Growth Machine approach does not consider how urban property markets are related with supra-local dynamics of capital accumulation regime. The operation of local rentiers are directly related with the organization of capital accumulation regime at the global scale (Macleod & Goodwin, 1999). Therefore, global dynamics of capital accumulation have profound effects on the formation and activities of local business elites. Secondly, Growth Machine approach is not capable to give a full account of the state and its role (central and local government institutions, institutional arrangements, laws and all sorts of regulatory frameworks) in the formation of growth machines (Macleod & Goodwin, 1999). Although Growth Machine approach pay particular attention to the organization and activities of local capitalist class fractions, it neglects scalar materialization of the state and it does not take into account how new “scalar gestalt of capitalism” gives rise to the formation of growth machines within particular politico-institutional context in the world (Macleod & Goodwin, 1999). As Macleod & Goodwin (1999) correctly emphasize there is very little effort analytically to integrate the strategies of growth machines with national political projects and accumulation strategies, supra-local dynamics of capital accumulation and modes of social regulation.

Neo-Marxian regulation perspective makes very similar critiques to the main arguments of Urban Regime and Growth Machine approaches. The frameworks of these agent oriented neo-pluralist and neo-Weberian perspectives could be reconstructed through incorporating neo-Marxist state theory. According to Jessop et al. (1999), local business communities, which play the main roles in regimes and machines, have been incorporated into the political process by the state as a means of furthering the restructuring of the state apparatus. In other words, the local political power of urban regimes and growth machines do not derive from some source of autonomous political capacity, but rather it is the power of a structural-strategic position within a broader political system that enable them such a political power. In order to provide business-oriented interests such a structural-strategic position, capitalist state (1) configures some platforms (like agencies, partnerships and

meetings ...etc) through which business leaders can exercise political influence, (2) may open decision-making processes to informal relations between state officials and business representatives (by this way state take decisions through closed door meetings and informal political relations with investors) and (3) produce some regulatory frameworks (laws, legislations to reorganize urban planning powers ...etc). Depending on the nature of state-capital-society relations; different ways, mechanisms, relations and regulations have been used in different countries to incorporate local business-driven interests into urban political processes.

Through drawing some lessons from the critical reviews of Urban Regime and Growth Machine approaches, it could be argued that UDPs should not only studied as the “identifiable urban policy agendas” of “land-based business elites”, but rather we should take into account how capitalist state (at all scales of policy-making) plays role in the political-ideological construction of UDPs. Furthermore, an investigation of the politics of UDPs needs to consider how capital accumulation regime, neo-liberalization of state policies and rescaling of state power have all structurally influenced the formation of UDPs. Lastly, UDPs should not only be seen as the site of powerful land based business elites dominating the formation of urban development policies, but rather it is vital to conceptualize UDPs as the site of class conflict and hegemony struggles between different segments of civil society. UDPs have become the site of both the constructing capitalist hegemony and the struggle of counter-hegemonic ideas and views. For a “successful” political-ideological construction of UDPs, capitalist state and capital actors use hegemonic growth based discourses to mobilize public support and consent. Thus the “governing capacities” of UDPs are constructed not only by the cooperation-collaboration of governmental and business actors, but they are also constructed through mobilizing public support and consent of different segments of civil society.

2. 2 Marxist Geography Approaches to investigate the economic structure of urban development

Urban Regime and Growth Machine approaches put an over emphasis on agent-based relations and neglect structural capitalist dynamics like capital accumulation, class struggle and the role of state in the political construction of UDPs. These structural dynamics are successfully considered by Marxist Geography approach which has been developed by David Harvey and his follower radical scholars.

Marxist Geography approach has been originated on the idea that there is a structural relation between the production of urban space and capital accumulation. From this perspective, UDPs are studied as the dominant modes of producing urban space providing new dynamics for the accumulation of capital in the last three decades. Following parts will elaborate how Marxist Geography approach and its leading concepts provide critical insights to reveal the political-ideological construction of UDPs.

2. 2. 1 Capital Accumulation Processes and the Production of Built Environment

As the leading Marxist Geographer, Harvey (1982, 1985, 1989a) developed a capital accumulation based theoretical framework to understand urban process under capitalism. The production of urban space has two main roles in regulating capitalist socio-spatial relations. Firstly, urban space plays role as a site of production, exchange and circulation of capital. Secondly, it maintains the accumulation of capital through temporarily solving the crisis of accumulation. Therefore, urban space is viewed as a form of commodity that should be organized and produced by the capitalist. To understand the relations between capital accumulation and the production of space, these two roles need to be critically discussed further.

Harvey (1989a) argues that the accumulation of capital has been shaped through three circuits of capital. These are primary, secondary and the tertiary circuits of capital. Primary circuit is the locus of industrial commodity production where the production of value is generated. Secondary circuit is the production of fixed capital and consumption fund which reflect the production of built environment. Tertiary circuit means making investment on science, technology, human capital and social expenditures like education, health and all sorts of collectively provided public services. These three circuits of capital play key roles as different but interrelated channels of investment under capitalism. Owing to its inner contradictions, capitalist system is continuously prone to economic crisis that endangers the accumulation of capital. Such crisis of capital accumulation have been temporarily solved by the flow of capital between different circuits (Harvey, 1982, 1989a). Different circuits of capital and the interrelations between these circuits are reflected in the figure mentioned below.

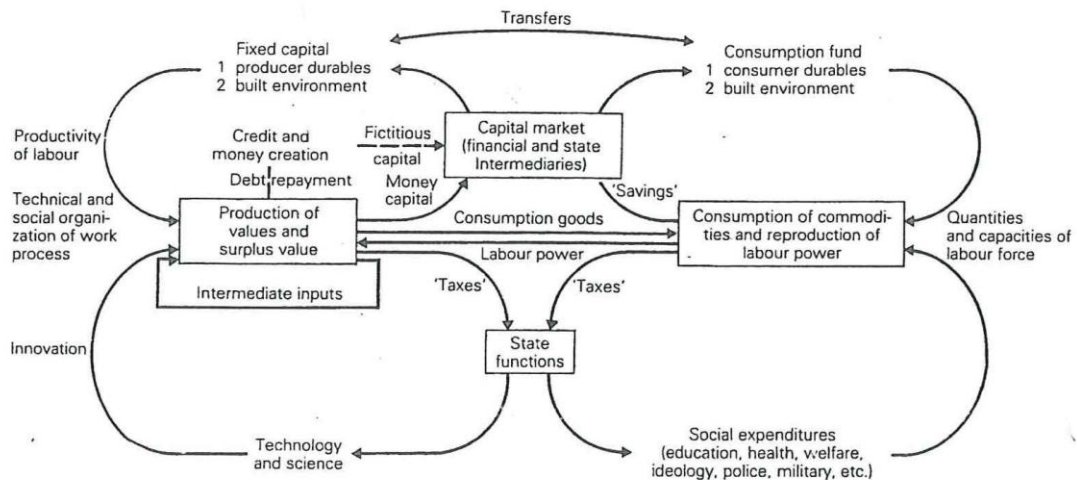


Figure 2.1 The structure of relations between the primary, secondary and tertiary circuits of capital
(Source: Harvey, 1989a)

According to Harvey (1982) a positive rate of accumulation must be sustained if the capitalist class is to reproduce itself. According to this logic of accumulation, the level of production and consumption should be equal in the first circuit of capital. If the level of industrial production and consumption is not equal, there appears overaccumulation in the first circuit. Overaccumulation crisis leads to four problems in the capitalist system. These are (1) falling prices of commodities in the market, (2) excessive productive capacity, (3) rising unemployment and (4) falling rate of profits (Harvey, 1982).

As a Marxist Geographer, the most important contribution of Harvey is that overaccumulation crisis is temporarily resolved through the switch of capital to secondary and tertiary circuits. Harvey uncovered that capital is switched to secondary circuit through the production of built environment which plays a functional role in the temporary resolvment of overaccumulation problem within the capitalist system (Harvey, 1985, 1989a). Built environment in the form of factories, offices, housing, shopping malls, luxury residences ...etc. all provide an urban physical framework where production, circulation, exchange and consumption takes place. Capital accumulation and temporary overcoming of crisis are realized through the provision of such an urban physical framework.

Harvey reached these results and theorized the relation between capital accumulation and urban development through analyzing the political-economy of urbanization of post-1970 period in US. Through making a Marxist analysis of residential differentiation and

suburbanization in US, Harvey pointed out five important political-economic dimensions of urban development (Harvey, 1982; 1985). Firstly; residential differentiation through large scale suburbanization schemes temporarily resolved overaccumulation problem because it made second circuit of capital more attractive and profitable for investments. Secondly, neo-liberal political stability in US is provided through making suburban dwellers depth-encumbered home owners who are unlikely to make a change in the political stability. Thirdly, residential differentiation stimulated demand for industrial products (like car and furniture) and consumer services, thus providing fresh dynamics for accumulation. Fourthly, it enhanced socio-spatial segregation in the contemporary US city. And lastly, such forms of capitalist urbanization play a pivotal role in the reproduction of alienation within the social relations (Harvey, 1985).

Harvey provided a Marxist explanation on the economic structure of urban development. From the perspective of his Marxist Geography approach, it could be argued that as a way of producing built environment, UDPs have provided dynamics for the accumulation of capital and the reproduction of capitalist system. Since UDPs give rise to the flow of capital from first circuit to secondary circuit, they temporarily resolve overaccumulation crisis and provide necessary conditions for the sake of capital accumulation. To sum up, Marxist Geography approach claims that UDPs have been politically-ideologically constructed by capitalist classes to sustain the accumulation of capital. Other scholars of Marxist Geography developed this argument and provided further insights to analyze capitalist economic structure of urban development processes. One of the most important amongst these scholars of Marxist Geography is Neil Smith and his Marxist perspective will be elaborated in the following part.

2. 2. 2 The Rent-Gap and Gentrification as a Global Capitalist Urban Strategy

Neil Smith has developed another Marxist Geography approach to critically investigate the political-economic dynamics of UDPs (Smith, 1996, 2002). The starting point of Smith's argument (1987) is the concept of "rent-gap". In the last three decades, a gap has been emerged in the inner parts of the cities between actually ground rent realized from the present and highest and best use in terms of exchange value. From the perspective of capitalist, this rent-gap is conceived as an "economical unproductivity", since these lands having rent-gap do not provide high returns and profits for the accumulation of capital

(Smith, 1987, 1996). The analytical framework of rent-gap concept is illustrated with the figure mentioned below.

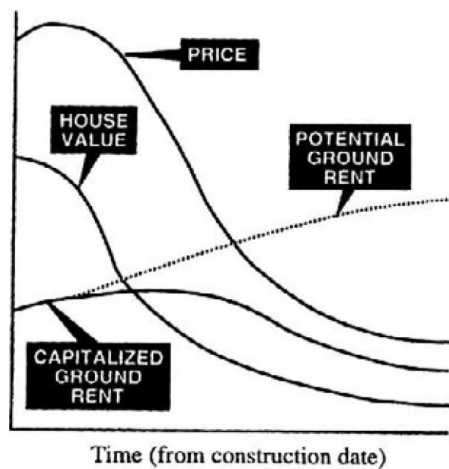


Figure 2.2 The devalorization cycle and the evolution of the rent gap (Source: Smith, 1996)

According to Smith (1996) the formation and implementation of profit-oriented and rent-seeking UDPs depends on the level of rent-gap in the cities. In order to reduce the rent-gap through revalorizing previously devalorized inner-city parts of the city, UDPs have been formed and implemented. For Smith (1996, 2002), since most of the UDPs have been produced as profit-oriented and rent-seeking mechanisms of producing abstract space in the capitalist countries, these projects lead to gentrification process. Urban gentrification could be defined simply as the buying and renovation of deteriorated urban properties in declining urban neighborhoods by high income groups, thus improving property values but often displacing low-income social groups from their neighborhood. The concept of rent-gap is proposed by Smith (1987) as the key concept explaining gentrification processes.

There are different views on gentrification. There are two strands of thought in this respect. One stressing the role of “cultural choices” and “middle class” and the other emphasizes capitalist structural dynamics behind urban gentrification processes. Ley (1980, 1996) and Hamnett (2000, 2003) are arguably the two most influential scholars stressing the role of “choice”, “culture” and “individual” in explaining gentrification. Ley (1980, 1996) uses the notion of a shift from the industrial to the post-industrial society as the basis of his explanation. This change involves the creation of new professional, managerial and administration jobs for the “new middle class”, and a decline in the numbers of the manual

industrial working class. This, ultimately, has created a wealthier society with more income to spend on housing, renovation and gentrification (Ley, 1996; Hamnett, 2000). Added to this, and possibly more importantly, the new middle-class have distinct “cultural practices” from any other social group in history stemming from their high levels of education and high levels of “cultural capital” (Hamnett, 2000). According to this perspective the “new middle class” is the driving force of gentrification.

Neil Smith (1992, 2002) strongly criticizes this approach with his Marxist Geography perspective and argue that Lay and Hamnett is narrowly focusing on socio-cultural characteristics and motives of the gentrifiers but they neglect structural capitalist dynamics like capital accumulation and class conflict in explaining gentrification processes (Smith, 1992). According to Smith (1996, 2002), capital together with the land and property market (and their institutions) are the key to understand the process of gentrification. Therefore, as Smith correctly emphasize, we must focus on the role of the producers of gentrified properties, such as property owners and investors, estate agents, local and central government institutions and banks. To reveal the political-economic dynamics behind gentrification processes, we need to analyze how capital accumulation regime constrain and empowers the activities of gentrifiers.

Smith (1996, 2002) argues that UDPs have become profit-oriented and rent-seeking mechanisms of producing space in the capitalist countries of the world and therefore most of them would cause gentrification of urban space. According to him (Smith, 2002) the development of UDPs and associated forms of gentrification depend on the following three points, which are also conceptualized as the political-economic bases of UDPs. Firstly, to politically construct UDPs, a coordinated and successful functioning of entrepreneurial state power at all scales of policy-making is needed. Under the effects of neo-liberalization, entrepreneurial urban/local governance mechanisms are established in the developed and developing capitalist countries of the world to provide new dynamics for the accumulation of capital at the global scale. Secondly, the penetration of global financial mechanisms (like banks, credit systems... etc.) is significant since such penetrations fuel gentrifying UDPs in the both developed and developing countries in the last two decades. Thirdly, the political-ideological opposition against UDPs is important because the struggle of such urban social movements may form a oppositional block and obstruct the implementation of UDPs. Governmental and business actors aim to overcome the opposition of such movements

through absorbing, deactivating or even coercing such oppositional urban movements (Smith, 2002).

As the prominent scholar of Marxist Geography, Smith (2002) argues that UDPs have also been formed through the operation of a “neoliberal urbanism”, which develops rhetoric to assert that gentrifying UDPs are “necessary”, “inevitable” and “irrefusable” and it may enhance the quality of life of different social classes including both placed and displaced population in the city (Smith, 2002). However, such an approach ignores and obscures class nature of gentrifying UDPs because through the implementation of such projects class inequalities in terms of social-spatial relations have been exacerbated. It could be argued that “gentrification”, “regeneration” and “economic development” based discourses behind the formation of UDPs are used and dominated to acquire active consent of the people living in the cities. In other words, neo-liberal urbanism aims to construct a hegemonic power over the definition of urban political priorities (Swyngedouw et al., 2002).

To summarize, Smith (1987, 1996, 2002) provided key Marxist Geography concepts to investigate the capitalist economic structure of UDPs. He introduced the concept of “rent-gap” as the central theme in explaining the economic basis of UDPs. According to this conception, UDPs in the world have been formed and implemented in urban sites where there is a high level of rent gap. Furthermore, since most of the UDPs have a profit-oriented and rent-seeking character, they lead to gentrification. Gentrification, for Smith (2002), is a global capitalist urban strategy providing new and global dynamics for the accumulation of capital since it has become the widespread phenomenon in most of the capitalist geographies of the world. Lastly, Smith shed some light on how “neo-liberal urbanism” has been operated by the capitalist state and capital as the driving force of gentrifying UDPs. To reveal how this neo-liberal urbanism works, he emphasized to investigate the configuration of entrepreneurial urban governance mechanisms as the restructured forms of state-capital relations. The following part focuses on entrepreneurial urban governance, its mechanisms, priorities and ways of constructing the political-economic bases of UDPs .

2. 2. 3 Inter-Urban Competition and Entrepreneurial Urban Governance

Harvey is the first Marxist Geographer introduced the concept of “entrepreneurial urban governance” (Harvey, 1989b). He formulated this concept to elucidate how capital

accumulation has been sustained by the transformation in urban policies, which could be characterized as a change from “managerialism” to “entrepreneurialism” (Harvey, 1989b). As the dominant political-ideological approach in the 1960s and 1970s, urban managerialism could be defined as having two characteristics; (1) a just redistribution of resources through the state’s provision of collective consumption and (2) the dominance of a social welfare ideology (Harvey, 1989b). Crisis of capitalism in the 1970s was temporarily resolved through transforming the logic of urban policies that have given rise to urban entrepreneurialism. Urban entrepreneurialism could be characterized as the organization and mobilization of urban development policies to promote local economic growth through the attraction of investments, private sector and market forces (Hall and Hubbard 1998). Since the 1980s, entrepreneurial forms of actions like aggressively encouraging inward investment, property-led urban regeneration, gentrification and proliferation of flagship projects and place-marketing campaigns have all shaped the dominant logic of urban development policies in most of the capitalist countries (Harvey, 1989; Griffiths, 1998).

Inter-urban competition is a key concept to understand the political-economic conditions behind the formation of urban entrepreneurialism. Harvey (1989b) argues that the competition between cities has been promoted consciously to eliminate barriers for the movement of goods, people, money and information, all of which have provided a mobility for the accumulation of capital at the global scale. Under such conditions of inter-urban competition, the task of entrepreneurial urban governance is to maximize the attractiveness of local site as a lure for capitalist development (Harvey, 1989b, Cox & Mair, 1988).

There are two major forms of inter-urban competition defined by Harvey (1989b). Firstly, cities compete with each other to attract production-oriented facilities of the new economy, including the key control and command functions of finance sector and government as well as the information gathering and processing facilities (Harvey, 1989b). Attraction of such functions require high quality and expensive transportation and infrastructure investments as well as new office spaces. The second strategy is related with the attraction of consumption-oriented facilities like shopping, tourism and mega events. To attract such facilities, cities have concentrated to upgrade their physical urban conditions through constructing culture and convention centers, shopping centers, five star hotels, sport complexes, stadiums... etc. Such investments give rise to the advertisement

and marketing of cities as a “good” place to live, visit and consume. Through attracting production or consumption oriented facilities of the new capitalist economy, the main task of entrepreneurial urban governance is to provide “a good business climate” for a better functioning of capitalist market forces (Harvey, 1989b).

Who are the capitalist driving forces behind the formation of entrepreneurial urban governance? Which governmental and business actors play what roles in making entrepreneurial urban development policies? Harvey did not provide full-fledged answers to these questions, he rather presented a preface to elucidate how one can identify the powerful actors of entrepreneurial urban governance. Harvey (1989b) underlined two important issues in this respect. Firstly, local public-private partnerships are emphasized as the new site of entrepreneurial urban development policies. Such partnerships are argued as the mechanisms of entrepreneurial urban governance and they also play important roles in the formation, management and implementation of UDPs. Secondly, it is emphasized that the new role of the state is to incorporate business-driven interests into the policy-making process. Therefore, through the involvement of powerful business actors in urban policy-making processes, entrepreneurial urban governance mechanisms have been dominated by capitalist interests, which exclude to a large extent the interests and priorities of powerless social groups including urban poors, migrants, unemployed people and low income working classes.

There are also serious critiques on Harvey’s perspective of entrepreneurial urban governance. The common point in these critique emphasize economical determinism and political reductionism of Harvey’s approach. According to critiques, Harvey has a functionalist approach and his explanation of urban entrepreneurialism just depends on capitalist economic structure (capital accumulation processes), but ignores the role of agency and state in the construction of entrepreneurial urban governance (Jessop, 2004, Geddes, 2005). To analyze entrepreneurial urban governance properly, we need to elaborate state theory, spatial and scalar restructuring of state power in the formation of entrepreneurial urban governance. We should investigate entrepreneurial urban governance not only from the perspective of capital accumulation regime but also from a politically constructed perspective considering extra-economic dynamics (Jessop, 2004) and following context-specific, country-specific pathways of regulatory capacities and policy instruments (DiGaetano & Strom, 2003; Geddes, 2005). The following parts provide such

critical perspectives of urban governance, shedding light on how state-capital relations, state power and local capital have been reorganized and reterritorialized in the political construction of entrepreneurial urban governance.

2. 2. 3. 1 State Re-scaling and State Spatial Projects and Strategies

By considering Harvey's perspective of urban entrepreneurialism, it could be argued that UDPs have become entrepreneurial urban policy mechanisms, which are widely adopted by most of the capitalist countries over the three decades. However, to investigate how the political power of capitalist state (in the integral sense) have been reorganized, Harvey's approach do not provide further insights, but we rather need to present and critically discuss Brenner's (2004) state oriented explanation of entrepreneurial urban governance.

State is the key component of any mode of social regulation and capitalism came to dominate as political-economic system by state power. Jessop (1990; 2002) put forward the term "hollowing out of the state" to describe the upward, downward and outward shifts of state power and regulatory capacity (Jessop; 1990; 2002). However, it is important to emphasize that the "hollowing out of the state" is not a zero sum game in which geographical scales are winning or losing power relative to other scales. Scale and rescaling have to be understood relationally. Brenner (1998, 1999, 2004) makes this point clear. Following Jessop's strategic-relational conception of state power, Brenner (1998) argues that states in different geographical scales of policy-making act as "crucial territorial infrastructures" through which the circulation of capital has been continuously territorialized, deterritorialized and reterritorialized. In order to identify his argument on the spatiality of state, Brenner puts forward his well-known concept "state re-scaling". According to him, state has been rescaled through three parallel and interrelated processes namely; "internationalization of policy regimes", "denationalization of the state" and "destatization of the political system" (Brenner, 1999, 2004).

"Destatization of the political system" refers to the shift from government to governance, which emphasizes the rising involvement of private sector and quasi-state actors in a range of public-private partnerships and networks (Brenner, 1999). In these partnerships the role of the state as direct manager and distributor of the resources is minimized. Destatization of the political system has been realized through the emergence of new forms of governance like entrepreneurial public-private partnerships. Such new forms of urban

governance find “market friendly” solutions to urban problems such as urban decline, poverty, migration, transportation and infrastructure. Policy-making process within the context of destatization is dominated by entrepreneurial public-private partnerships (Brenner, 2004).

Although nation states are still active agents in the configuration of global neo-liberalization, it is a fact that “internationalization of policy regimes” brings up heightened strategic significance of international and global political contexts (like IMF and EU) to the agenda of states (Brenner, 1999; MacLeod & Goodwin, 1999). In this respect, the role of international policy communities and networks (such as WB and EC) have become more effective in the decision-making process of the state.

“Denationalization of the state”, on the other hand, alludes to rising role of local and regional governance mechanisms in the making of policies. Local and regional governance mechanisms have begun to promote functional transnational linkages with other cities and regions. In this context, the national scale of political-economic governance has been increasingly decentralized (Brenner, 1999, 2004).

Within the light of the three key processes (destatization, denationalization and internationalization), state re-scaling can be viewed as “transferring state power upwards to supra-national actors and downwards towards sub-national levels” which are better positioned to promote entrepreneurial type of urban governance through public-private partnerships (Brenner, 1999). However such a transfer of policy-making power does not imply the demise of the nation state, but rather it means a growing role of nation states in managing the relations and tensions between different levels of policy-making (Sellers, 2002). In other words, according to Brenner (1999), nation states are even active regulators of inter-scalar articulation, structuring new place- and scale-specific institutional mechanisms in city-regions, regions, metropolitan cities and all sorts of localities to explore new ways of coordinating, controlling and supervising governance processes at a range of scales.

How these new place- and scale-specific entrepreneurial urban governance mechanisms are structured ? What kind of partnerships, agents and projects have been (re)organized in this context ? Brenner (2004) puts forward two key analytical categories to reveal

entrepreneurial urban governance mechanisms. These are “state spatial projects” and “state spatial strategies”. These “projects” and “strategies” could be understood as activities and regulations designed and implemented by central and local governments to further rationalize the capitalist state’s institutional and territorial structure in order to better monitor the changing capital accumulation processes (Brenner, 2004).

Some of the key state spatial strategies and projects are the decentralization of policy-making capacities and resources to local governments, local government reorganization, formation and implementation of UDPs (like airports, bridges, convention centers, waterfront redevelopments...etc) and the establishment of new place- and scale- specific governance structures like Regional Development Agencies, Urban Development Corporations and Inward Investment Agencies (Brenner, 2004). Such new institutions and mechanisms of policy-making power have given rise to replacement of Keynesian-managerial redistributive policies by market driven and market friendly approaches depending on new public management and neoliberalization (Brenner, 1999; MacLeod & Goodwin, 1999).

To sum up, Brenner critically conceptualized the rise of entrepreneurial urban governance as a product of state re-scaling process. UDPs, for Brenner (2004), do not only reflect entrepreneurial urban development policies, but they have also become the sites of state re-scaling, providing reterritorialization dynamics for the accumulation of capital. It is an undisputable fact that Brenner provided further insights to Harvey’s perspective of urban entrepreneurialism. However, there are Marxist Geographers criticizing Brenner’s main concepts in explaining the rise of entrepreneurial urban governance. According to Kevin Cox (2009), for instance, Brenner’s perspective of urban governance is only capable to theorize urban political changes in European cities, but it does not explain the politics of urban governance in US cities. According to Cox (2009) US cities are different, in terms of the organization of state power and state-capital relations and these differences give rise to different relations and institutions in the politics of urban development.

Cox’s (2009) critiques on state re-scaling concept could be summarized by two of his argument. Firstly, he emphasized that although Brenner conceptualized the rise of entrepreneurial urban governance as an outcome of a top-down organized process (through the internalization of policy regimes), there are bottom-up dynamics behind the

formation of entrepreneurial governance in US cities. Secondly, these entrepreneurial urban governance mechanisms do not only focus on supply-side urban locational policies, but rather as the empirical evidence of US cities show, they are structured around the redistribution of state investments. In US, localities give taxes to central state and they struggle for more returns like airports, highways, sport stadiums, infrastructure investments ...etc. Therefore, the major sources of inter-urban competition in US underlie on the basis of centrally steered redistribution process. Cox's approach and his main concepts to explain the rise of urban entrepreneurialism are critically discussed in the following part.

2. 2. 3. 2 Local Dependence and Local Political Engagement

Cox and Mair (1988) developed the concept of "local dependence" to explain the politics of entrepreneurial urban governance in US cities. According to them; different agents in a city including governmental, business and labor actors depend on the reproduction of certain capitalist social relations within a particular territory (Cox & Mair, 1988). Firms may be locally dependent owing to (1) non-substitutability of local economic resources (availability of a certain raw material or a specialized labor force in a particular territory) and (2) geographically immobile built environment investments (Cox & Mair, 1988). The more locally dependent economic structure means more local political engagement amongst the firms. In other words, local dependence of firms has given rise to the formation of local business coalition to promote local economic growth. Furthermore, locally dependent firms often attempt to harness the state in their pursuit of "a good business climate" which could be characterized by high rate of economic growth and being attractive for inward investment. Local state, on the other hand, is locally dependent since it depends on a local tax base which can be enhanced through the growth of local economy, attracting inward investment and initiating UDPs. Lastly, people are locally dependent and the forms of this local dependence has been shifted from traditional lines (family, ethnicity, religion, a sphere of confidence and shared identify) to modern dependencies (career, workplace stratification and material consumption like homeownership). Local dependence of people is not disappearing but rather the form of people's local dependence is changing. Working class consciousness has been dissipated as traditional forms of local dependence have been replaced by commodification and modern form of dependence (Cox & Mair, 1988; 1991).

Cox & Mair (1988) argue that modern form of local dependence is intentionally promoted by local business coalitions to weaken working class consciousness and to mobilize public support behind capital accumulation regime. This promotion of local dependence is realized through recasting the concept of “local community”, which develops a hegemonic rhetoric to argue that the interests, activities and strategies of local business associations serve to the whole local community. In the locally dependent economies, the interests of local business elites are treated as the interest of the whole local community. Thus, it is possible to state that urban development policies and projects to boost local economic growth are dominated by the priorities of these local business interests, suppressing powerless and uncompetitive groups of the local community and obscuring alternative public policy choices for them (Jonas & Wilson, 1999).

As a result, Cox and Mair (1988, 1991) argue that working classes have been convinced by local capitalist forces (capitalist local state and local business coalitions) to make sacrifices. In other words, needs and interests of working classes have been translated to one common territorial interest like; attracting large scale investments and initiating UDPs. Class-based and redistribution-oriented local politics have been replaced by growth-oriented territorial interests that are followed by supply-side policies and intended to enhance locality’s competitive power.

According to Cox & Mair (1988) in locally dependent economies of US, local political engagement amongst the local state and local business coalition focus on the formation and implementation of profit oriented and rent-seeking UDPs. These UDPs have been brought to the agenda of urban politics through hegemonic discourses like “all local community benefits”, “local economic growth”, “investment” and “employment”. Such discourses of UDPs have become dominant and they suppress both distributive concerns of working classes and class-based politics of local economic development (Cox & Mair, 1988, 1991).

Through introducing the concept of “local dependence” and explaining how local dependence gives rise to local political engagement amongst local state and capital actors, Cox & Mair provide an alternative perspective to investigate the political construction of entrepreneurial urban governance. Their approach emphasizes that local business coalitions and local state together play very important roles in the political-ideological

construction of UDPs through dominating and recasting a local sense of community. “Growth”, “investment” and “employment” based hegemonic discourses, slogans and narratives, behind the formation of UDPs, have contributed to the formation of this sense of “local community”, which aims to suppress class nature of urban development policies.

Local dependence approach of Cox and Mair (1988) is criticized by neo-Marxist scholars of regulation approach (see Macleod & Goodwin, 1999). According to these critiques, local dependence approach does not pay sufficient attention to multi-scalar configuration of political-economic dynamics and it fails to theorize how state re-scaling process has influenced the formation of local business coalitions (Macleod & Goodwin, 1999). Through analyzing the empirical evidence of US cities, Cox and Mair (1988) provided a local scale dependent explanation of urban entrepreneurialism, but their theoretical approach could not be directly applied to different urban political contexts except US.

2. 2. 4 The Critical Review of Marxist Geography Approaches

Marxist Geography approaches concentrate on revealing structural capitalist dynamics behind the formation of UDPs. For Harvey (1989a) and Smith (2002), UDPs are profit-oriented and rent-seeking ways of producing built environment, facilitating the flow of capital from first to secondary circuit and thus providing dynamics for the accumulation of capital. This capital based explanations of Marxist Geographers have provided theoretical frameworks and concepts to investigate the capitalist economic structure of UDPs. However, they do not provide further insights and new perspectives to investigate political-ideological superstructures of UDPs.

To uncover how urban development politics has been organized, Harvey (1989b) introduced the concept of “entrepreneurial urban governance” and by this concept he explained how capital accumulation has been sustained by transforming the ways, mechanism and priorities of urban policies. However, Harvey’s approach of entrepreneurial urban governance is criticized on two grounds. One is that it makes an over emphasis on economic structure of urban development and neglects the role of agency and state in the construction of entrepreneurial urban governance (Jessop, 2004, Geddes, 2005). The other criticism focuses on the context-specific, country-specific pathways of entrepreneurial urban governance. Although Harvey (1989b) theorizes “coercive laws of inter-urban competition”, as a common global capitalist framework imposing the formation of

entrepreneurial urban governance in the localities; the ways, mechanisms, institutions and socio-political relations of this inter-urban competition have differentiated in different capitalist countries (Macleod & Goodwin, 1999). At this point, Brenner's and Cox's approaches provided key insights on the politics of urban governance. Brenner (2004) explained how entrepreneurial urban governance strategies and projects have emerged as a product of state re-scaling process in west European cities. Cox & Mair (1988) explored the context of US cities and explained the formation of urban coalitions and their growth oriented political programs and projects with reference "local dependence" concept.

It could be argued that different Marxist Geography approaches have provided different insights and ways of explaining the political-economic structure of urban development. However any of them do not provide a critical theoretical base to investigate the political-ideological construction of UDPs. How urban entrepreneurialism and UDPs as the mechanism of entrepreneurialism have been politically-ideologically constructed? The following part will elaborate different critical concepts and formulate a neo-Marxist theoretical perspective to investigate the political-ideological superstructure of urban development

2. 3 Formulating a neo-Marxist theoretical perspective to investigate the political-ideological superstructure of urban development

In this part of theoretical framework, a neo-Marxist perspective is formulated through critically discussing the relations between Gramsci's idea of "hegemony" and Lefebvre's conception of "the production of space". These concepts and relations between them are discussed with reference to the views of neo-Marxist thinkers; Jonathan Joseph, Bob Jessop and Stefan Kipfer. The main aim behind this theoretical discussion is to formulate a theoretical perspective to investigate the political construction of UDPs.

2. 3. 1 Gramsci and the concepts of hegemony and force

Hegemony was derived from the Greek word "egemonia", whose root is "egemon", meaning "leader, ruler, often in the sense of a state other than his own" (Williams, 1983). In fact, throughout the history, hegemony has acquired a specifically Marxist character in its use. As Anderson (1976) points out Bolshevik Revolution played an important role in the acquirement of this Marxist character. Lenin's conception of hegemony, in this respect, refers to the leadership exercised by the proletariat over the other exploited classes. For

Lenin (Lenin, 1962; Anderson, 1976) the proletariat needs to become a leader in the struggle of the all working and exploited people for a fully democratic socialist revolution and this political and ideological leadership of proletariat, in the way of socialist revolution, had constituted historically the Marxist character of hegemony concept.

Undoubtedly, Gramsci was the great Marxist thinker of all times in providing new insights and perspectives to the hegemony concept (see Gramsci 1971). Gramsci repositioned hegemony concept towards the core of superstructural dynamics and gave this concept an explanatory role within the Marxist paradigm. He defined hegemony as the political and ideological activities, moral and intellectual leadership with which ruling class becomes capable to take active consent of those over whom it rules (Gramsci, 1971). In his time, Gramsci used and developed such a superstructural concept to explain how bourgeois classes maintained their political power in the western political context despite the contradictions and the crisis of capitalism (Forgacs, 2000). Therefore, hegemony carried out new ways of understanding the dialectic relation between the economic structure and the political, ideological superstructure.

Where hegemony is located ? and how it is organized and exercised ? Gramsci's definition of the state provides us explanatory answers to answer such questions and reflects some light upon the dynamics of the relations between the state and capital. Gramsci adopts an integral conception of state power, arguing that "the state is the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules" (Gramsci, 1971). This integral state approach could be linked to Gramsci's equitation of the state with "political society + civil society", which was also defined in the Prison Notebooks as the "hegemony armored by coercion" (Gramsci, 1971). Coercion (force) and consent (hegemony) are two articulated dimension of state power in the western capitalist countries.

Gramsci did not investigate the institutional, formal dimensions of government, its formal decision-making processes and policies, rather he explored how hegemony has been constructed through political, moral and intellectual leadership of the capitalist classes. His conception of integral state also shows us that hegemony construction processes were "mediated by some institutions, organizations and forces operating within, oriented toward

and located at a distance from the juridico-political state apparatus” (Jessop, 1997). In other words, policy-making processes has become strategic terrains upon which hegemonic arguments and activities of capitalist class fractions and counter-hegemonic activities of working and oppressed classes unfolds and struggles with each other.

Gramsci’s framework of Marxist thought produced further insights with reference to hegemony concept. Hegemony is concerned not just with the moral, intellectual, cultural and ideological leadership of capitalist class fractions but with the historical unity of such powerful class fractions, which form an hegemonic block in the Gramscian sense. Gramsci analyzed such a historical unity of social forces through investigating the political and ideological collaboration of ruling classes, supporting classes, mass movements and intellectuals. A hegemonic block reflects a coalition of such social forces, capable to exercise political, intellectual and moral leadership over the working and oppressed classes through an organic relation between political society and civil society (Gramsci, 1971). An hegemonic block could also become a part of a historical block as long as a historically constituted and socially reproduced correspondence occur between the economic base and politico-ideological superstructures of a social formation (Jessop, 1997). Using Gramscian terms, historical block reflects the necessary reciprocity between the economic structure and political, ideological superstructure and this reciprocity was realized through the specific intellectual, moral and political practices that translate economic-corporate interests into broader ethico-political ones (Gramsci, 1971). In other words, economic growth and capital accumulation oriented interests of hegemonic block have been translated to one common framework of interest as if it satisfies the needs and interests of working and oppressed classes. The interests of hegemonic block is defined under the guise of the common interest of whole society. Capitalist hegemony construction is a political praxis, giving rise to the formation and domination of such a false consciousness (Forgacs, 2000).

2. 3. 2 A dual conception of hegemony: the dialectic between the structural hegemony and the hegemonic project

The concept of “Hegemonic Project” was mentioned by Joseph (2002) within his dual conception of hegemony. Joseph (2002) argues that two conceptions of hegemony started to emerge, one structural and the other at the more surface level and agential. On the one hand, hegemony concerns the organization of political agents around certain projects and

winning consent to a set of ideas, on the other hand, hegemony concept is also defined in a structural sense, which gives rise to the reproduction or transformation of social structures. Therefore, it is possible to derive a dual conception of hegemony from Joseph's framework, emphasizing structural hegemony, hegemonic project and a dialectic articulation between them.

Why do we need a dual conception of hegemony? Joseph answers this question through identifying the interactions between the structures and agents (Joseph, 2002). Hegemony concept could not be understood with a reductionist way through the struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeois. Material causes of this struggle should be sought since the agents in the capitalist system are involved in the relations with each other and with the social structures and practices. A hegemonic project, in this context, is interpreted as "an articulated attempt to preserve or transform such structures and agents" (Joseph, 2002). Hegemonic projects are consciousness and concrete practices of powerful class fractions and they depend on the deeper hegemonic conditions, which Joseph calls as structural hegemony. Furthermore, hegemonic projects could not be understood as pre-given and indifferent activities and practices. Rather, they have irreducible set of mechanisms, properties and powers. Although hegemonic projects emerge out of the underlying structural hegemonic conditions, these projects could develop their own individual way of activities and practices. To quote from Joseph; "studying hegemony, in its manifold sense, requires an examination of different hegemonic projects, the particular social groups and classes involved, the interest that they represent, the various values and world-views that they hold and the political blocks and alliances that are constructed" (Joseph, 2002).

A table mentioned below to make the distinction and the dialectic relation between the structural hegemony and hegemonic project more understandable. Structural hegemony and hegemonic projects are two aspects of a continual and dialectic process. Structural hegemony is related with the deep, underlying conditions and the unity of the social formation. Hegemonic projects, on the other hand, realized through the hegemonic activities and practices of hegemonic class fractions and they depend on the conditions that are produced with the structural hegemony. In brief, hegemonic projects are consciousness political projects and interventions within the context of underlying, more unconsciousness process of social cohesion and structural reproduction (Joseph, 2002).

Structural Hegemony		Hegemonic Projects
Deep	↔	Actual
Functional		Manifest/realized
Structural		Agential
Secures unity of social formation		Hegemonic activities and practices
Reproduction of social structures and structural ensembles	↔	Emergent from underlying structures (but with their own powers and dynamics)
Underlying conditions		Consciousness political expression
Reproduction		Struggle
Social cement		Coercion and consent
Largely unconsciousness structural reproduction	↔	Consciousness transformation or conservation

Figure 2.3 The duality of hegemony (Source: Joseph, 2002)

Joseph also warns us about the use of his dual conception of hegemony. For him, a humanist political paradigm would approach hegemony concept from an agent-oriented perspective (through using concepts like hegemonic block and hegemonic projects) without addressing any relation between the economic structure and political, ideological superstructure (historical block). Such approaches have serious problems in terms of a Marxian understanding of the hegemony concept (Joseph, 2002). In this respect, Joseph criticizes post-structuralist and discourse-based theories of hegemony. Such approaches (like radical democratic politics, Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) reduces hegemony to a discursive practice, articulating discrete elements within the political, ideological and moral level of hegemony construction. Within such post-structuralist, post-Marxist accounts, hegemony becomes a textual matter cut off from extra-discursive world and the material relation to the reproduction of social structures is lost (Joseph, 2002). Such accounts fail to recognize and explore the underlying social structures and the generative mechanisms of hegemony and they also ignore any direct relation between the economic structure and political, ideological superstructure. As a result, post-structuralist and discourse-based theories of hegemony could not answer the questions where hegemony comes from? how it organizes political relations and becomes a political project? how it is related with economic structure? and whether or not it become an integral part in the construction of historical block.

Capital accumulation processes must be maintained and facilitated under the capitalist mode of production. Gramsci taught us that owing to the open character of the society, the conditions for capital accumulation are not given but have to be socially secured through

political and ideological mechanisms as well as economic ones. Joseph's conception of "hegemonic projects" emerge from such a context and the hegemonic projects have been organized and operationalized through the state in the integral sense. Because the state has an organizing capacity, it provides the institutional frameworks for the implementation of hegemonic projects. Thus, Gramsci's conception of the integral state could also be evaluated as a strategic terrain upon which different social groups compete to implement their hegemonic and counter-hegemonic projects.

Joseph provided us a critical realist reinterpretation of Gramsci's hegemony concept. His contribution is important for us because he mentioned, discussed and critically elaborated the conception of "hegemonic project". He outlined and discussed how hegemonic projects could be examined as emerging mechanisms of consciousness political expression, hegemonic activities and practices of powerful class fractions and he also highlighted how they are formed as attempts to articulate economic structure and political, ideological superstructure. Through taking Joseph's contribution into account, the study of hegemonic projects should investigate the particular social groups and classes involved in these projects, the interest that these projects represent, the various values and world-views that these projects hold and the political blocks and alliances that are constructed within the formation of these projects.

2. 3. 3 Jessop and a hegemony-oriented reading of Regulation School: A Neo-Gramscian Regulation Approach

The concept of "Hegemonic Project" was also mentioned and discussed by Jessop's Neo-Gramscian regulation approach. Jessop (1997) argues that Gramsci and Regulation School examines different but related processes with a same manner at different times. Gramsci examined the social embeddedness and social regularization of state power with a particular focus to first three decades of the 20th century. Regulation School, on the other hand, investigated the social embeddedness and social regulation and regularization of capital accumulation processes particularly with reference to post-second world war rise of capitalism. They share a focus on the formation of political power (through coercion and consent) that enable a historically specific hegemonic block to secure the conditions for capital accumulation processes.

Jessop was the first scholar, explored and highlighted the similarities and the common perspectives of Gramscian state theory and Regulation Approach. For him (Jessop, 1997), a neo-Gramscian reading of Regulation Approach and Urban Regime Theory could provide us a critical political-economic approach in investigating urban regimes as strategically selective combinations of political society and civil society (hegemony armored by coercion). Jessop (1997) argues that formation of such urban regimes may be linked to the formation of a local hegemonic block and furthermore, urban regimes are also related to the formation of a historical block as long as such regimes are a part of the broader capital accumulation strategy and its mode of regulation.

Neo-Gramscian Regulation Approach pointed out that a historical block could be understood as the “complex contradictory and discordant unity of an accumulation regime and its mode of economic regulation” (Jessop, 1997). Formation of a historical block entails the formation and domination of a hegemonic block, which was introduced by Gramsci as the class alliances or a coalition of social forces. Hegemonic projects, in this respect, are very important mechanisms of political power, reflecting a unity of social forces (like ruling classes, supporting classes, mass movements and intellectuals) and developed to secure the economic base of dominant mode of growth. In other words, hegemonic projects are integral practices and activities of powerful class fractions, sustaining the continuity of capital accumulation processes and the dominance of related mode of regulation (Jessop, 1997).

Through explaining the analogies between the Gramscian account of the state and Regulation Approach, Jessop (1997) outlined four major inter-related issues for a neo-Gramscian exploration of urban political-economy. He reinterpreted hegemony-related concepts like “hegemonic project”, “accumulation strategy” and “integral state” within this framework. Firstly, for a neo-Gramscian exploration of urban political-economy one should study “how the local economy comes to be constituted as an object of economic and extra-economic regulation” (Jessop, 1997). This concerns a critical investigation of the mechanisms of entrepreneurial urban governance owing to the role of such mechanisms in the regulation of local and supra-local economies. Second point of consideration underlines the concept of accumulation strategy. An accumulation strategy, according to neo-Gramscian approach, reflects a specific economic growth model for a given economic space. Furthermore, accumulation strategies could be defined for different spatial scales

including urban, local and regional economies as well as national and supra-national regimes. It should be emphasized that although accumulation strategy has generally applied to the national level, it is also relevant to the local level of political-economy. The third lesson from a neo-Gramscian perspective emphasizes and highlights the importance and the key roles of hegemonic projects. For a neo-Gramscian exploration of urban political-economy, we need to examine the relationship between the local capital accumulation strategy and prevailing hegemonic projects. Because capital accumulation processes entails political, ideological, moral and intellectual leadership, hegemonic projects play a significant role in the formation of this leadership under the dominance of powerful class fractions. Hegemonic projects, in this regard, reflects a relative unity of diverse social forces and they also mobilize support behind a particular program of action that support long term interests of hegemonic class fractions while excluding other interests that are inconsistent with the hegemonic project. In other words, hegemonic projects privileges particular economic-corporate interests compatible with the capital accumulation strategy, while excluding other interests incompatible and inconsistent with capital accumulation strategy.

Fourth issue puts emphasis on the strategic selectivity of hegemonic projects. Derived from his strategic relational state theory, Jessop (2008) pointed out that particular forms of institutional ensembles in policy-making processes involves strategic selectivity. This means that hegemonic projects and policy-making mechanisms privilege some strategies and interests over others. Although the idea of strategic selectivity was initially developed in the analysis of state power, it could also be applied to urban policy-making processes and to the formation of hegemonic projects since the formation of such hegemonic projects reflects a specific and strategically selective combination of political society and civil society. Through such a neo-Gramscian approach, the formation of such hegemonic projects could be examined with reference to the formation of a hegemonic block (organized around the project) and its associated historical block.

Jessop's neo-Gramscian approach is important for us since he provides us a critical synthesis of Gramscian state theory and Regulation Approach. This neo-Gramscian Regulation Approach critically interpreted the concept of hegemonic project and discussed how hegemonic projects are related to capital accumulation strategy, hegemonic block and its associated historical block. Furthermore, Jessop also identified how the formation of

hegemonic project become a strategically selective site of policy-making mechanism, sustaining the dominance of capital accumulation strategy and privileging the interests of hegemonic class fractions over others.

2. 3. 4 Kipfer and reinterpretation of Lefebvre's concept of the production of space as an urbanized conception of hegemony

Lefebvre's main contribution, his writings on the cities and everyday life and particularly his conception of production of space could be read and elaborated as an attempt to "urbanize" Gramsci's concept of hegemony. In other words, Lefebvre's view of hegemony as a "complex combination of integration-homogenization and separation-fragmentation is thus a sociological extension and politico-theoretical redirection of Gramsci" (Kipfer, 2008).

Kipfer, in this respect, theoretically links the problematic of hegemony to the production of space and by doing so he provides us a critical base to use and elaborate hegemony concept at the urban political context (see; Kipfer, 2002; 2004; 2008). As Kipfer (2002) identifies, Gramsci and Lefebvre provided different but complementary approaches to hegemony. Gramsci's conception of hegemony focused on the exercise of bourgeois influence over culture and knowledge, institutions and ideas mediated through the constellations of state and civil society (Kipfer, 2008). In contrast to Gramsci, Lefebvre did not focus on the integral relations of the state and civil society, rather he approached the concept of hegemony as a reformulation of the problematic of alienation and reification within the practices of everyday life (Kipfer, 2004). Lefebvre (1991; 1976) investigated how hegemony is constructed through the relations of commodification, alienation and the contradictions of everyday life. Thus, everyday life and the production of space in this everyday life processes provide a strategic terrain upon which hegemonic power of capitalist classes succeeds to take active consent of the large segments of the society.

How hegemony is constructed within the production of space ? How urban space becomes a strategic terrain upon which hegemonic projects of capitalism and counter-hegemonic projects of anti-capitalist social forces unfold ? In order to respond such questions, we need to discuss and elaborate Lefebvre's concept of the production of space. Lefebvre (1991) pointed out that the production of space reveals how capital, state and society conceive, live and perceive urban space in a capitalist society. A critical investigation of the production of space has a three dimensional process namely; "representations of space",

“spaces of representation” and the “spatial practice” (Lefebvre, 1991; 1979). Representations of space illustrates the organization and planning of urban space through the state-bound interventions of urban policy, planning and dominant knowledge. For instance, urban planning efforts like large scale urban (re)development projects are conceptualized as the representations of space. Representations of space could also be conceptualized as the “conceived space”, dominating a representational, institutional and ideological meaning of space over the everyday life practices and lived spaces of the society (Lefebvre, 1979). On the other hand, spaces of representation is the “lived space” where social relations are experienced and perceived depending on particular symbols and signs. Spaces of representation could also be conceptualized as lived space, having a meaning of non-verbal dimensions of symbolism, affective and sensual experience (Lefebvre, 1991). The dialectical relation between spaces of representation and representations of space, Lefebvre (1991) argues, gives rise to “spatial practice”, which carries the contradictions of everyday life. Spatial practice reflects the material practices of reproduction and it also reflects the perceived dimension of space. Perceived space, as the spatial practices of everyday life, has a contradictory character giving rise to the relations of commodification, alienation, fragmentation and homogenization that make capitalism to survive under the capitalist mode of production (Lefebvre, 1991; 1976).

Through theoretically analyzing Lefebvre’s concept of the production of space, Kipfer (2008) argued that the production of space contributes to hegemony in so far as it “fuses the contradictory realm of lived space with processes and strategies of producing conceived and perceived space”. Furthermore, the conflictual and contradictory character of the production of space could also be understood through the dialectic between the “abstract space” and “social space”. Abstract space, for Lefebvre, is produced through the knowledge and power, which is related to political leaders, urban planners and economic-corporate interests of hegemonic class fractions. Abstract space reflects and embodies exchange value-oriented appropriation of space by capitalists and state actors who are interested in the abstract qualities of space, including size, width, location and profit. In fact, abstract space gives rise to the alienation, commodification, fragmentation and homogenization effects over the everyday life practices (Merrifield, 2006; Gottdiener, 1985). On the contrary, social space reflects and embodies the lived dimensions and use value-oriented utilization of space that are produced through the everyday life practices, affective-symbolic aspects of residents. Within this framework, abstract and social spaces are in a

continuous conflict and contradiction and this contradiction gives rise to hegemonic power relations in the contemporary capitalist city through the appropriation, domination, fragmentation and commodification of space.

The central site of the conflict and contradiction between abstract space and social space is everyday life. Lefebvre described everyday life as a contradictory dialectic and this dialectic is produced and reproduced on the one hand through the “reproduction of relations of production” that make capitalism to survive and on the other hand by the “routinized and repetitive daily practices of society including the work, leisure, politics and so on” (Kipfer, 2002). Therefore, Lefebvre adopted and developed an open and integral Marxist thought and he intended to move beyond the borders of structuralist political-economic arguments of Marxism and provided new paths to Marxist thought through critically elaborating everyday life practices in the post-second world war capitalism (Charnock, 2010). He pointed out with reference to French post-second world war capitalism that, “capital centralization, aggressive state intervention, the rise of new sectors (like leisure, media, consumption-oriented activities, advertising...etc.) bureaucratically administrated consumption and rapid urbanization have all given rise to the deepening of capitalism in everyday life” (Lefebvre, 1976). His conception of abstract space was becoming dominant in this respect and he revealed how the production of abstract space serves to hegemony and how hegemony make use of it with the help of knowledge and technical expertise. In other words; the serialized production of abstract space internalized in the everyday life through the moral principles, persuasion and consent that provides a hegemonic power to the producers of abstract space.

As Kipfer (2002; 2004; 2008) identifies, Lefebvre provides us to make a link between the hegemony and the production of space. Through following the arguments of Kipfer, it is theoretically argued in the thesis that hegemony is an incomplete political project of multi-dimensional (perceived, conceived, lived) processes and strategies of producing space. Hegemonic projects of producing space are formed and implemented through the “integration of the affective symbolic sides of everyday life (lived space) into the practical-material (perceived) and institutional-ideological (conceived) dimensions of abstract space” (Kipfer, 2008). This is the way hegemony is constructed through the production of urban space.

2. 3. 5 Urban Development Projects as the hegemonic projects of the production of space: Towards a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian approach

In the theoretical chapter, we discussed, elaborated, critically reinterpreted and linked the arguments of Joseph, Jessop and Kipfer, whose accounts were derived from Gramsci and Lefebvre. Particularly we focus on the concepts of “hegemony”, “hegemonic project” and the “production of space” and most importantly, we intended to develop a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian approach to investigate the political construction of UDPs.

Gramsci (1971) defined hegemony as the “political and ideological activities, moral and intellectual leadership with which ruling class becomes capable to take active consent of those over whom it rules”. Hegemony plays the central role in constructing a political-ideological power over the definition of political priorities in policy-making processes. However, hegemony is not the only basis through which the political-ideological power of capitalist ruling classes are produced and maintained. Force is also another key and important dimension of political power, therefore it is widely argued by Gramscian Marxist perspectives that hegemony (consent) and force (coercion) force are two underlying, interrelated and articulated dimensions of political power (Forgacs, 2000). In other words, political power of capitalist ruling classes have been constructed by a differential articulation of hegemony and force.

Hegemony is constructed by the formation, operation and domination of “hegemonic projects”. According to Joseph (2002) to reveal how hegemony is constructed it is needed to investigate “different hegemonic projects, the particular social groups and classes involved to these projects, the interest that they represent, the various values and world-views that they hold and the political blocks and alliances that are constructed in these projects”.

Gramscian perspective of politics shows that the conditions for capital accumulation are not given but have to be socially secured through political and ideological mechanisms as well as economic ones (Gramsci, 1971; Forgacs, 2000). Hegemonic projects of capitalist ruling classes emerge from such a political-ideological superstructural context of capitalist system. Moreover, hegemonic projects are formed, organized and operationalized through utilizing organizing capacity of the state, which provides institutional frameworks for the implementation of these projects. Therefore, as Jessop (1997) argues, the state and its

policy-making mechanisms could be viewed as strategic terrains upon which different social groups compete to implement their hegemonic and counter-hegemonic projects. This is how class struggle has occurred within the contexts of political-ideological superstructures of capitalist system.

According to Jessop (1997) hegemonic projects are very important mechanisms of political power, reflecting a unity of social forces (governmental and business actors, chambers and non-governmental organizations, universities and media institutions) and developed to secure the economic base of capital accumulation processes and relations. Jessop's neo-Gramscian approach shows that in order to investigate the relation between capital accumulation and hegemonic projects in a particular urban context, we need to investigate how hegemonic projects reflect a unity of diverse social forces and how they mobilize public support.

In Turkish case; through departing from Jessop's neo-Gramscian perspective, Şengül (2009) makes a hegemony oriented interpretation of urban politics. He discussed and critically reinterpreted how class alliances are formed and political power relations are reproduced through the formation and operation of hegemonic projects in the cities (Şengül, 2009). Furthermore, Şengül (2009) also emphasized that hegemonic projects have become "successful" as long as powerful classes mobilize public support and consent for these projects. However, in this thesis, such neo-Gramscian perspectives of urban politics are utilized to investigate discourses, practices and mechanisms of consent and coercion in the political construction of UDPs. The aim of this thesis is to reveal under which political power relations and through which actually existing discourses, practices and mechanism UDPs have become hegemonic projects.

Besides of the Gramscian perspectives mentioned above, Lefebvre (1991) approached the conception of hegemony from a different but related perspective. As Kipfer (2002) unveiled, Lefebvre viewed hegemony "as a reformulation of the problematic of alienation and reification within the practices of everyday life". According to Lefebvre (1991) hegemony of capitalist system has been constructed through the relations of commodification, alienation and the contradictions of everyday life. Thus, Lefebvrian view of urban politics uncovers that everyday life practices and projects and activities to produce space within these everyday life practices could be investigated as a strategic terrain upon

which hegemonic power of capitalist classes aim to acquire the active consent of the large segments of the society (Kipfer, 2002; 2008).

As Lefebvre (1976) revealed, state interventions and capital, the rise of new sectors including tourism and leisure, bureaucratically administrated consumption and rapid urbanization have all given rise to the deepening of capitalism in everyday life. Through observing and critically interpreting such alienating and commodifying socio-spatial relations, Lefebvre revealed that the serialized production of abstract space internalized in the everyday life through the moral principles and consent that provides a hegemonic-ideological power over the definition of political priorities. Thus, Lefebvre's conception of the production of space could be considered as an urbanized conception of hegemony, which gives rise to the commodification, alienation, homogenization and fragmentation of everyday life practices (Kipfer, 2008). From the perspective of Lefebvrian urban politics, it could be argued that Urban Development Projects play the key roles in urbanizing Gramsci's concept of hegemony, since these projects give rise to the alienating and commodifying socio-spatial relations in the contemporary capitalist city.

Through elaborating the concepts of hegemony, hegemonic project and the production of space, it is aimed to formulate a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian approach to investigate the political construction of UDPs. Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective show that UDPs could be investigated as a strategically selective mechanisms of urban policy-making, reflecting how the interests of powerful capitalist ruling classes have been prioritized over the interests of powerless working classes. The most important contribution of this approach to the field of urban politics is that UDPs could also be investigated as politically constructed **"hegemonic projects of the production of space"**, serving not only to the construction of a moral, intellectual and ideological leadership in urban planning efforts but also to the strategy of capital accumulation in particular historical-geographical contexts of capitalism. Moreover, UDPs have also become a mechanism of entrepreneurial urban governance that reflects attempts to build a coalition of social forces at the urban socio-political context. UDPs are politically constructed attempts to acquire public support and consent behind a particular program of action that support long-term interests of capitalist classes.

As a result of this theoretical discussion, a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian approach is formulated and within this theoretical perspective the thesis puts forward two initial arguments that give direction to the design of empirical research. These initial arguments are mentioned below.

Initial Argument 1: UDPs (Urban Development Projects) are attempts to form “hegemonic projects of the production of space”, therefore UDPs have become the mechanisms of constructing hegemony over the definition of urban political priorities.

Initial Argument 2: UDPs are politically constructed through the hegemonic arguments, discourses and narratives of key decision-makers and these discursive practices have been used to mobilize public support and consent of different social forces.

These two initial arguments are formulated as a product of the critical reinterpretation of different theories of urban development politics including neo-pluralist, neo-Weberian and Marxist Geography approaches, Lefebvrian and neo-Gramscian perspectives. Key concepts of different theories, their frameworks of explaining the politics of urban development is presented in the table mentioned below. This table summarizes the theoretical framework of PhD thesis.

Table 2.1 Theoretical Framework of Thesis

Theories to Investigate the Political-Economy of Urban Development						
Neo-Pluralist and Neo-Weberian Approaches to Investigate the Agents of Urban Development		Marxist Geography Approaches to Investigate the Economic Structure of Urban Development			Neo-Marxist Perspectives to Investigate Entrepreneurial Urban Governance	
Urban Regime and Capacity to Govern (Stone, Stoker, Mossberger)	Urban Growth Machines and Land Based Business Elites (Logan & Molotch)	Capital Accumulation Processes and the Production of Built Environment (Harvey)	The Rent-Gap and Gentrification as a Global Capitalist Urban Strategy (Smith)	Inter-Urban Competition and Entrepreneurial Urban Governance (Harvey)	State Re-scaling and State Spatial Strategies and Projects (Brenner)	Local Dependence and Local Political Engagement (Cox & Mair)
Formulating a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian Perspective to Investigate the Political-Ideological Superstructure of Urban Development Projects						
Gramsci and the concepts of Hegemony and Force (Gramsci)	Dual Conception of Hegemony: The Dialectic Between Structural Hegemony and Hegemonic Project (Joseph)		Neo-Gramscian Regulation Approach: Hegemonic Projects and Accumulation Strategies (Jessop)		The Production of Space as an Urbanized Conception of Hegemony (Lefebvre, Kipfer)	
Two initial arguments of Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian Theoretical Perspective (1) UDPs (Urban Development Projects) are attempts to form “hegemonic projects of the production of space”, therefore UDPs have become the mechanisms of constructing hegemony over the definition of urban political priorities. (2) UDPs are politically constructed through the hegemonic arguments, discourses and narratives of key decision-makers and these discursive practices have been used to mobilize public support and consent of different social forces.						

CHAPTER 3

THE POLITICS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE WORLD: DIVERSE ACTORS AND DIVERSE URBAN POLITICAL SETTINGS

The politics of Urban Development Projects (UDPs) in the world is investigated through analyzing the construction of urban political power in the formation of the projects. To this end, four main dimensions of UDPs are critically and comparatively analyzed, which are (1) the size, location and main development logics of the projects, (2) hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent for the projects, (3) the reorganization of urban planning powers through laws and empowerment of state institutions as coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state and lastly (4) the identification of powerful socio-political actors in the political construction of the projects.

These four main dimensions of UDPs are discussed through focusing on six UDPs from different countries of the world, including Baltimore Inner Harbor Revitalization Project from US, London Docklands Regeneration Project and Olympic Games from UK, Potsdamer Platz Redevelopment Project from Germany, Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project from Spain and lastly, Lujiazui Central Finance District Project from Shanghai, China. These six UDPs are analyzed through considering how state power, state-capital-society relations and the ways urban policies are made have influenced the political construction of UDPs. The common structural political-economic dynamics and differences in the formation of political power, the use of hegemonic and coercive mechanism, different actors and different urban political settings are analyzed and interpreted with reference to different socio-political contexts of different countries.

3.1 The Baltimore Inner Harbor Revitalization Project in US

Baltimore Inner Harbor was a commercial and passenger port until the 1970s. In the early 1970s, owing to the economic crisis, industrial decline and the shifts in local economy, freight functions and passenger use of the inner harbor had been replaced by grass-covered parkland that was used for large events and city fairs (Levine, 1987). According to Harvey (2000), upper middle class gentrifiers played an important role in this transformation and it was the first sign of urban renewal in Baltimore.

Baltimore Inner Harbor revitalization was first proposed in the year 1964 by the request of the mayor. However, it was in 1971 after the election of a new mayor, William Donald Schaefer (having strong relations with city's business communities) that the revitalization project attracted business-driven interests in the city (Harvey, 1989; 2000).

In the context of the closing of the steel plants and port and disappearing federal subsidies, local government intended to provide new dynamics to local economy through the inner harbor revitalization project. A steering committee called Greater Baltimore Committee was constituted by the local government officers and the chief executive officers of the city's 100 largest businesses (Hula, 1990). Real estate developer James Rouse (a leading member of the Committee) was also an important figure in the project owing to his experience in market-dependent and property-led urban regeneration projects in other US cities (Hula, 1990; Levine, 1987).

The key objectives of Greater Baltimore Committee was (1) the revitalization of the inner harbor through the introduction of tourism as an important redevelopment strategy and (2) the creation of a good business climate to attract inward investment and entrepreneurial efforts of business communities (Merrifield 1993; Levine, 1987). As a public-private partnership (dominated by city's business community leaders) this committee directed all the urban planning efforts for the inner harbor revitalization. Planning of inner harbor revitalization was including the construction of parks, a marina, a convention center and an aquarium. Construction of them was provided by the contribution of significant public subsidies (Harvey, 2000). In addition to this, although it was a public-private agency and initiated by direct intervention of local government, Greater Baltimore Committee had operated as a private organization because it denied any form of public access to any of their records and meetings (Harvey, 2000).



Figure 3.4 A view from revitalized Baltimore Inner Harbor

(Source:www.baltimore.to/images/BaltimorePanb.jpg)

Since the 1980s, Inner Harbor revitalization project in Baltimore has been presented by urban policy-makers as a model of how declining, industrial U.S. cities could be regenerated on the basis of advanced services, tourist attractions and downtown redevelopment (Levine, 1987). Also most of the waterfront regeneration efforts in Europe has been inspired from Baltimore's Inner Harbor revitalization project (Jauhianien, 1995) . However, behind the image of prosperity, there were also serious problems caused by the revitalization project.

According to Harvey (1989; 2000), urban poverty and deterioration had been exacerbated and the created jobs were mostly low-paying and temporary. Most of the new constructions in the site did not return a profit and the attractiveness of stores and restaurants in Harborplace hid the low quality of shopping and lack of entertainment in poorer neighborhoods of the city (Harvey, 2000). Furthermore, Hula (1990) argued that Baltimore Inner Harbor revitalization project contributed to an uneven pattern of local economic growth and exacerbated urban dualism. A dual urban social structure has been emerged in Baltimore. There was, on the one hand, a city of developers, suburban professionals and upper-middle class gentrifiers with good jobs and conspicuous consumption; and on the other hand a city of poor blacks and displaced manufacturing workers, who continue to suffer from low paid, temporary and insecure jobs, unemployment and shrinking public services (Hula, 1990; Levine, 1987).

Levine (1987) identified two main reasons for these results of the project. First reason signifies the domination of business-driven interests in the formation and operation of public-private partnership. The design and operation of Greater Baltimore Committee as a public-private partnership was strategically selective in the sense that it excluded large segments of society (including low-paid and temporary workers, impoverished blacks and all sorts of socially excluded classes) while incorporating profit-seeking efforts of powerful capitalist classes. Secondly, there was an absence of explicit mechanisms linking downtown redevelopment to the revitalization of low- and moderate-income neighborhoods. Redevelopment in the downtown did not provide any spill-over effects for social, economical and physical regeneration of low-income neighborhoods in Baltimore (Levine, 1987; Harvey, 2000).

It is possible to draw three conclusions from Baltimore Inner Harbor Revitalization Project. Firstly, urban policy-making processes in the formation of the project has been strongly dominated by powerful local business-driven interests. The reason behind such a business dominance in urban politics could be explained with reference to “local dependence” concept. As the case of Baltimore Inner Harbor Revitalization indicates, local business communities in US are dependent on the conditions of local capital accumulation and therefore, they mostly intend to harness the power of local government in their pursuit of a good business climate, which could be characterized by high rate of economic growth and being attractive for inward investment (Cox and Mair, 1988). Local government, on the other hand, is also locally dependent owing to its dependence on a local tax base. This local tax base could be enhanced through the growth of local economy, attracting inward investment and initiating UDPs. In this respect, owing to the condition of local dependence, local government and local business communities tend to form a local coalition of economic growth and UDPs have mostly led by such a local coalition. In such a political context, local governments hold an important decision-making power in urban matters and the structure and policy-making process of local governments are highly permeable to local business communities. Furthermore, the dominance of private sector interests in urban policy formation is perceived as legitimate by a large segment of society. Therefore, compared to Europe, it seems that there is not a powerful base of opposition against the formation of such urban redevelopment projects. Secondly, local government in US does not only play an active role in designing institutional sites (like public-private partnerships, project agencies...etc) for the dominance of private sector interests but it also takes important risks for the projects through carrying out key infrastructure investments. For instance in Baltimore Inner Harbor Revitalization Project, large amount of public subsidy was used in the construction of marina, convention center and aquarium which were the key symbols and flagship projects in the revitalization process. Thirdly, Baltimore Inner Harbor Revitalization Project could be theorized as a strategically selective urban policy mechanism in the sense that it excluded large segments of the society while including a capitalist class of powerful business-driven interests in urban policy-making process. Because this projects was formed and developed in favor of capital accumulation dynamics rather than social reproduction of working classes, it exacerbated socio-spatial inequalities (including urban poverty, spatial and social exclusion and deterioration of low-income neighborhoods) in Baltimore.

3.2 London Docklands Regeneration Project in UK

London Dockland is a waterfront area in the east-end of London. In the 1950s it was utilized as a transportation node of industrial and commercial activities. In the late 1960s, several docks were closed down owing to the first signs of economic decline and crisis. Towards the end of the 1970s, central government took interest in the regeneration of the area. Owing to the closure of several docks, in the first years of 1980s, it was a disused derelict land, covering 2200 hectares. Central government played a key role in the regeneration of this huge waterfront area and in 1981 London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) was established to initiate urban regeneration project in Docklands (Hinsley & Malone, 1996).

LDDC was empowered through three key powers. The first is the power of land assembly including compulsory purchase of urban lands. This base of power enabled LDDC to acquire land from other public institutions without any public inquiry. By this way, LDDC acquired lands from Greater London Council, Boroughs and Port of London Authority. Secondly, LDDC was given development control powers within a huge area of 2200 ha. from three Boroughs. Thirdly, LDDC had the power to use government grants for the development of land and regeneration of the area (Beswick, 2001). These three key powers, given to LDDC, shows how central government empowered a new institution in an UDP. In other words, LDDC emerged as a new mechanism of restructured state power, consolidating urban planning powers with an exceptional manner.

In UK, local governments receive funds from central government and their budget highly depend on central government's funds and grants. In addition to this, local governments could not enhance their levels of self-generated revenue. In other words, local governments are financially dependent on central government and owing to their inability in terms of finance and economic power, central government initiated the formation of LDDC. The major role of LDDC in the regeneration of docklands was not only the provision of substantial level of funding but also the consolidation of urban planning powers with a flexible planning approach to bypass bureaucratic impediments. Therefore, for a large scale urban intervention in Docklands, LDDC is structured by central government as a focus of exceptional power of urban policy-making and planning.

Involvement of private sector interests in the regeneration process was provided by the appointment of business community leaders and large property owners as board members

of Corporation (Imrie and Thomas 1995). LDDC adopted a flexible and developer-friendly planning approach and this approach was presented as the common base of interests for different classes in London (Hinsley & Malone, 1996).

Publicly owned lands were redeveloped for the purpose of private development and public funding was used for the provision of the necessary infrastructure. In other words, public resources were transferred to private sector by the central government itself and they were utilized as an important intervention mechanism of urban space regeneration in Docklands. Furthermore, during the 1980s, large amounts of capital were invested in the area (particularly in Canary Wharf) to locate residential and commercial activities, large office buildings, huge towers and all other sorts of consumption-based activities in this new regenerated face of London Docklands.



Figure 3.5 A View from Canary Wharf, one of the most attractive regenerated site of London Docklands (Source: <http://www.aquiva.co.uk/images/Library/Photo3837>)

However, in the late 1980s, recession in the property market caused a crisis for the London Docklands regeneration project owing to the reduction of property prices and large amount of land stayed undeveloped within the regeneration area. Barnes et al (1996) argue that supply-side policies were the major mechanisms of regeneration project and owing to the

lack of any consideration of demand, Dockland became “a victim of recession to which it had contributed”.

Within the urban regeneration literature, London Docklands Regeneration Project started to be perceived as a form of UK-style urban entrepreneurialism, costly and redefining urban political priorities on the basis of supply-side interventions (Florio and Brownill, 2000). Furthermore, it also appeared as an entrepreneurial urban policy mechanism, intending to mobilize business-driven interest through initiating LDDC as an the extended arm of central government.

It is possible to draw three conclusions from London Dockland regeneration project. The first is that central government holds a powerful decision-maker role in the formation of UDPs in UK. London Dockland regeneration project shows us that there are key roles and functions of central government, including (1) the provision of substantial level of funding, (2) consolidation of urban planning powers and (3) the incorporation of private sector interests into the decision-making process. Secondly, central government carried out such key roles through the formation and empowerment of LDDC. LDDC was empowered as a focus of exceptional power base in urban policy making and planning. This exceptionality given to LDDC consolidated urban planning powers and bypassed and relaxed urban planning processes and some sorts of bureaucratic impediments related with the regeneration of Docklands area. Thirdly, this exceptional power base of urban planning was used to respond to supply-side priorities of property markets and construction sector. As a result, London Docklands regeneration project could be critically reinterpreted as UK's most important experience in the political construction of urban entrepreneurialism, restructuring state power to form an exceptional base of urban policy-making and redefine urban political priorities on the basis of supply-side interventions.

3.3 Olympic Games and Regeneration of Urban Space in Manchester

Manchester made several attempts to host Olympic games in the 1990s. In September 1993, Olympic Bid Committee failed in its second attempt to host the Games. Cochrane et al. (1996; 2002) examines the construction of Olympic coalition and they investigate the interests and power constellations behind the project of hosting Olympic Games as a means of regenerating urban space.

Manchester's bid was a private sector initiative which has secured strong public sector support and local business elites were dominating the Bid and the Olympic process. Furthermore, in the regeneration of urban space, the new circuits of political power in the city were not anymore linked to the traditional institutional bases of the Chamber of Commerce or the regional branch of the Confederation of British Industry. Rather the power of governing urban regeneration through Olympic Games had been constructed through the networking of a range of organizations at or near the fringes of the state (Cochrane et al. 1996). Amongst these organizations are; Training Enterprise Councils, Urban Development Corporations, East Manchester Partnership, North West Business Leadership Team and the Olympic bid committee all of which had been formed and activated as a means of restructuring of political power. As the Chairman of the Olympic Bid Committee, Bob Scott operated as the broker and deal-maker among these institutions.



Figure 3.6 The City of Manchester Stadium, designed as part of Manchester's failed bid for the 2000 Summer Olympic (Source: www.manchester2002-uk.com/sports/manchester-city-stadium)

In their relation with central government, Olympic Bid Committee needed to provide estimations on the cost and the surplus of the new urban redevelopments. According to these estimations, % 37 percent of the total cost of Olympic Games (973 million pound total cost) would come from central government sources (Cochrane et al. 2002). This estimations show that the project of hosting Olympic Games strongly depend on the generation of grants from the government. Although Olympic Bid Committee was presented as a private sector initiated institutional structure, it looks more like a locally-based grant coalition. As Cochrane et al. (2002) and Peck & Tickell (1995) critically interpret, the politics of urban

regeneration within the Manchester's project of hosting Olympic Games should be seen as a business-dominated localism that involve struggles over the role, meaning and structure of the state.

It is possible to draw three major critical conclusions from Manchester's experience of the project of hosting Olympic Games. Firstly, the role of central government in such large scale urban interventions could not be ignored. Olympic process in Manchester showed how local business-dominated platforms of policy-making depends on central government sources. Decisions of central government and its relation with local business elites are very important in Manchester case. Secondly, the Olympic Games in Manchester are never presented as an end in themselves by the Bid Committee. Rather it was regarded as an instrument to regenerate urban space and realize large scale urban interventions to attract inward investment. Olympic Bid Committee constituted a hegemonic discourse arguing that Olympic Games will upgrade competitive position of Manchester within the global urban hierarchy and Games will provide investment, economic growth and a good business climate. Within the light of such politics, it is possible to argue that large scale events (like Olympic Games, EXPO, Universiade, World and Euro Cup in Football...etc) are never an end itself. Rather, they could be defined as a means of large scale urban redevelopment interventions. Thirdly, a critical investigation on the formation and the resolution of Olympic Bid Committee in Manchester shows that coalition politics around the formation of large urban redevelopment interventions is unstable, exclusionary and fragile.

3.4 Potsdamer Platz Redevelopment Project in Berlin, Germany

After the unification of Berlin, 2000 Olympic Games was presented by politicians and government officials as an important opportunity to enhance economic growth and attract investment in Berlin. Potsdamer Platz Redevelopment Project had become the focus of the efforts within the 2000 Olympic Games campaign (Häußermann, 1997; Cochrane and Jonas, 1999).

Located at the center of Berlin, Potsdamer Platz is an important public square and traffic intersection and it was covering 48 ha. of urban land. In the redevelopment project, a public-private partnership was formed and the role of public sector was the provision of necessary transportation infrastructure, while the rest of the development (including some headquarters, large numbers of shops, hotels, offices, shopping malls and residences)

would be realized by the private sector. Private sector actors were Sony Corporation and Daimler Benz and they were holding over 80 percent of the available land in Potsdamer Platz and they also used this land to construct their headquarters in the area (Strom, 1996).

An urban design competition was held for the planning of the redevelopment in Potsdamer Platz. World-wide known architectures were appointed by public officials as the jury of the competition (Strom, 1996). Through such a way of competition, international architectural and urban design efforts had been incorporated into the shaping of urban space within the redevelopment project.



Figure 3.7 Aerial view looking south over Potsdamer Platz in Berlin

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Potsdamer_Platz)

After the competition, detailed building plans were prepared and a public comment period was started for several months to get the opinion of local community (Strom, 1996). When compared with US and UK urban politics context, such a way of public comment period in the redevelopment project shows how the emphasis on the expectations of the local community and public perception is higher in German urban politics context. In this public comment period, the local architectural community, local media and some non-governmental organizations criticized redevelopment efforts. According to them, urban design competition had become a process of legitimating compromises reached between the rights of property and the state defined public interest (Strom, 1996; Shaw, 2005).

This rising opposition against the redevelopment project shows that there was a lack of public support, which seems to contradict the experiences of the cities of US and UK. In fact, a survey in the 1990s revealed that two-thirds of Berlin's inhabitants opposed the Olympic Games and the redevelopment project in Potsdamer Platz (Strom, 1996). While Manchester's bid to host the Olympics and the regeneration projects associated with it were attracting significant local support (Cochrane et al., 1996), a similar bid for Berlin was being met with a high degree of opposition from different segments of society (Cochrane and Jonas, 1999).

There are two major conclusions that could be drawn from the experience of Potsdamer Platz Redevelopment Project in Berlin. Firstly, socio-political medium in which civil society is highly developed with strong non-governmental organizations, plays very important role in minimizing private sector influence in urban policy-making. In Berlin, Olympic Games and its major urban redevelopment project (Potsdamer Platz) were lacking a significant level of local public support owing to the influence of local architectural community and the local media over the local public opinion. Conservation of historical heritage, the lack of rent control mechanisms and the demands for a more inclusionary conception of public interest were the major issues of critical approach developed by non-governmental organizations and the local media. This shows how a well developed and organized civil society and local media power associated with it may emerge as a focus of opposition against the formation of such growth-inducing UDPs. Secondly, like London Dockland and Manchester cases, central government plays very prominent roles in the formation of UDPs in Berlin. For instance, central government (1) formed the basis of public-private partnership, (2) carried out important activities in 2000 Olympic Games Campaign and (3) planned the processes of redevelopment in Potsdamer Platz. However, owing to local non-governmental organizations' disapproving attitude towards business influence in urban policy-making, the role of central government have become finding a balance between capital accumulation dynamics (growth-oriented demand of powerful private sector actors) and the demands of local communities (a more sustainable form of development and the protection of historical heritage). As the comparisons of UK and German urban politics shows, in both of the countries central government plays an active role in promoting and incorporating business-driven interests in urban policy-making. However in Germany's socio-political context central government rather intends to mediate between different demands over the shaping of urban space (Bekmez, 2008; DiGaetano and Strom, 2003)

3.5 Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project in Bilbao, Spain

Abandoibarra is a waterfront area and covering approximately 35 ha. of urban land at the heart of metropolitan Bilbao. Abandoibarra was the symbol of industrial city and port until the 1980's (Plöger, 2008). In the 1980s, it started to decline owing to the transfer of dock-related activities to outer port locations. In fact, the major reason behind this transfer of dock-related activities was the crisis of industrial manufacturing activities in Bilbao (Rodriguez et al., 2001). To overcome the crisis of local economic structure, political authorities (both Basque local government and Spanish central government) and capital intended to transform the image of Bilbao from a declining manufacturing city into a new post-industrial revitalized metropolis (Gomez, 1998; Rodriguez et al., 2001). Within this new agenda of local economic regeneration, Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project had a key role owing to its strategic location in terms of the production of high rent and attracting huge inward investment.

Abandoibarra was first emphasized as an “opportunity site” in Basque Local Government’s Strategic Plan in the year 1991. By this strategic plan, local government aimed to guide urban regeneration efforts in Bilbao and identified some “opportunity sites” which are left out by deindustrialization and therefore needed to be revitalized on the basis of new growth sectors like real estate, tourism and other consumption-oriented activities (Gonzales, 2006). In other words, the built environment in these “opportunity sites” should be regenerated in accordance with the requirements of capital accumulation dynamics. Abandoibarra in this document was defined as a high centrality location in the heart of the bourgeois city and despite its central location it had specialized in low value added economic functions (Rodriguez et al., 2001).

Basque Local Government’s Strategic Plan was an important document in Bilbao’s experience of urban entrepreneurialism because it redefined the objectives in urban planning through prioritizing regeneration-based and exchange value-driven UDPs. Some “opportunity sites” (including Abandoibarra) were defined for the development of such UDPs. Furthermore, this document also shows us how comprehensive planning approach transformed into a project-based intervention logic to respond profit-driven capitalist urban strategies. Bilbao case also shows how strategic planning in Bilbao was subordinated to profit-driven UDPs.

Strategic Plan of Basque local government provided the framework of urban regeneration for Abandoibarra but the regeneration process was started after an international urban design competition which was organized by the City Council of Bilbao in 1992 (Rodriguez et al., 2001). The winning projects was offering the location of commercial, office and residential functions and some key infrastructures such as an international conference and concert hall and the Guggenheim Bilbao Museum (Plöger, 2008; Rodriguez et al., 2001).



Figure 3.8 A view along Abandoibarra waterfront (after the implementation of the project)

(Source: http://www.bilbaoria2000.org/ria2000/imagenesZonas/1/abandoibarra_04.jpg)

Another important urban policy dimension in the formation of Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project was the establishment of Bilbao Ria 2000 as a new urban governance mechanism for urban regeneration in Bilbao. Bilbao Ria 2000 played the central role in Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project and according to Rodriguez et al. (2001) the creation of Ria 2000 could be explained by the combination of three critical factors. Firstly, there was a consensus between local government, central government and capital to carry out co-ordinated actions for the regeneration of urban space in Bilbao. Therefore as a “good governance” mechanism, Ria 2000 was structured by both collaborative efforts of

local government and central government. Secondly, there were difficulties in land management owing to the land ownership structure of derelict sites in Abandoibarra. A coordinated body of land management was needed to provide coordination and problem-solving in dealing with different agents in the existing ownership structure of the area. Thirdly, owing to the high costs of regeneration operations and the need for a self-sufficient project budget, entrepreneurial forms of management should be adopted in the project (Rodriguez et al., 2001). As a result, combination of these three factors gave rise to the establishment of Ria 2000 as a centrally structured mechanism of exceptional power in urban policy-making and planning of Bilbao's regeneration.

Although Spanish central government (Ministry of Public Works, Transport and the Environment) proposed the establishment of Bilbao Ria 2000, Basque local government gave a significant level of support to its formation and operation. In this respect, it was possible to observe a co-operation of local and central governments in the establishment of Bilbao Ria 2000. In the year 1992 it was established as a private firm of public shareholders (50 percent central and 50 percent local government) and it operated as a quasi-public agency to carry out urban regeneration operations in the metropolitan area of Bilbao. The main aim of Bilbao Ria 2000 was declared as achieving maximum efficiency in the use of resources through self-financed land valorization mechanism which do not entail any form of direct investment from public resources (Plöger, 2008; Rodriguez et al., 2001).

After the completion of Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project, some remarkable realities could be observed. First impact of the project was on real estate sector. In Abandoibarra District, housing prices increased an average of 30 to 40 percent during 1998 and 1999 (the years project completed) (Rodriguez et al., 2001). Second impact was disappointing effect of Guggenheim Museum, decreasing number of visitors and employment opportunities. In the first year of Museum's opening, there was a huge number of visitors; however after this first year a steady decline have been observed in the number of visitors (Plaza, 2006). Furthermore, although Guggenheim Museum was presented as an international touristic destination, the rate of international tourists was only %30. In addition to this, employment maintenance was not provided. The number of jobs in tourism-oriented sectors around Guggenheim Museum decreased dramatically. One third of the jobs were disappeared after the fourth year of the Museum (Plaza, 2006; 2007). The third impact of the regeneration project have signified low level of foreign direct

investment. In fact, advertising activities of the project had little impact in attracting international capital investments for Abandoibarra's regeneration process. Although locating command functions to Abandoibarra was a strategic decision in the project, any international command functions or headquarters were not attracted to the regenerated site of Abandoibarra (Rodriguez et al., 2001).

Through making a preliminary analysis of these impact of Abandoibarra regeneration project, Rodriguez et al. (2001) argued that the success of the project depends on short-term return maximization logic. However this logic undermined long-term strategic targets of the projects including, local economic transformation and development, attraction of inward investment and making Bilbao a world-class tourism destination in Europe.

It is possible to identify three key dimensions in the political construction of Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project. The first is that transforming the image of Bilbao from a declining manufacturing city into a new post-industrial revitalized metropolis was the urban political priority and Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project had become the core in this image rebuilding. UDPs may become the core of urban political strategies in rebuilding, transforming and redefining the image, symbolic values and public perception of the city. Such image rebuilding activities have operated with a hegemonic discourse, giving rise to the internalization of the goals of competitive, entrepreneurial and pro-growth urban governance. As a second political dimension, to form such entrepreneurial urban governance mechanisms a new inter-organizational body like Bilbao Ria 2000 was set up in the Spanish urban politics context. This emerging mode of entrepreneurial urban governance involved the transfer of urban planning and policy-making powers from traditional planning institutions (like Basque Local Government and Ministry of Public Works, Transport and the Environment) to a new partnership agency (Bilbao Ria 2000) which was justified on the basis of increased flexibility, proactivity and efficiency (Rodriguez et al., 2001). Similar with the establishment of London Docklands Development Corporation, Ria 2000 was structured as a partnership of local and central governments and it was empowered with exceptional powers in urban policy-making and planning of Bilbao's regeneration. Third political dimension points out how a project-based urban policy approach have become dominant over a traditional comprehensive urban planning approach. In the 1980s, traditional planning system and comprehensive planning approach in Spain had been criticized owing to the lack of flexibility, lengthy plan elaboration

processes and weaknesses in implementation (Rodriguez et al., 2001). To overcome such problems, project-led interventions were presented as panacea to solve all sorts of urban development problems. Furthermore, critical investigation of Basque local government's strategic plan unveils the position of existing planning instruments, which have become subordinated to profit-driven UDPs. UDPs do not only give rise to the bypassing and relaxing of traditional planning procedures, but they also redefine new roles to them. This dramatic restructuring of urban planning power was not the only case in Bilbao. In the 1990s, international events (like EXPO and Olympic Games) and emblematic urban projects emerged as a viable alternative to comprehensive long-term plans in Barcelona and Seville (Borja and Castells, 1997).

3.6 The Development of Lujiazui Central Finance District in Shanghai

In a country where reform has been mainly understood as marketization, opening-up to world capitalist economy and decentralization of political power to local governments, it is not surprising to face with entrepreneurial Municipal Government aiming to attract inward investment through UDPs. As Fu (2002) highlights within the case of Shanghai, Municipal Government and international capital have a great interest in promoting economic growth. Indeed, urban entrepreneurialism in Shanghai has been driven by project-based and pro-growth coalition of capital-thirsty Municipal Government and profit-motivated international capital (Fu, 2002). The politics of such urban developments could be investigated in the case of the development of Lujiazui Central Finance District.

Lujiazui Central Finance District is a sub-zone in the Pudong New Area which was launched as an enormous urban development project by Chinese Government in 1990. The Pudong New Area is intended to become the new economic engine of Shanghai and as a part of this project, Lujiazui is developed as a financial center representing the symbol of twenty-first century Shanghai. Lujiazui Central Finance District covers an area of 170 hectare and planned total space of construction is 420 ha (Marshall, 2003).

There is no private ownership of land in Shanghai, however development rights are transferred from state to private sector through Municipal Land Administration. In this regulation, Municipal Governments play very important roles in the sale of land-lease and determination of the conditions and length of the lease (Marshall, 2003). In addition to having such an authority of land administration, Shanghai Municipal Government

established Shanghai Lujiazui Finance and Trade Zone Development Company (a state enterprise) to develop alternative design schemes for the area. Four design schemes are produced but the mayor of Shanghai were not happy with the results and he sought the advice and assistance of foreign architects and planners (Marshall, 2003). In 1991, Shanghai Municipality the take assistance of *Institut D'Amèrement et D'Urbanisme de la Région Parisienne* in the developing of design schemes and acquiring international exposure for the design of Lujiazui. In the same year, officials from Shanghai Municipal Government visited some world cities and observed their centers and central business districts. The scale and attractive image of La Défense in Paris impressed the visitors. Furthermore, an urban design competition was organized with the participation of four international firms each of which led by world-wide known architectures (Marshall, 2003). Although China was closed to the rest of the world for almost forty years, development of Lujiazui Central Finance District gave an end to this tradition and it made urban planning and design efforts open to international emblematic architectural expressions.



Figure 3.9 A View from the sea side towards Lujiazui Central Finance District

(Source: <http://www.wjnco.com/officesfile/1155928643.jpg>)



Figure 3.10 A View of Lujiazui Central Finance District

(Source:<http://meiguoxing.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Shanghai-Center-Tower-Chinas-NextTallest-Building.jpg>)

Financial District has emerged in Lujiazui according to the master plan which is prepared by collaborative efforts of Shanghai Municipality and international architecture and urban design authorities. Fu (2002) argues that such a rapid urban redevelopment (take ten years between 1990 and 2000) depends on a pro-growth urban coalition between the local government and international capital. To illustrate his argument, he explores the relations between Municipal Government and Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. (largest real estate company, constructed the tallest and most attractive buildings in Lujiazui) in the providing of land leasing, land clearance and construction. In the year 1994, Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. got 50 years' use of two sites at the price of 500 US dollar per square meter. What was exceptional is that Shanghai Municipal Government provided %15 reduction in the rate of the income tax for Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. Although this was one of the support policy given to foreign enterprises in manufacturing sectors, Municipal Government provided Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. such an exceptionality to obtain tax reduction (Fu, 2002).

Shanghai Municipal Government continued to provide key supports to Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. in the following years. In 1995, land clearance was going slow and Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. doubted very much that land clearance would take years and it would delay the start of the construction. However, Shanghai Municipal Government assured Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. that land clearance would be finished as scheduled, otherwise Municipal Government committed to pay some money for each day delayed in accordance with the contract. In

addition to this assurance, Municipal Government provided some opportunities to Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. in the reduction of the construction cost. In the last month of 1995, Chinese Customs Authority stated that foreign-invested enterprises would not continue to import self-use materials with zero tariff. This means a huge cost increase for Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. in the construction of high-rise buildings and tower since their construction was heavily rely on imported materials. Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. sent a letter to Municipal Government and asked whether their construction could benefit from zero tariff policy. After receiving this letter, Municipal Government made a request to the State Council and asked for a special consideration for Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. Finally, premier of central government gave a personal instruction to allow Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. to continue enjoying zero tariff policy (Fu, 2002).

As the investigation of the relations between Municipal Government and Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. unveils, informal relations and closed door meetings between the mayor of Shanghai and the owner of Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. play very important roles in providing exceptional opportunities (tax reduction, land clearance and construction cost reduction). It is possible draw some major conclusions from the relations between Municipal Government and Forest Overseas Co. Ltd. Firstly, international capital and local government pursue the same interest and they emerge as the most powerful actors in the development project of Lujiazui Central Finance District. Their common base of interest (making Shanghai a world-class finance center) had enabled them to form a project-based pro-growth coalition. Secondly, such a Chinese-style urban coalition differs from US-based “growth machine” politics since it embodies informal and temporary relations between capital and the state. In US, local business communities are well organized and their interests are well integrated in the decision-making processes of urban redevelopment. In contrast to US, as another socio-political context, local social organizations are barely allowed and international capital is not institutionalized into China’s urban politics. Therefore, powerful actors of international capital mostly tends to develop informal relations and negotiations with Municipal Government in the formation and implementation of UDPs. Thirdly, as the case of Lujiazui Central Finance District project shows, Chinese-style urban growth coalitions are very strong owing to the position of the state in policy-making. In the reform process, developmental aspect of the state has changed but the political aspect of the state remains intact. Fu argues that (2002) this makes urban growth coalitions extraordinary strong in the making of entrepreneurial urban policies and large scale urban interventions

in China. Lastly, the experience of urban entrepreneurialism may give rise to international urban design and planning efforts in the design of large scale urban intervention. As the development of Lujiazui Central Finance District shows even in countries like China (where the policy-making and planning were closed to the rest of the world for almost forty years), international urban design competitions and world-wide known foreign architectural efforts have become the key instruments in the designing of large scale urban interventions.

3.7 The Critical Review of the Politics of Urban Development Projects in the World

The political-economic dynamics behind the formation of six UDPs, from different countries of the world, are critically analyzed and discussed in this part. Swyngedouw et al. (2002) revealed five common characteristics of thirteen UDPs from European countries. These five common characteristics has also constitute a common framework for a consideration of political-economic dynamics of six UDPs, investigated in this chapter.

Firstly, According to Swyngedouw et al. (2002) UDPs operate as exceptional power mechanisms in urban policy and planning processes. This means that UDPs entail the primacy of project-based initiatives over the comprehensive long-term plans. Exceptional powers are provided by two ways including (1) the empowering of new institutions like public-private partnerships and (2) the authorizing of existing institutions through extending their responsibility in a sectorally defined field of urban planning and policy-making. Secondly, UDPs are poorly integrated to the wider urban social and physical structure. They exacerbate socio-spatial polarization and lead to the creation of islands of wealth. Thirdly, reducing the rent-gap is the priority in UDPs. They target high-income segments of the population and high productivity-based economic activities (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). The success of UDPs depends on the production of extra-rent and the subsequent realization of the produced land rent. In other words, the success depends on the dynamics of real-estate sector. Therefore, built environments produced by UDPs could not integrate with cultural, historical heritage and urban macro-form of the city. They reflect non-holistic interventions to urban space in the form of shopping malls, gated residents, five star hotels, business towers, huge office towers and all sorts of leisure and consumption complexes with emblematic architectural expressions. Fourthly, Swyngedouw et al. (2002) emphasize that UDPs reflect a new choreography of elite power through giving

rise to highly exclusive platforms of policy-making. The new governance structures emerged within the context of new urban policies, redistribute planning and policy-making powers to highly exclusive partnership agencies. Although this shift in urban policy and planning power is legitimized on the basis of “inclusive”, “non-hierarchical” and “participatory” approach of agencies and partnerships, the realities show us a selective exclusion of wide segments of society in terms of access to decision-making processes (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). Through excluding wide segments of society, these projects focus on speculative reproduction of place rather than reproduction of labor, provision of decent job opportunities and wages to people. UDPs are associated with the interests of business-driven interest groups which are closed circles that consolidate their power while preventing access to others. In other words, local democratic participation mechanisms within the UDPs are not respected and they result in “a new choreography of elite power” (Swyngedouw et al., 2002) . Lastly, UDPs reflect and embody a series of processes that are associated with changing scale of governance. UDPs emerge within the context of state rescaling, emphasizing the role of state spatial power in providing crucial territorial infrastructures through which the circulation of capital has been continually territorialized, deterritorialized and reterritorialized (Swyngedouw, 1997; Brenner, 1999; Swyngedouw et al., 2002).

This five common characteristics of UDPs show that UDPs have become politically constructed mechanisms of producing rent and capital accumulation dynamics. Furthermore, UDPs also reflect how state power and state-capital relations have been restructured, rescaled and even redefined with new urban policy mechanism like entrepreneurial public private partnerships, project agencies ...etc. Such forms of entrepreneurial governance have provided key exceptional urban policy-making powers through reorganizing urban planning authorities and enforcing new laws as coercive-legislative mechanism of capitalist state in the formation of the projects.

UDPs, investigated in this part, have been constructed by hegemonic discourses, arguments and narratives of key-decision makers from governmental and business actors. “Economic growth”, “investment” and “employment” based such hegemonic discourses aim to mobilize public support and consent for the projects. As discursive practices to persuade different segments of civil society, such discourses show how capitalist forces behind the

projects aim to redefine urban political priorities on the basis of “economic growth” oriented targets.

The critical review of the projects also show that not only discursive practices of hegemony construction, but also coercive-legislative mechanism of capitalist state play a very important role in the formation of UDPs. In this respect, through reorganizing urban planning powers and empowering new state institutions in the projects, coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state have been mobilized.

The use of hegemonic discourses and coercive-legislative mechanism have differentiated according to different relations and articulations of state, capital and society. For instance, hegemonic discourses and activities to mobilize public support and consent may become very important in particular socio-political contexts of some countries where civil society is powerful. However, in socio-political contexts where state has a high repressive power over the society, there may be no or even less need to use hegemonic discourses and activities. Therefore, as a general interpretation, it could be argued that the role of hegemonic discourses or coercive-legislative mechanism have differentiated according to different contexts of state-civil society relations. In western capitalist countries (like US, UK, Germany and Spain), since the agents of civil society are powerful over the formation of the structure and policies of the state, hegemonic discourses are frequently produced and disseminated through entrepreneurial urban governance institutions, local business associations, media institutions, universities and chambers. However the political-ideological superstructure of UDPs have not only been constituted by these hegemonic discourses and activities of powerful capitalist forces. Coercive-legislative mechanism of the state is still important in these countries, since they provide exceptional power to reorganize urban planning authorities and to incorporate business-driven interests into the decision-making processes through the establishment of new entrepreneurial urban governance institutions.

The comparative analysis of the political-economic dynamics of UDPs are presented and summarized with the tables mentioned below. The first table show the main features of the projects, the role of the state, powerful actors and entrepreneurial urban governance mechanism in the political construction of the projects and presents the main hegemonic discourses of the projects. The second table summarizes how the hegemonic discourses

and coercive-legislative mechanisms of the state have been integrated in the political construction of UDPs.

Table 3.1 The Comparison of Key Dimensions of Six UDPs From Different Countries of the World

	Size, location and new functions	Main Development Logic	Inclusion of neighborhood population in decision-making	Hegemonic arguments and discourses in mobilizing public support behind the formation of the projects	Production and operation of exceptional power mechanisms in urban policy-making and planning processes	Emergence of new entrepreneurial urban governance mechanisms	Powerful actors in the political construction of the projects	The roles of the state in the project	The results of the project
The Baltimore Inner Harbor Revitalization Project in US	97 hectares of inner harbor and waterfront space previously used as freight and passenger port for industrial and commercial activities. Revitalization efforts produced new functions like; shopping and tourist attractions, luxury office space and advanced services.	Urban regeneration: Within the context of industrial decline and economic crisis in the 1970s, local government intended to provide new capital accumulation dynamics through regenerating inner harbor space.	No	Project was introduced and presented to public as the mechanisms of (1) making tourism a dominant local economic growth strategy, (2) attracting inward investment and (3) creating a good business climate.	Exceptional powers of urban policy-making and planning were given to a public-private partnership (1) to consolidate all urban planning authorities and (2) decide the use of public subsidy for the key infrastructure projects within the revitalization of inner harbor.	Greater Baltimore Committee emerged as the key entrepreneurial urban governance mechanism in the formation of the project.	Local business communities, local government and Greater Baltimore Committee (constituted by the partnership of local government and local business communities)	Two key roles of the state; (1) incorporation of business-oriented interests into the decision-making process (2) taking important risks through using public subsidy for key infrastructure investments like convention center, marina and aquarium	Project exacerbated socio-spatial inequalities (including urban poverty and socio-spatial exclusion of low income neighborhoods)
London Docklands Regeneration Project in UK	2200 hectares of waterfront area previously used as a transportation node. Regeneration project produced financial, commercial and residential activities, office buildings, shopping malls, and towers	Urban regeneration: Within the context of industrial decline and economic crisis in the 1970s, central government initiated the regeneration of docklands to provide new dynamics for economic growth.	No	Project was justified on the basis of regeneration of a disused derelict land (1) to make it attractive for investment and (2) to provide new employment opportunities. Project was presented to public as the common base of interests for different classes in London.	Exceptional powers of urban policy-making and planning were given to a new institution structured by central government. Exceptional powers include (1) development control, (2) land assembly and (3) the power to use government grants for the regeneration of Docklands.	Central government established London Development Corporation and it emerged as the key entrepreneurial urban governance mechanism in the formation of the project.	London Development Corporation as an extended arm of central government, large property owners and investors	Three key roles of the state (central government) are; (1) the provision of substantial level of funding, (2) the consolidation of urban planning powers and (3) the incorporation of private sector interests into the decision-making process.	Project redefined urban political priorities on the basis of supply side urban interventions. Project also suffered from the recession in the property market, owing to the lack of any consideration of demand.

Table 3.1 (continued)

Olympic Games and Regeneration of Urban Space in Manchester, UK	During the 1990s different locations in Manchester (including city center, Salford and eastern part of the city) had undergone extensive regeneration as a part of Berlin's failed bid for 1996 and 2000 Olympic Games. Regeneration projects provided new functions like commercial and residential land uses, tourist attractions and shopping malls, olympic stadiums and convention centers	Large scale event: Hosting Olympic Games were never an end itself but rather it was a means of large scale urban redevelopment interventions.	No	Hosting Olympic Games in Manchester was presented to public as an opportunity (1) to upgrade Manchester's competitiveness and (2) to attract inward investment.	Exceptional powers of urban policy-making were given to Olympic Bid Committee and Central Manchester Development Corporation. Urban development control powers were transferred from Municipalities and Boroughs to these two new institution.	Olympic Bid Committee and Central Manchester Development Corporation were the key entrepreneurial urban governance mechanisms in the formation of regeneration projects	Central Government, Olympic Bid Committee (a local business initiative, supported by government grants) and Central Manchester Development Corporation (a central government initiative)	Three key roles of the state are (1) the provision of grants for the key infrastructure projects, (2) the consolidation of urban planning powers and (3) the incorporation of private sector interests into the decision-making process.	Committee did not succeeded in the competition to host the 1996 and 2000 Olympic Games. However, regeneration projects gave rise to the redefinition of urban political priorities on the basis of supply side urban interventions.
Potsdamer Platz Redevelopment Project in Berlin, Germany	Covering 48 hectares of urban land Potsdamer Platz was an important traffic intersection and public square. It was the most important urban intervention as a part of Berlin's failed bid for 2000 Olympic Games. Project provided new functions like headquarters, hotels, shopping malls and office and residence towers and it also renewed transportation infrastructure.	Large scale event: Hosting Olympic Games were never an end itself but rather it was a means of large scale urban redevelopment interventions.	No	Hosting 2000 Olympic Games in Berlin was presented by politicians and government officials as an essential opportunity (1) to enhance economic growth and (2) to attract inward investment in Berlin.	Exceptional powers of urban policy-making and planning were given to "Partner für Berlin" (a public-private partnership established to manage urban regeneration efforts within the Berlin's 2000 Olympic Games Campaign)	"Partner für Berlin" emerged as the key entrepreneurial urban governance mechanism in the redevelopment of Potsdamer Platz	Central government, "Partner für Berlin", large property owners and investors. Local architectural community, local press and some non-governmental organization emerged as the oppositional actors against the formation of the project.	Three key roles of the state are (1) the provision of transportation infrastructure, (2) the consolidation of urban planning powers and (3) finding a balance between capital accumulation demands of private sector and sustainability, protection oriented demands of local non-governmental organizations.	Berlin did not succeeded in the competition to host the 2000 Olympic Games. Olympic Games Campaign lacked a significant level of public support. An oppositional movement had been raised against the redevelopment of Potsdamer Platz by some local non-governmental organizations and local media.

Table 3.1 (continued)

Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project in Bilbao, Spain	Covering 35 hectares of urban land, Abandoibarra is a waterfront site located in the heart of Bilbao. It was the symbol of industrial city and port-related activities since the 1980s. In the 1990s Abandoibarra was presented as the new cultural and business center for Bilbao.	Urban regeneration: To overcome the crisis of industry-based local economic structure, Abandoibarra was transformed to a tourism-based attractive space for inward investment and local economic growth.	No	Project was justified on the basis of regeneration of a declining waterfront space (1) to create a post-industrial international tourism city image (2) to provide new job opportunities in new and presumably dynamic and growth-oriented sectors such as culture and tourism.	Exceptional powers of urban policy-making and planning were given to Bilbao Ria 2000. Urban planning powers were transferred from traditional planning institutions (such as Basque Local Government and Ministry of Public Works) to Bilbao Ria on the basis of increased flexibility, proactivity, efficiency and the primacy of project-based interventions	As a quasi-public agency, Bilbao Ria 2000 emerged as the key entrepreneurial urban governance mechanism in the regeneration of Abandoibarra waterfront.	Central government, local government, investors and Bilbao Ria 2000 (A private firm of public shareholders, established through the co-operative effort of local and central governments)	Two key roles of the state are (1) the consolidation of urban planning powers to provide coordinated actions between capital and the state and (2) the introduction of self-financed land valorization mechanisms as the dominant urban policy in Bilbao's regeneration.	The results were (1) decreasing number of visitors and employment opportunities after the first year of the completion of the project and (2) low level of foreign direct investment. The success of the project was defined on the basis of short-term return maximization logic but this logic undermined long-term strategic targets of the project.
The Development of Lujiazui Central Finance District in Shanghai	Covering 35 hectares of urban land, Lujiazui was developed as a financial center representing the symbol of emerging world city	Urban regeneration: Lujiazui Central Finance District is a sub-zone in the Pudong New Area which was launched as an enormous urban development project by Chinese Government in 1990.	No	Project was presented to public as the only way to (1) become a world city and to attract huge inward investments.	Exceptionality in urban policy-making and planning processes was provided through the opportunities of tax reduction, land clearance commitment and construction cost reduction. Such exceptional opportunities are provided by the Municipal Government and with the use of informal relations between Municipal Government and international capital.	A project based pro-growth coalition of capital thirsty Municipal Government and profit-seeking international capital form the basis of entrepreneurial urban governance.	Shanghai Municipal Government and international capital (as the foreign investors in the project). Informal relations between Municipal Government and international capital as well as formal political procedures play an important role in the political construction of the project.	Two key roles of the state; (1) establishment of Shanghai Lujiazui Finance and Trade Zone Development Company as a state enterprise to provide better coordination between local government and international capital (2) facilitation of investments through providing exceptional opportunities in land leasing, tax reduction, and construction cost reduction.	The results of the projects; (1) the project completed in seven years owing to the strong position of state in policy-making process in China (2) high level of foreign direct investment (3) rebranding Shanghai as a world-class financial center

Table 3.2 The Political Construction of Urban Development Projects in the World

THE POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE WORLD		
	HEGEMONY (Consent)	FORCE (Coercion)
	Hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent for the projects (“Economic growth”, “investment” and “employment” based hegemonic discourses, arguments and narratives)	Coercive-legislative mechanism of capitalist state in the formation of the projects (Reorganizations of urban planning powers through laws and empowerment of state institutions)
The Baltimore Inner Harbor Revitalization Project in US	“making tourism a dominant local economic growth strategy”, “attracting inward investment” “creating a good business climate”	Greater Baltimore Committee (a public-private partnership)
London Docklands Regeneration Project in UK	“regeneration of a disused derelict land to make it attractive for investment” “generation of new employment opportunities... “the common base of interests for different classes”	London Development Corporation (a new central government institution)
Olympic Games and Regeneration of Urban Space in Manchester	“an opportunity to upgrade Manchester’s competitiveness” and “attracting inward investment”	Manchester Olympic Bid Committee and Central Manchester Development Corporation (a new central government institution)
Potsdamer Platz Redevelopment Project in Berlin, Germany	“an essential opportunity to enhance economic growth and to attract inward investment in Berlin”	Partner für Berlin (a public-private partnership)
Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project in Bilbao, Spain	“regeneration of a declining waterfront space to create a post-industrial international tourism city image” “Generation of new job opportunities in new economic growth sectors such as culture and tourism”	Bilbao Ria 2000 (a quasi-public agency)
The Development of Lujiazui Central Finance District in Shanghai	“The only way for Shanghai is to become a world city” and “attracting inward investment”	Shanghai Municipal Government (informal relations with international capital rather than legislative interventions)
Powerful and dominant actors in the political construction of UDPs	The Production and Dissemination of Hegemonic Discourses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Central and local government institutions ▪ Entrepreneurial urban governance institutions ▪ Local business associations ▪ Media Institutions ▪ Universities ▪ Chambers and NGOs 	The Formation of Coercive-Legislative Mechanisms of Capitalist State <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Central and local government institutions ▪ Entrepreneurial urban governance institutions
The Configuration of Actors	Political Society + Civil Society (Integral State)	

CHAPTER 4

THE POLITICS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN TURKEY: INVESTIGATING THE TURKISH URBAN POLITICAL CONTEXT

Turkish urban political context is investigated with reference to the critique of four Urban Development Projects (UDPs) from two major metropolitan cities of Turkey, namely İstanbul and Ankara. The politics of these UDPs are critically and comparatively investigated through analyzing five main dimensions of UDPs which are (1) the size, location and main development logics of the projects, (2) hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent for the projects, (3) the role of legislative interventions and (4) the identification of predominant and oppositional actors in the formation of the projects and lastly (5) the results of the projects in terms of the implementation and court decisions concerning the development plans of the projects. These five main dimensions of four projects are comparatively analyzed, discussed and this critical elaboration provides critical insights for thesis.

These five dimensions of UDPs are investigated through concentrating on four UDPs from İstanbul and İzmir. These four UDPs that are investigated in this chapter are Haydarpaşa Urban Regeneration Project and Dubai Tower Project from İstanbul and Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project and Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project from Ankara. These four UDPs are selected since the state and capital have organized their power collaboratively to form them through using hegemonic-ideological and coercive-legislative mechanisms of urban policy-making. These four UDPs investigated in this part could be seen as the politically constructed sites of urban policy-making, reflecting how urban entrepreneurialism in Turkey has been organized and constructed and different socio-political actors are mobilized to support or oppose this process of urban socio-spatial change.

As a result of the critical and comparative investigation made in Chapters 3 and 4, it is formulated two initial arguments are formulated at the end of this chapter (in addition the two of them that are formulated as a product of the theoretical framework). These total

four initial arguments constitute the starting point in the designing of the case study of thesis.

4.1 Haydarpaşa Urban Regeneration Project in Istanbul

Haydarpaşa is a waterfront area and covering 110 hectares of urban land. It consists of the Port of Haydarpaşa and Train Station. Harem Bus Terminal and the centers of two residential districts (Kadıköy and Üsküdar) have been located very close to Haydarpaşa site. The Port have been operated by Turkish State Railways (TCDD) and as a transportation node it has served to a hinterland which includes not only İstanbul but also most of the industrialized geographies of Marmara Region.

The debate on the transformation of Haydarpaşa Port and the surrounding urban space was first started in the 1980s as a result of key transportation decisions including the foreseen closure of the container port and the changing railway route (Urkun Bowe, 2008; Erbaş, 2007). However, these discussions and transformation efforts and plans have been realized after the introduction of “Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruiser Port Project” as the key urban regeneration strategy in 2004. Although this project was a breaking point in the regeneration efforts, it is needed to critically review policy-making and planning activities and the decisions of key actors throughout the 2000s for an in-depth understanding of the political dynamics of urban regeneration process in Haydarpaşa.

In the early 2000s two projects had been developed for the regeneration of Haydarpaşa. Firstly in 2001 İstanbul Greater Municipality gave rise to the formation of a project through an urban design competition. The main intention in this competition were declared as the designing of a tourism, culture and recreation axis, linking Haydarpaşa waterfront to Üsküdar along the shore (İBB, 2001). However after the competition, there were not any official efforts to implement the winning project. Nevertheless, this urban design competition showed how İstanbul Greater Municipality adopted a pro-active rent-seeking strategy in the regeneration of Haydarpaşa.

Three years after the competition, Turkish State Railways (TCDD) declared its own project. This project was prepared by a German architecture and urban design company and it was including the restoration and renovation of train station and tourism and consumption-oriented use of new buildings. The discourses on “Manhattanization of Haydarpaşa” and

“developing a world trade center” through a huge investment were first used within the TCDD’s project (Gazete Kadıköy, 2004).

In the same year after the declaration of TCDD’s project, newly elected neo-liberal central government of Turkey had changed legislative frameworks to facilitate property transfer, privatization and transformation in the Haydarpaşa area (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010; Karaman, 2008; Sakızlıoğlu, 2007). These legislative interventions were including the introduction of new laws (Law no. 5234 and Law no. 5335) as a collection of changes in a number of laws. With the law no. 5234, Ministry of Finance was empowered to transfer the ownership of Haydarpaşa Port from the Undersecretariat of Treasury (Hazine Müsteşarlığı) to the State Railways (TCDD). The law no. 5335 allowed TCDD to sell the urban properties of Haydarpaşa Port and contract development plans for these properties to be sold (Urkun Bowe, 2008). Such changes have given rise to the privatization of publicly-owned resources and furthermore, the changes were also including the consolidation of urban planning powers through transferring planning authority from Municipalities to the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. By such ways of legislative interventions, central government had increased its power in the privatization and regeneration of urban space in Haydarpaşa.

Legislative interventions were not limited to property-transfer and planning authority change. The Coastal law (Law no. 3621) were also transformed through the introduction of the definition of “cruiser port” in the law. This definition included the “national image improvement and tourist attraction” and emphasized the key role of designing “residential and consumption-oriented spaces” (Urkun Bowe, 2008). Such a change in the Coastal Law was made to provide the basis of legitimation for the construction of cruiser port in the Haydarpaşa waterfront.

In the year 2005, the preparation of the development plans were contracted to a private firm by TCDD in accordance with the powers given by law no. 5335. This private firm commissioned internationally known real-estate consultants and architecture companies. As a result, “Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruiser Port Project” were developed as an emblematic architectural effort, proposing the construction of seven skyscrapers as a part of the “Manhattanization of Haydarpaşa” (as an idealized image of Manhattan). In this first project, it is proposed that 110 hectares of land (consisting of Haydarpaşa Port, Haydarpaşa Train Station and surrounding railway facilities) was going to be redeveloped

with 5 million dollars of investment (Çavuşoğlu, 2010). The project proposed convention centers, shopping centers, luxury residences, culture centers, sport facilities, five star hotels and restaurants. Furthermore this project had also been introduced as the key strategy of attracting investment and consumption, therefore it was argued that it will contribute to the accumulation of capital and also provide employment (Baş-Bütüner, 2006). Although such hegemonic discourses had been reflected in the media and mobilized some level of public support for the project, they also gave rise to the criticism of oppositional groups against the formation of the project.



Figure 4.1 An imaginative view of Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruiser Port Project 1, symbolizing the idealized image of Manhattan (Source: <http://peyzaj.org/haydarpasa-istanbula-kapatiliyor/>)

After its preparation, the plan was sent to İstanbul Greater Municipality and Regional Conservation Councils. These institutions criticized the plan and gave negative reviews. The III. Regional Conservation Council's report emphasized that the unique landscape and skyline of the area requires a more sensitive urban design and planning approach. The II. Regional Conservation Council's report approves the main logic and land use decisions of the plan. It underlines various technical failures and asks for a proper evaluation of project's effects on the structures of cultural heritage of İstanbul. Council report states that registered structures should be listed and a reconsideration of proposed parking spaces and recalculation of proposed construction floorspace are needed. It was also emphasized that the project must be consistent with some by-laws (Urkun Bowe, 2008).

Like the II. Regional Conservation Council, İstanbul Greater Municipality criticized the project with reference to technical problems rather than the main development logic and

land use decisions. Proposed building and population densities, heavy transport infrastructure demand created by the proposed development and the lack of collaboration with continuing planning studies of İstanbul Greater Municipality were criticized (İBB, 2005). However, major strategies of the project (including land use decisions, privatization and property transfer, the production of high level of rents and the construction of gated residential and consumption spaces) were not criticized by İstanbul Greater Municipality. On the contrary, such rent-oriented development strategies were justified and promoted through the Provincial Environmental Plan, since it supported the relocation of the port and the train station and tourism-oriented development approach for Haydarpaşa (İBB, 2006).

In addition to these critical reviews of the project, an oppositional group called “Haydarpaşa Solidarity Group” was formed in 2005 (consisting of 86 NGOs including the Chambers of Architects and City Planners). This oppositional coalition intended to develop a political mobilization against the formation of the project (Çavuşoğlu, 2010).

In view of the rising criticism against the formation of the project, the concept and the design of the project were revised and a new concept in the redevelopment of Haydarpaşa was announced. It was intended to transform urban space in Haydarpaşa like a “new Venice” (Radikal, 2005).



Figure 4.2 An imaginative view of Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruiser Port Project 2, symbolizing the idealized image of Venice for Haydarpaşa (Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=558504>)

Towards the end of 2005, V. Regional Conservation Council decided to take an initiative and study the plans for the site and in 2006 Council approved the proposal of Haydarpaşa Solidarity Group and declared that Haydarpaşa Train Station and its surrounding area (covering approximately half of the project area) are registered as “urban conservation site” (kentsel sit alanı) (Gazete Kadıköy, 2006). The major result of this decision was that it brought an obligation to prepare a Conservation Plan before application of any regeneration project and it also gave approval authority to the Regional Conservation Council (Urkun Bowe, 2008; Çavuşoğlu, 2010). Moreover this decision emphasized the need for an “Area Administration” in managing the different dimensions of regeneration project in Haydarpaşa. Such an administrative authority could only be constituted through the active involvement of municipalities, non-governmental organizations, chambers and the universities (Urkun Bowe, 2008).

Six month after Council’s decision of urban conservation site, TCDD stated that in the preparation of the conservation plan, the involvement of governmental and non-governmental stakeholders are very important. In this respect, some governmental and non-governmental institutions including Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, III. and V. Regional Conservation Councils, İstanbul Greater Municipality, Kadıköy Municipality, Üsküdar Municipality, Chamber of Architects, Chamber of City Planners and ÇEKÜL Foundation are all invited to the preparation process of conservation plan for Haydarpaşa (Urkun Bowe, 2008). In fact, this effort of central government could be critically reinterpreted as an obvious search for a broader coalition of social forces in the regeneration of Haydarpaşa. However this search did not succeeded since the Chambers of Architects and City Planners did not involve to this process owing to their concern to become a part of the support for the formation and implementation of a rent-oriented development.

In the Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruiser Port Project, it was planned to construct a cruiser port. This proposal requires the privatization of a large amount of publicly-owned land. Against such a privatization in the year 2005 the Union of Port Workers (Liman-İş) appealed to court. After one year, the decision of the Court underlined that TCDD could not privatize its functions and any privatization effort could only be realized through the Privatization Administration (Urkun Bowe, 2008).

To overcome this court decision in the planning of Haydarpaşa redevelopment, planning powers had been reorganized again through a new legislative framework. In 2008 the Parliament passed law no. 5793 which changed the authority of development plan preparation and approval in the areas that are subjected to Turkish State's privatization agenda. Privatization Administration was entitled as the solely plan-making authority in these areas. Furthermore, this law also gave authority to Privatization Administration to by-pass the approval of the Regional Conservation Councils for any development. İstanbul Greater Municipality and District Municipalities (Üsküdar and Kadıköy) were just given a 15-day consultation period after the approval of the plans. It was also stated in the law that the planning decisions taken by the Privatization Administration could not be changed for the first five years (Çavuşoğlu, 2010). In addition to the previous legislative interventions (made with the law no. 5234 and 5335 in the years 2004 and 2005), this intervention showed again how neo-liberal central government intended to consolidate the urban planning powers and such a reorganization of planning powers had also constituted the base of exceptionality power in the regeneration of Haydarpaşa through the by-passing of Conservation Councils and District Municipalities.

Discussions and speculations have continued throughout the 2000s for the future of Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruiser Port Project. On the one hand, neither the time of relocation of the port nor the closure of the train station is determined. Building a coalition of social forces (though introducing Area Administration) in the planning of Haydarpaşa regeneration has failed. Provincial Environmental Plan (proposing the relocation of the port and tourism-oriented development in Haydarpaşa) and the conservation decisions are all in court (Urkun Bowe, 2008). However; on the other hand, there are important urban developments having a potential effect on the project and these developments brings a new agenda for the regeneration of Haydarpaşa. Marmaray Railway Tunnel, construction of a third bridge over the Bosphorus and the developments along the TEM Highway in Ataşehir and Ümraniye and the further development in Kartal have given a rise to the discussion of different scenarios on the future of Haydarpaşa (Çavuşoğlu, 2010).

There are collaborations and conflicts, struggles and co-operations between different actors in the formation of the project. The key point is to unveil the causes and the mechanisms of such different relations within the political construction of Haydarpaşa Urban Regeneration Project. In this respect, it is possible to draw six major lessons from the

Haydarpaşa urban regeneration. Firstly, in the first years of the 2000s, it was observed a struggle between local and central governments over the reproduction of urban space in Haydarpaşa. Both central and local governments intended to acquire the power and the authority of space production through initiating and leading an urban regeneration project in an urban location like Haydarpaşa which has a high level of rent-production potential. There was a struggle to get the power of space production for an economically valuable urban space. However, towards the end of the 2000s, this struggle turned to a collaboration to implement a rent-oriented development. Central and local governments (TCCD, Privatization Administration and İstanbul Greater Municipality) have sustained and strengthened a pro-active rent-oriented development approach through agreeing upon the major land-use decisions and development strategies in the production of space.

Secondly, the common point in the activities of local and central government was arranging an urban design competition. TCDD and İstanbul Greater Municipality intended to initiate urban regeneration process through arranging urban design competitions. In the early 2000s, urban design competitions was arranged before the preparation of development plan and thus, it was intended to give a direction to the key decisions of the plan. However, in the late 2000s, it is declared that a new urban design competition will be organized after the approval of the new development plan. Preparation of development plans and arrangement of urban design competitions have become successive events, defining a new organization in urbanism through prioritizing a project-led and profit-driven intervention logic. The third dimension in the political construction of the project points out the role of hegemonic discourses in mobilizing public support behind the formation of the projects. Central and local governments have proposed the same development logic (profit-driven and rent-oriented development) and they also proposed the same land use decisions including tourism and residential-based activities (like convention centers, shopping centers, luxury residents, culture centers, five star hotels and restaurants). Such a profit-oriented capitalist reproduction of urban space and its concomitant land-use decisions have only been realized through a common social legitimization ground which is provided by similar hegemonic discourses of key decision-makers. In this context, the key decision-makers developed a dominant rhetoric on the basis of “attracting investment and consumption”, “providing new employment opportunities” and “national image improvement”. Such hegemonic arguments are reflected in the media to mobilize public support behind the formation of the regeneration project. In other words, these hegemonic

discourses play a very important role in constructing and sustaining political dynamics behind the regime of capital accumulation.

Fourthly, as Haydarpaşa case highlights, legislative interventions are very important in the political construction of UDPs. Legislative interventions provide exceptional power mechanisms through facilitating the implementation of the project and eliminating counter-decisions and actions (including the decisions of the Court and Regional Conservation Councils) against the formation of the project. Within the urban regeneration efforts in Haydarpaşa, new laws are introduced as a collection of changes in a number of laws and these new laws facilitate urban property transfer and privatization and they also give rise to the consolidation of urban planning powers through empowering central government institutions (like TCDD and Privatization Administration) and bypassing the decisions of oppositional actors (like Regional Conservation Councils, Districts Municipalities and some Court decisions). The fifth dimension in the political construction of the regeneration project emphasizes the role of the collaboration between the influential actors of the project. After the decisions of the Court and Conservation Council against the formation of the regeneration project, some governmental and non-governmental stakeholders (including Conservation Councils, İstanbul Greater Municipality, Kadıköy Municipality, Üsküdar Municipality, Chamber of Architects, Chamber of City Planners) were invited to the preparation process of conservation plan for Haydarpaşa. Oppositional actors were invited to the process by neo-liberal central government to construct a common politico-ideological ground for the formation of the project. In other words, through using Gramscian terms, such a state-led collaboration effort could be interpreted as a search for a broader coalition of social forces in the production of urban space in Haydarpaşa. This was an obvious attempt to form a hegemonic block at the urban context through eliminating oppositional claims and contrary arguments of different social forces. However this attempt did not succeeded since the Chambers of Architects and City Planners did not involve to this process owing to their concern to become a part of the support for the formation and implementation of a rent-oriented development. The sixth and the last political consideration highlights how oppositional groups act and define their criticism and counter-politics against the formation of the project. In fact, oppositional actors have mobilized their struggle on the basis of public interests. On behalf of public interest such actors bring judiciary action for the cancel and nullity of the plans, laws and all sorts of regulatory frameworks related with the regeneration project. Some influential

oppositional actors are Haydarpaşa Solidarity Group (consisting of 86 NGOs), Chambers of Architects and City Planners, and Union of Port Workers (Liman-İş). Haydarpaşa Solidarity Group had become a focus of rising criticism through gathering together different NGOs against the formation of the project. Led by the Chambers of Architectures and City Planners, this group provided a framework of action through playing an important role in the Regional Conservation Council's "urban conservation site" (kentsel sit alanı) decision. In addition to such oppositional actors, Union of Port Workers had also brought judiciary action against the privatization of publicly-owned port space.

Policy-making efforts, new plans and laws, hegemonic discourses and arguments were not provided the political ground to overcome the opposition of different actors against the formation of the project. However, regeneration efforts never end. Since the 2010 again a collaboration of central government (TCDD) and local government (İstanbul Greater Municipality) has been observable owing to their co-operation in the preparation of a new development plan. TCDD states that after the approval of the plan, a new urban design competition will be organized and after the transferring of port-related activities to Derince Port, winning new urban design projects will decide the future of Haydarpaşa (Sabah, 2010).

4.2 Dubai Towers in İstanbul

Public lands and public spaces of İstanbul have become, one by one, the commodities for a real estate driven neo-liberal economic growth approach. In this respect, such lands and spaces have been exposed to privatization and development initiatives through entrepreneurial urban policies of local and central governments, ambitious efforts of international as well as national investors (Öktem, 2006; Kahraman, 2006). Construction of Dubai Towers was a project of this kind. It was a flagship urban regeneration project, planned to be located in Zincirlikuyu-Maslak axis which is one of the rising central business district of İstanbul.

There were two key actors in the Dubai Towers project. They were İstanbul Greater Municipality and Sama Dubai, an international real estate company. In the year 2005, İstanbul Greater Municipality and Sama Dubai revealed a plan to build a 300-meter multi-use tower complex including five-star hotels, luxury residences, shops and office spaces (Karaman, 2008; Turgut, 2006). This flagship urban regeneration project was depending on

the privatization of 46,242 square meter warehouse space of Istanbul Transportation Authority of Istanbul Greater Municipality (İETT). For such a large scale privatization of public land, Sama Dubai committed to pay 832 million dollars and the project was announced as the first real estate investment partnership between İstanbul Greater Municipality and Sama Dubai (Radikal, 2005). In the project, the role of İstanbul Greater Municipality was the sale of the public land and Sama Dubai committed to bear the cost of the project. These two partners were planning to share the revenue of the project. In other words, Dubai Towers project was depending on an entrepreneurial partnership of local government and international capital.

In the declaration of this entrepreneurial public-private partnership, the president of Sama Dubai stated their aim as “attracting international firms to make Istanbul a financial center” and furthermore he also stated that “thousands of employment opportunities will be provided after the implementation of this project” (Radikal, 2005). The Mayor of İstanbul in the same declaration also underlined that “Greater Municipality have acted like a private firm to maximize the economic value of the land in the formation of this flagship project” (Radikal, 2005). Three days after this declaration, Ministry of Finance prepared a legislative intervention to change the authority of public land transfer. By this way, Ministry of Finance was empowered in regulating the allocation and the sale of public lands including the İETT land (Milliyet, 2005). Such an intervention shows how neo-liberal central government mobilized its legislative power to facilitate the construction of Dubai Towers.



Figure 4.3 An Imaginative View of Dubai Towers

(Source: <http://wownturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=17568&start=20>)

Towards the end of the 2005, the criticism and opposition had raised against the direct sale of public land to Sama Dubai. To overcome such oppositions, in the year 2006, İETT land was sold by tender and Sama Dubai win the tender by committing to pay 832 million dollars for İETT land. This sale of public land had boosted the rise in the exchange value of large scale properties in Zincirlikuyu-Maslak axis. With the sale of İETT land, the property price per square meter in Zincirlikuyu-Maslak axis rose to 17.993 US dollars, surpassing average values in the central business districts of London and Tokyo (Aksoy, 2008). Property prices made a top with the sale of İETT land. As presented in the table mentioned below, the level of land prices in this newly rising central business district of İstanbul had increased more than 20 times between the years 2004 and 2007 (Tasan-Kok and Şence-Türk, 2008). This substantial rise of property prices show how Dubai Towers project have given rise to the production of a huge amount of urban rent in İstanbul's new central business district.

Table 4.1 The sale of properties in the rising Central Business District of İstanbul

Seller	Buyer	Place	The amount of land (m ²)	Price (million dollars)	Price per square meter (dollars)	The date of sale
Roche International pharmaceutical company (the land of factory)	National Investor	Levent	35.079	27,5	786	April 2004
Novatis Uluslararası ilaç şirketi (fabrika arazisi)	National Investor	Levent	13.500	27	1.259	March 2005
Deva Holding (ulusal ilaç şirketi, fabrika arazisi)	National Investor	Şişli	13.300	80,5	6.053	December 2006
Oyak-Renault	National Investor	Levent	10.630	73	6.882	February 2007
The land of General directorate of Highways (belongs to Ministry of Transport)	National Investor	Zincirlikuyu	96.505	800	8.290	March 2007
The Land of İETT (belongs to İstanbul Greater Municipality)	International Investor	Levent	46.241	832	17.993	March 2007
The Land of Turkish Ziraat Bank	National Investor	Büyükdere	6.721	40	5.951	October 2007
The Land of Liquor Factory	National Investor	Esentepe	23.711	415	17.502	July 2008

Source: Taşan-Kok and Şence-Türk, 2008

In the early 2007, The Chambers of Architectures, City Planners and Civil Engineers brought judiciary action for the nullity and the cancel of the revision in the 1/5000 scale development plan. The revision in this plan was made to provide exceptional development opportunities for the construction of Dubai Towers through enhancing the density of construction area and removing the limitations for the height of the buildings. In the same year, 8. Administrative Court of İstanbul (İstanbul 8. İdare Mahkemesi) rejected the judiciary action of these Chambers and the Court decided that there was not any planning decisions violating the principles of urbanism and public interest in the 1/5000 scale development plan. However one year later, in 2008, these Chambers appealed to State Council (Danıştay) for the appellate of the decision and this time State Council decided that enhancing the density of construction area and removing the limitations for the height of Dubai Towers violate the principles of urbanism and public interest (Arkitera, 2009). Therefore, State Council decided the nullity and the cancel of the revision in the 1/5000 scale development plan.

As a result, oppositional claims and the judiciary actions of the Chambers of Architectures, City Planners and Civil Engineers succeeded. They played an important role in the leading of the oppositional movements and activities through bringing judiciary action against the exceptional development opportunities that were provided through the enhancing of the density of construction area and removing the limitations for the height of the towers.

The nullity and the cancel of the revision in the 1/5000 scale development plan stopped the implementation of Dubai Towers project in 2008. Owing to the Court decisions, Sama Dubai rejected to pay the money for the İETT land. Furthermore, the rising global financial crisis in 2008 has negatively affected the economy of Dubai and Sama Dubai, one of the leading holding in Dubai, declared that they could not able to pay 59 billion dollars depth to the market (Milliyet, 2010). Following this declaration, in 2010, Dubai Emirates requested a rescheduling of the depth for its two holdings that are under the direct control of Dubai Emirates. This request to reschedule the depth was including the depth of Sama Dubai for the construction of Dubai Towers in İstanbul. The Mayor of İstanbul stated that “the crisis of global financial system was inevitably negatively affected the implementation of Dubai Towers project” and he also admitted that “there are problems in receiving 832 million dollars for the sale of the İETT land from Sama Dubai” (Milliyet, 2010; soL, 2010). This serious problems within the implementation of the project have given rise to critical approaches against Dubai’s model of economic growth and Dubai-oriented international real-estate investments.

Like the Haydarpaşa urban regeneration project, the future of the Dubai Towers project is not clear. Discussions, speculations and various criticisms have continued throughout the 2000s for the future of the project. Neither the payment of the depth for İETT land nor the development plan revision for the construction of huge towers was realized. Provision of exceptional development opportunities through enhancing the density of construction area and removing the limitations for the height of the buildings had collapsed. The Chambers of Architects, City Planners and Civic Engineers played a key role in bringing judiciary actions against the exceptional development opportunities that were intended to be provided for the construction of Sama Dubai’s huge towers. In addition to court decisions against the project, global financial crisis and the decline in Dubai economy have constituted inevitable negative effects for the implementation of the project. Although, Dubai Towers project was first started with an entrepreneurial partnership of local government and international

capital, it was contested by different actors on the basis of public interest and principles of urbanism. Thus; public-private partnership, revision in the development plan, hegemonic discourses of decision-makers and investors did not provide the political ground to overcome the opposition of different actors against the formation of the project. The key point for the thesis, in this respect, is to point out the political-economic dynamics behind the formation of the project.

There are four major conclusions that could be drawn from the experience of Dubai Towers Project in İstanbul. Firstly, although it was not successful, the formation of this flagship urban regeneration project was depending on an entrepreneurial public-private partnership of local government and international capital. Such public-private partnerships are the major mechanisms in the formation and implementation of UDPs in the advanced capitalist countries. İstanbul Greater Municipality and Sama Dubai intended to form such a partnership to construct Dubai Towers. However, this partnership did not achieve its targets. Secondly, the formation of this project was depending on a large scale privatization of public land. 46,242 square meter warehouse space of İETT was sold to an international real estate investor. It should be noted that the transferring of such properties from public to private sector play a catalyst role in the implementation of the UDPs. Furthermore, it is also needed to state that all the “barriers” against the privatization of public lands (like İETT land) has been eliminated through the efforts of neo-liberal government, including the facilitation of the sale of public lands. Thirdly, Dubai Towers project have sparked a substantial rise in the property prices of Zincirlikuyu-Maslak axis. In this new central business district of İstanbul, property prices show a huge increase with the sale of İETT land. Dubai Towers project show us that such UDPs in İstanbul have become a key strategy in the production of a huge amount of urban rent. The rent-gap in the newly rising central business district of İstanbul has been reduced through such UDPs, targeting high-income segments of the population and high productivity-based economic activities. As such an UDP, Dubai Towers Project has given rise to the production of extra-rent and the subsequent realization of the produced land rent. Fourthly, construction of Dubai Towers entails exceptional development conditions and İstanbul Greater Municipality intended to provide these exceptional conditions in the 1/5000 scale development plan through enhancing of the density of construction area and removing the limitations for the height of the towers. However, led by the Chambers of Architectures, City Planners and Civic Engineers, some organized oppositional social groups opposed and contested this

exceptional development condition. These Chambers play a very important role in the mobilization of oppositional claims and struggles through bringing judiciary action against the formation of the project. Dubai Towers case shows that it is needed to take active consent of such social forces to construct hegemony in the formation of such UDPs.

4.3 Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project

Although there were previous attempts by District Municipalities of Altındağ and Keçiören, urban space in the northern part of Ankara has been reproduced through Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project, started in 2004. It is a huge urban regeneration project covering 1.582 hectares of urban space, previously occupied by the squatters. Since the 1970s, approximately 10.500 squatters had constructed in this northern district of Ankara and after the demolishing of these squatters, Ankara Greater Municipality intended to construct consumption complexes, culture and convention center, five star hotels and luxury and gated residents within the regeneration project (ABB, 2007a).



Figure 4.4 A view from a part of the project area, before the implementation of the Project
(Source: ABB, 2007a)

There was an important legislative intervention behind the formation of Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project. This legislative intervention was making of a new law (Law no: 5104) to constitute the authority of space production in the northern Ankara through

restructuring and redefining the authority of urban planning, project implementation and property transfer. Legislated in the year 2004, Law No. 5140 was a first location-specific law, prepared and approved to implement Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project. In fact, this law assigned key roles within this project to Greater Municipality of Ankara and Housing Development Administration. These two institutions of central and local governments were empowered to prepare necessary urban design projects and to carry out applications for construction works and infrastructure facilities (Balaban, 2008; İnce, 2006). According to the law no. 5104, all the previous development plans of the project area approved prior to this law was suspended and the authority of development plan preparation and approval was transferred from District Municipalities to Ankara Greater Municipality (Balaban, 2008; Yüksel, 2008). Districts Municipalities were no longer empowered to prepare and approve any development plan and all kinds of development and subdivision plans concerning the Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project area were delegated to Greater Municipality of Ankara. In other words, according to Balaban (2008), this law intended to make project area a plan-free zone over which Greater Municipality of Ankara (as the empowered authority of development through the Law. No 5104) could freely develop some planning decisions and development conditions.

Furthermore, according to the law no. 5104, Ankara Greater Municipality was empowered to license all sort of construction works and facilities within the project area. In addition to this, Ankara Greater Municipality was also given the authority to manage and utilize the public properties exist in the project area. With this authority, 115,7 hectares of public property were transferred from different public institutions to Ankara Grater Municipality without any charge (Yüksel, 2008). These authorities, given to Ankara Grater Municipality, shows us how Greater Municipality as a local government institution was provided with an exceptional power in the regeneration of northern Ankara.

Ankara Greater Municipality was not the only powerful actor in the formation and implementation of Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project. Housing Development Administration is also a key actor and a partnership of Ankara Greater Municipality and Housing Development Administration, TOBAŞ (Toplu Konut - Büyükşehir Belediyesi İnşaat Emlak Mimarlık ve Proje A.Ş), was founded to carry out key tasks in the implementation of the project. TOBAŞ was founded as a corporation of central government (Housing Development Administration) and local government (Ankara Greater Municipality) and it

was empowered to manage and coordinate activities in the implementation of the project, including the demolishing of squatters, carrying out the construction of new buildings and removing people living in the squatters of Northern Ankara to Karacakaya District where Housing Development Administration constructed new mass housing for the titleholders in the project area.

The financing of this project was depending on the sale of land and luxury residents and villas, constructed to provide finance for the project. It was planned that the revenue that will generate from the sale of land and these residents and villas will provide a fund to implement the whole project. In the year 2007, Housing Development Administration invited the tenders for the sale of approximately 28 hectares of land in the project area. By such a way of contracting, it was intended to give rise to the construction of 1.823 housing units (luxury residents and villas) within a 431.595 square meter construction area (Yüksel, 2008). It was intended to contract this construction work to a private firm and the revenue, that will generate from the sale of luxury residents and villas, will be shared between Housing Development Administration and the private firm. In other words, it was planned a collaboration of the state and the capital through a revenue-sharing scheme within the implementation of the project. However, any private firm did not demand to involve to this revenue-sharing scheme in 2007 and the tendering process was delayed. In the November of 2010, the tendering process was started again but not resulted yet (Samanyoluhaber, 2010). The construction of luxury residents and villas through such a revenue-sharing scheme and the results of this process are not clear yet.



Figure 4.5 An Imaginative View From Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project, Recreational Facilities and Residents (Source: http://tobas.com.tr/parts/tobasgalerigoster.asp?TYPE_=4)



Figure 4.6: Another Imaginative View From Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project, Luxury Residents and Villas (Source: http://tobas.com.tr/parts/tobasgalerigoster.asp?TYPE_=4)

There are serious critical review against the formation and implementation of this project. Most of these critiques are coming from the profession and academicians of city planning.

For instance, as a first location-specific legislative intervention, Law no. 5410 was criticized by some of the city planners owing to its focus on physical transformation (Balaban, 2008; Yüksel, 2008; Özdemir-Sönmez and Yüksel, 2007; TMMOB, 2007; Uzun, 2006). According to these critical reviews, Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project just intends to physically transform the project area into a prestigious residential- and consumption-based space through the clearance of squatter settlements from the northern periphery of Ankara. This physical transformation approach of the project gives rise to certain problems since the societal dimension of this transformation of urban space was neglected.

In the beginning of the formation of the project, central and local governments produced some hegemonic discourses to provide a socially legitimate basis and to mobilize support behind the formation of the regeneration project. There were two hegemonic arguments in this respect, firstly, “enhancing the quality of life of the people living in the squatters through providing them new mass housing” and secondly, “production of a tourism-oriented and attractive urban space”. However, some preliminary results of the project shows that owing to the high living cost of the newly constructed residences in the project area, most of the middle and low income groups (constituting the majority of the people living in the project area) have tended to move away from the newly constructed residents. For some of the scholars, this first sign of the socio-spatial change of the classes implies the first step of gentrification within the Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project (Yüksel, 2008; Özdemir-Sönmez and Yüksel, 2007; Uzun, 2006). In addition to this, it should be also noted that although the project was developing a rhetoric on the basis of “enhancing quality of life”, the new mass housing, provided in Karacakaya for the low income groups of the project area, was having a very low quality. It is obvious that the project is not capable to increase the quality of life of low income groups in the project (Özdemir-Sönmez and Yüksel, 2007; TMMOB, 2007).

Some other critical review point out different dimensions of urban regeneration project. According to Balaban (2008), through the implementation of the project occupiers of illegal buildings and squatters, which were built before 01.01.2000, were given the right to purchase the new residences. This could be interpreted as a kind of development amnesty. Moreover, a significant level of increase in the property prices and rents has been observable since the implementation of the project (Özdemir-Sönmez and Yüksel, 2007; TMMOB, 2007). This substantial rise of property prices show how Northern Ankara Urban

Regeneration Project has given rise to the production of a huge amount of urban rent in some of the northern districts of Ankara.

There are four major conclusions that could be drawn from a political consideration of Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project. Firstly, to implement the urban regeneration project, the first location-specific legislative intervention was made with the law no. 5104. This law shows how Greater Municipality of Ankara has been given exceptional power in terms of the preparation and approval of development plans, property transfer and carrying out construction works and infrastructure facilities. This law could also be evaluated as a pilot study of the urban regeneration law proposal, consolidating urban planning powers and bypassing the authority of District Municipalities. Urban regeneration areas, within this law, was released from current urban planning system and development legislation. Law no. 5140 shows us again how legislative intervention is important in the political construction of rent-oriented UDPs. Secondly, there is a partnership of local and central government in this regeneration project. As a form of partnership between the local and central governments, TOBAŞ has carried out key functions in managing and coordinating activities within the implementation of the project. Private sector involves to this partnership through the revenue-sharing scheme. Thirdly, although Greater Municipality of Ankara and Housing Development Administrations argued that the priority of this project is “enhancing the quality of life of the people living in the squatters”, there was not such an increase in the quality of life of middle and low income groups, living previously in the project area. Contrary to such hegemonic arguments of the state (made to mobilize support behind the formation of the project), the majority of the people living in the project area have tended to move away from the newly constructed residences because they face a high cost of living in these residences. Under such conditions, most of the middle and low income groups (constituting the majority of the people living in the project area) have started to move to out of the regenerated North of the Ankara. For some of the scholars, this displacement of the low and middle income groups shows the first step of gentrification within the regeneration project (Özdemir-Sönmez and Yüksel, 2007; Uzun, 2006). Fourthly, this urban regeneration project unveils how a rent-oriented and project-based approach have become the mainstream urban (re)development policy since the 2000s within the urban political context of Ankara (Karaburun, 2009; Güzey, 2009). For instance, 2023 master plan of Ankara, underlines the importance of urban (re)development projects for even a long term consideration of Ankara’s urbanization (ABB, 2007b). In this

sense, it supports project-led initiatives and their roles in the production of attractive urban spaces in terms of attracting investment and employment opportunities and making the capital of Turkey a competitive city within the context of rising global competition between cities (Güzey, 2009; ABB, 2007b). Furthermore, the new urban regeneration areas are defined according to some new legislative interventions since the 2000s (like Law No. 5216 and 5140) and these regeneration areas have been subjected to rent-oriented development initiatives, increasing the level of property prices and the displacement of powerless low-income classes and enhancing socio-spatial polarization (Karaburun, 2009; TMMOB, 2007; Uzun, 2006). As a result, a critical consideration of Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project unveils that behind the political construction of UDPs there is a strong state intervention and this state-led urban regeneration initiatives have given rise to the dominance of a rent-oriented and project-based approach in the making of entrepreneurial urban policies, redefining the priorities of urban (re)development and intending to obscure the class conflict behind such urban processes.

4.4 Ankara Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project

Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project was started in 2005 as a result of Ankara Greater Municipality's decision concerning the determination of the project area as "urban regeneration area". This area, known as the "Mühye 902 plot", covers 170 hectares of land, some part of which had been occupied by the squatters since the 1970s. Currently, there are approximately 600 squatters in this plot and the number of shareholders is 2100. Owing to the high number of shareholders and the complexity of property relations, Greater Municipality of Ankara could not intervene to this plot throughout the 1980s and 1990s. However in the year 2005 this plot was determined as an "urban regeneration area" and this decision of Greater Municipality provided a key basis for a rent-oriented intervention to this area.



Figure 4.7 A View From Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project Area

(Source:http://www.ankarabel.gov.tr/AbbSayfalari/Kentsel_Donusum/guney_ankara_muhye/guney_ankara_muhye_ana.aspx)

“Urban regeneration area” decision in the year 2005 was depending on the article 73 of Law No. 5393. According to this article of the law, determination of the urban regeneration area could be announced under the decision of the absolute majority of the entire members of the Municipal Council and these areas, that are subjected to the determination as an urban regeneration area, must be within the borders of the municipal or the neighboring area and it must be at least 50.000 square meters (Law No. 5393). More importantly, urban regeneration areas, within this law, was released from the current urban planning system and development legislation. As an urban regeneration area, “Mühye 902 plot”, was isolated from the master plan and all sorts of upper scale plans of Ankara. In other words, Greater Municipality of Ankara intended to make this plot a plan-free zone to freely develop some exceptional planning decisions and development conditions.

After the determination of the project area (Mühye 902 plot) as an “urban regeneration area”, Greater Municipality of Ankara declared the regeneration project to the public in the year 2007. In this declaration, it was stated that Ankara Greater Municipality signed up contracts with all shareholders within the project area and all of the shareholders agreed to transfer their share to Greater Municipality in return for 1 square meter residential space for each of the 5 square meter land (ABB, 2007). Moreover, Greater Municipality of Ankara

invited the tenders through flat for land method (kat karşılığı yöntemiyle ihale). It was also declared by the Greater Municipality that within this regeneration project there will be high rise, luxury and gated residents, with high technology, electronical security and intelligent building systems (ABB, 2007; Arkitera, 2007).

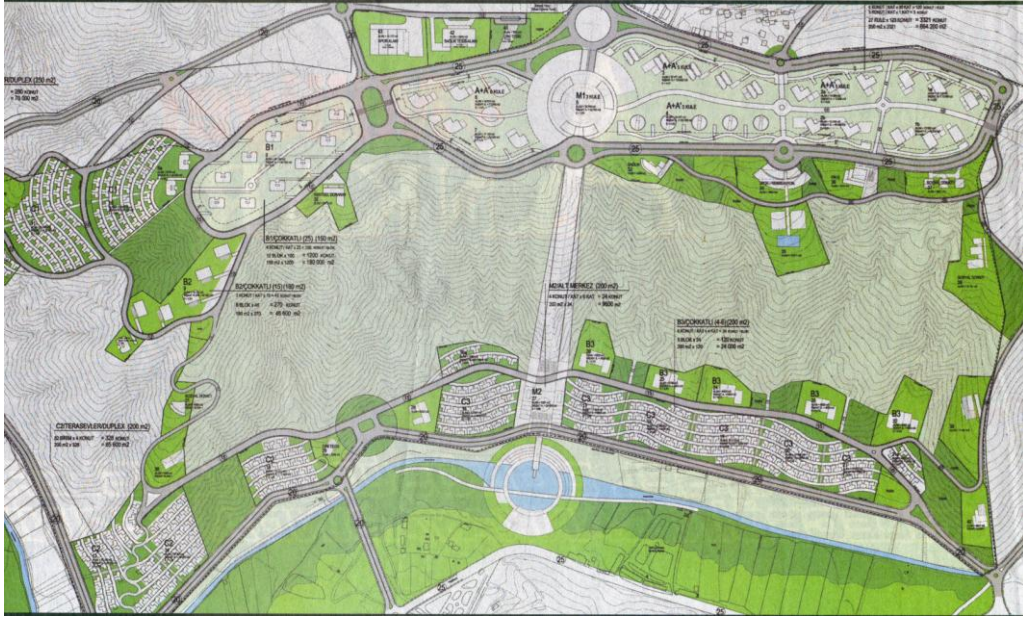


Figure 4.8 The Layout Plan of Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project

(Source:http://www.ankarabel.gov.tr/AbbSayfaları/Kentsel_Donusum/guney_ankara_muhye/guney_ankara_muhye_ana.aspx)

Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project was presented to the public as an “opportunity for a new life full of leisure and shopping”. This “new life” discourse was depending on the formation of a gated community, strongly supported by special security and an exclusionary sense of enclosure. In order to mobilize public support behind the formation of the project, the project was also introduced as a site of attraction in terms of luxury residential life, green and open spaces and a high standard of quality of life (ABB, 2007, Arkitera, 2007).



Figure 4.9 An imaginative view of Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project

(Source:<http://www.milliyetemlak.com/haber/guneypark%E2%80%99ta-islem-tamam/haber.html?haberID=4739>)

In the year 2008, Greater Municipality of Ankara started to prepare 1/1000 scale development plan for Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project. After the preparation and the approval of this development plan, the construction work was contracted to six large construction companies all of which declared that the total approximate cost of the project is around 800 million dollars (Arkitera, 2007). Although the cost was high and the construction work was large scale, Greater Municipality of Ankara declared that it was planned to finish the project in two years (ABB, 2007).

In 2008, after the approval of the development plan, a non-governmental organization called “Çağdaş Başkent Ankara Derneği” (a politically opponent non-governmental organization against the central government and Ankara Greater Municipality), brought a judiciary action for the cancel of the 1/1000 scale development plan which was prepared and approved by the Greater Municipality of Ankara. This NGO, as an oppositional group against the formation of the project, succeeded in the judiciary action and Ankara Greater Municipality’s 1/1000 scale development plan was canceled. In the document of the court decision, two key issue was emphasized. Firstly, the court decided that there is not public interest in the determination of the project area as urban regeneration area. Therefore, it was stated that Mühye 902 plot is not applicable to the development of an urban regeneration project according to the article 73 of Law No. 5393. Secondly, owing to the lack of public interest in the determination of the urban regeneration area, Greater Municipality of Ankara was not empowered to prepare 1/1000 scale development plan

(Ankara 4. İdare Mahkemesi, 2008). In other words, court decision underlined that Greater Municipality of Ankara did not authorized to prepare 1/1000 scale development plan for Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project, but rather Çankaya Municipality had the authority to prepare this plan according to the Municipal Law.

After the court decision, the 1/1000 scale development plan was canceled and the implementation of Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project was stopped in 2009. To overcome this court decision, neo-liberal central government prepared a legislative intervention in 2010 through initiating a bill of law (kanun teklifi) concerning the revisions of the article 73 of Law No. 5393. By the revision of this article in the Municipal Law, Greater Municipalities are empowered to determine any area as urban regeneration area without any justification in terms of the principles of urbanism, planning and public interest (Radikal, 2010). Furthermore, all public properties in these urban regeneration areas are transferred from different public institutions to Greater Municipalities and the authority of development plan preparation and approval at all scales of planning (including the preparation of 1/1000 scale development plan) is given to Greater Municipalities (Hürriyet, 2010a).

This legislative intervention was made by the decision of the Council of Ministers. Through such a direct intervention of central government, seven different areas (each covering huge amount of land and having a high potential to produce rent) are determined and declared as urban regeneration areas (Cumhuriyet, 2010). Six of these seven areas were belonging to the borders of Çankaya and Yenimahalle District Municipalities which are administrated by the main oppositional party (Republican People's Party). By this law, as the prevailing political power of central government, Justice and Development Party provided a legal ground for Greater Municipalities to bypass District Municipalities of different parties and to dominate some exceptional development rights (for urban regeneration areas) over the broader urban planning system of the metropolitan cities (Bayram, 2010). Such a dramatic change in the planning of urban regeneration areas means how Greater Municipalities were provided with exceptional urban policy and planning powers through the legislative intervention of central government.

With the revision of the article 73 of Municipal Law, Greater Municipality of Ankara was empowered to prepare 1/1000 scale development plan for the Güneypark Urban

Regeneration Area. In other words, Greater Municipality of Ankara was given a legally legitimate basis to carry on the implementation of Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project. In the year 2010, Greater Municipality of Ankara prepared and approved the 1/1000 scale development plan and this time contracted construction work to a large construction company (ABB, 2010a). The construction of the gated residences and the implementation process of the project are continuing (ABB, 2010b).

The Chambers of Architectures and City Planners have criticized the revision of the Municipal Law in terms of the determination and the planning of urban regeneration areas (Radikal, 2010; Hürriyet, 2010b). According to these Chambers, through the implementation of this law, Greater Municipalities have emerged as the sole authority in the planning of urban regeneration projects in metropolitan cities. This huge power of rent-distribution might be abused owing to the violation of the principles of urbanism, planning and public interest (Radikal, 2010). Oppositional political parties, on the other hand, stated that this law bypasses the planning authority of most of the District Municipalities in metropolitan cities. Oppositional parties argue that this law was prepared under the strong influence of İstanbul and Ankara Greater Municipalities because the law serves mostly to these two Greater Municipalities. Oppositional parties also stated their tendency to bring a judiciary action for the nullity and the cancel of this law (Hürriyet, 2010b).

It is possible to draw three major lessons from a political consideration of Ankara Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project. Firstly; the revision of Municipal Law, concerning the determination and the planning of urban regeneration areas, shows that central government made direct legislative interventions to overcome court decisions against the implementation of urban regeneration projects. Legislative interventions (new laws, revisions in the existing laws...etc) play a very important role not only as a catalyst in the implementation of the project but also as a “problem solving” mechanism, overcoming court decisions against the project. Secondly, Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project shows how Greater Municipalities were provided with exceptional urban policy and planning powers through the legislative intervention of central government. Through the provision of such exceptionalities, Greater Municipalities find opportunities to bypass the planning authority of District Municipalities. Thirdly, Chambers of Architectures and City Planners, some non-governmental organizations and oppositional political parties have mobilized oppositional claims and struggles against the implementation of Güneypark Urban

Regeneration Project. Such organized oppositional social groups may play a role in the mobilization of the political struggle through bringing judiciary action against the implementation of the project. Like the cases of Haydarpaşa and Dubai Towers, Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project also shows that it is needed to take active consent of such oppositional groups to construct hegemony in the formation of such UDPs. As a last point of consideration, it should be noted that political construction of such UDPs (like Güneypark) should be understood as a site of political struggle to get the power of rent-distribution, which could be turned into a powerful instrument to enhance political power.

4.5 The Critical Review of the Politics of Urban Development Projects in Turkey

The political dynamics of four UDPs from İstanbul and Ankara are critically analyzed and discussed in this chapter. The findings of this analysis is summarized in the tables mentioned below. The first table briefly summarizes the main political dimensions of the projects, that are critically investigated. The second table gives a brief explanation on how the hegemonic discourses and legislative interventions, as the different but interrelated and complementary dimensions, have been utilized in the political construction of the projects. The second table also provides summarized answers on the questions like which actor play what kind of roles in the political construction of the projects.

The findings of this chapter could be summarized through discussing five common political-economic dimensions of four UDPs. These five common dimensions reflect Turkish urban political context in which UDPs are formed and implemented. Firstly, the main development logic behind the formation of four UDPs is the production and distribution of urban rent. Through regenerating urban space, a rent-oriented approach in the production of space has become the dominant paradigm of urban politics. Some urban sites (such as the port and train station in Haydarpaşa, warehouse of İETT in Maslak squatters in Northern Ankara and Güneypark) are declared as “economically unproductive” by the governmental decision-makers of the cities. Rent-oriented UDPs are proposed as solutions to regenerate these “economically unproductive spaces” through transforming them into “attractive spaces for investment”. An abstract space approach, with reference to Lefebvre, has become dominant through these rent-oriented UDPs. Secondly, in the formation of these UDPs, hegemonic discourses of powerful governmental and investor-business actors have constituted a hegemonic-ideological power over the definition of urban planning priorities. “Economic growth”, “investment”, “employment” and “urban regeneration” based

hegemonic discourses are produced and disseminated through mass media tools and these discourses have redefined urban policy and planning priorities on the basis of urban entrepreneurialism. Thirdly, the political power, in the formation of UDPs, has been constructed through not only by hegemonic discourses and activities, but also through some legislative interventions like new laws, revisions in the existing laws and decree-laws ...etc. Such legislative interventions have operated as coercive mechanisms of capitalist state, since they impose some mechanisms to reorganize urban planning powers and to facilitate property transfer and privatization through the enforcement of legislative frameworks. Such coercive-legislative interventions of capitalist state have also function as mechanisms to bypass oppositional activities and court decisions that are against the formation of the projects. Therefore, through using their legislative power, powerful governmental decision-makers enforce legislative frameworks to facilitate the formation and implementation of UDPs.

Fourthly, consideration of the political dynamics of UDPs show that there are different actors supporting to or opposing against the formation of UDPs. Governmental decision-maker actors (central or local government institutions and their partnerships), investors and business associations, ruling political party, media institutions and some universities (if they involve to the project) have constituted the base of political power in the formation of the projects. Led by the governmental and investor-business actors, these powerful actors play key roles in the production and dissemination of hegemonic discourses. On the other side, chambers (affiliated to the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects), some labor unions and non-governmental organizations, oppositional media institutions, left-wing political parties and some universities have stated their oppositional views and organized their struggle against the formation of UDPs. In these oppositional movements, Chambers of Architectures and City Planners have led the formation of oppositional views and movements, since they have key roles in controlling urban development processes in terms of public interest.

Lastly, the critical investigations made in Chapters 3 and 4 together reveal that the utilization of hegemonic-ideological and coercive-legislative mechanisms in the political construction of UDPs have differentiated according to different state-civil society relationship patterns in different countries of the world. Since the agents of civil society in western capitalist countries are well organized and powerful in the making of urban

development policies, they perform an active and determinative role in the formation of UDPs. However in different political contexts like China, where state has a coercive-repressive power over the agents of civil society, state has the power to directly impose the formation of UDPs. Hegemonic discourses and activities within the field of “civil society” is important in the cities where the agents of civil society are well organized and have a stake in the making of urban development policies. Legislative interventions of the state have play crucial coercive roles in the political contexts where the state has a repressive power over the actors of civil society. In other words, the articulation of consent and coercive mechanisms, in other words hegemony and force, have differentiated according to the patterns of the relations between state and civil society. In the urban political contexts of İstanbul and Ankara, both hegemonic discourses and legislative interventions are used with a complementary manner in the political construction of UDPs. Not only “growth”, “investment” and “regeneration” based discourses of civil society actors but also legislative interventions of state actors have constructed the political power to produce urban space through UDPs.

To conclude, the comparative and critical investigation of the politics of UDPs from different capitalist countries of the world and Turkey give rise to the formulation of two further initial arguments. In addition of the two previously stated initial argument, that were formulated within the theoretical framework of thesis, these two initial arguments are mentioned below. These total four initial arguments constitute the starting point in the designing of the case study of thesis.

Initial Argument 3: In the political construction of UDPS; not only discursive practices of hegemony construction, but also coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state (new laws, change in the existing laws, decree laws ...etc.) play a key role.

Initial Argument 4: UDPs are politically constructed through the complementary relation and differential articulation of the discursive practices of hegemony construction and coercive-legislative mechanisms of the capitalist state

Table 4.2 The Comparison of Key Dimensions of Four UDPs From İstanbul and Ankara

	Size, location and the new functions	Main development logic and the production of urban rent	The political construction of the UDPs			Oppositional movements and the leading oppositional groups against the formation of the UDPs	The results of the project
			Hegemonic arguments and discourses in mobilizing public support behind the formation of the UDPs	The role of legislative interventions in the formation and implementation of the UDPs	Powerful actors in the formation of the UDPs		
Haydarpaşa Urban Regeneration Project in İstanbul	110 hectares of waterfront area including the port and train station. The project area has been used as a transportation node since the early 20 th century and served to a large industrial geography in Marmara region. The urban regeneration project intends to produce new functions like shopping centers, luxury residents, and five star hotels...etc.	Flagship urban regeneration through Haydarpaşa World Trade Center and Cruiser Port Project. Relocation of the port and train station and tourism-oriented development approach was proposed within this project. There is high-level of rent production potential within the urban regeneration efforts.	“Manhattanization of Haydarpaşa”, “Making Haydarpaşa a new Venice” and “developing a world trade center” to “attract investment”, “provide employment opportunities” and to “provide an improved national image”	New Laws <u>Law No. 5234 and Law No. 5335</u> Legislative interventions to facilitate the privatization of port and train station and to change the authority of development plan preparation and approval by empowering central government institutions (Ministry of Finance, TCDD) <u>Law No.5793</u> Legislative intervention to overcome court decision by empowering Privatization Administration and bypassing Conservation Councils and District Municipalities in terms of the authority of development plan preparation and approval The change in the existing law <u>Law no. 3621</u> – A change in the coastal law to provided the legal basis for the construction of cruiser port	A Central Government-led urban regeneration effort - Central Government Institutions (Turkish State Railways, Privatization Administration, Cabinet and Turkish National Assembly as a legislative base of power)	The Chamber of Architectures and City Planners (lead the formation and the activities of Haydarpaşa Solidarity Group), Union of Port Workers and some other non-governmental institutions... On behalf of the public interest, such actors brought judiciary action for the cancel and the nullity of the plans and laws related with the regeneration project.	Policy-making efforts, new plans and laws, hegemonic arguments were not provided the political ground to overcome the opposition of different actors. However, regeneration efforts never end. Since the 2010 there is a collaboration of TCDD and İstanbul Greater Municipality to prepare a new development plan and to arrange a new urban design competition.

Table 4.2 (Continued)

Dubai Towers in Istanbul	Project depends on the privatization of 4,6 hectares area in the new central business district of Istanbul. This area was previously used as the warehouse of İETT. Project includes the construction of 300-meter multi-use tower complex including consumption, residential and service-based functions.	Flagship urban regeneration through the construction of Dubai Towers. There are two partners of the project, Istanbul Greater Municipality and Sama Dubai. Sama Dubai committed to pay the cost of the project in return for a share of the revenue of the project. The project gave rise to the production of a huge amount of rent in the new central business district of Istanbul.	"Attracting international firms and investments to make Istanbul a financial center", "thousands of employment opportunities will be provided after the implementation of this project", "state should act as a private firm to maximize the economic value of the land"	The change in the existing law <u>Law No. 5018</u> – A change in the Public Financial Management and Control Law to redefine the authority of public land transfer through empowering Ministry of Finance and facilitating the privatization of public lands.	An unsuccessful entrepreneurial partnership of local government (Istanbul Greater Municipality) and international capital (Sama Dubai) with the support of central government	The Chamber of Architectures, City Planners and Civic Engineers played an important role in the leading of the oppositional activities through bringing judiciary action against the exceptional development opportunities that were provided through the enhancing of the density of the construction area and removing the limitations for the height of the towers.	The project was contested by oppositional actors on the basis of public interest and the principles of urbanism. Thus; public-private partnership, revision in the development plan, hegemonic arguments of decision-makers and investors did not provide the political ground to overcome the oppositional claims and struggles against the formation of the project.
Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project	1.582 hectares of urban space in Northern Ankara, previously occupied by the squatters. Urban Regeneration project intends to produce new consumption and residential based functions including convention centers, shopping malls and luxury residents.	Urban regeneration through demolishing squatters and physically transforming the project area into a "prestigious" residential and consumption based space. Main development logic was the collaboration of the state and capital through revenue sharing scheme. There is also a substantial rise of property prices in and around the project area, showing the production of a huge amount of rent.	"Production of a prestigious, tourism-oriented and attractive urban space", "enhancing the quality of life of the people living in the squatters through providing them new mass housing"	New Law <u>Law 5104</u> – As the first location-specific law, Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project Law restructured and redefined the authority of urban planning, property-transfer and project implementation. With this law, Greater Municipality of Ankara was given key authorities and all the previous development plans of the project area approved prior to this law was suspended and the authority of development plan preparation and approval was transferred from District Municipalities to Ankara Greater Municipality.	A partnership of Local Government (Greater Municipality of Ankara) and Central Government (Housing Development Administration), TOBAŞ founded as an institution of this partnership. Private sector was involved to this partnership through the revenue sharing scheme.	Although they did not bring judiciary action against the project, the Chambers of Architectures and City Planners have criticized the regeneration project. Their oppositional claims were criticizing the (1) gentrification and displacement, physical transformation lacking a social dimension and (2) the dominance of a rent-oriented, project-based approach lacking a comprehensive, holistic and long-term urban regeneration perspective.	Some parts of the project were finished and the implementation of the whole project depends on the success of the revenue-sharing scheme. On the other hand, the project increased the level of property prices and it also gave rise to the displacement of powerless low income classes. Law No. 5104 and the dominance of rent-oriented, project-based, non-holistic urban regeneration approach attracted so much criticism by the Chamber of City Planners.

Table 4.2 (Continued)

Ankara Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project	Project area is in the southern part of Ankara, covering 170 hectares of land some part of which had been invaded by the squatters since the 1970s. Within this regeneration project, it was planned to construct shopping malls and high rise, gated and luxury residents for high-income classes.	Urban regeneration through demolishing squatters and physically transforming the project area into a luxury residential space for high income classes. There is high number of shareholders in the project area and they agreed to transfer their share to Greater Municipality in return for residential space. Private sector participated to the project through flat for land method.	Project was presented to the public as an “opportunity for a new life full of leisure and shopping”. This “new life” discourse was envisaged for the high income classes on the basis of “luxury residential life”, “green and open spaces” and “a high standard of quality of life”	The change in the existing law A change in the <u>Municipal Law (Law No.5393)</u> in order to; (1) overcome court decision, (2) bypass District Municipalities and empower Greater Municipalities as the sole authority in the planning of urban regeneration projects. With this law, Greater Municipalities were empowered to determine any area as the urban regeneration area.	Greater Municipality of Ankara and Central Government (Greater Municipality of Ankara was empowered as the sole authority in the planning of urban regeneration projects by the legislative intervention of Central Government)	Politically opponent non-governmental organizations, one of which brought judiciary action against the project, The Chambers of City Planners and Architectures raise criticisms on the basis of the violation of the principles of urbanism, planning and public interest, Oppositional parties also stated their tendency to bring judiciary action for the cancel of the Municipal Law.	By the change in the Municipal Law, Greater Municipality of Ankara was given a legally legitimate basis to carry on the implementation of the project. Construction work was contracted to a large construction company, the construction process is still continuing. Judiciary actions against the operation of the Municipal Law may stop the implementation of the project.
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Table 4.3: The Political Construction of Urban Development Projects in Turkey

THE POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN TURKEY		
	HEGEMONY (Consent) Hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent for the projects ("Economic growth", "investment" and "employment" based hegemonic discourses, arguments and narratives)	FORCE (Coercion) Coercive-legislative mechanism of capitalist state in the formation of the projects (Reorganizations of urban planning powers, Bypassing of oppositional actors and decisions through laws and empowerment of state institutions)
Haydarpaşa Urban Regeneration Project	"Manhattanization of Haydarpaşa", "Making Haydarpaşa a new Venice" and "developing a world trade center" to "attract investment", "provide employment opportunities" and to "provide an improved national image"	Legislative interventions (Law No. 5234, 5335, 5793, 3621) Facilitating the privatization of publicly owned resources, changing the authority of development plan preparation and approval, empowering central government institutions and bypassing conservation councils and district municipalities
Dubai Towers Project	"Attracting international firms and investments to make Istanbul a financial center", "thousands of employment opportunities will be provided", "Greater Municipality of İstanbul acts as a private firm in this project to maximize the economic value of the land"	Legislative intervention (Law No. 5393) Overcoming court decisions, bypassing District Municipalities and empowering Greater Municipalities as the sole authority in the planning of urban regeneration projects
Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project	"Production of a prestigious, tourism-oriented and attractive urban space", "enhancing the quality of life of the people living in the squatters through providing them new mass housing"	Legislative intervention (Law No. 5104) Restructuring and redefining the authority of urban planning, property transfer and project implementation within the urban regeneration area, bypassing District Municipalities and giving exceptional powers to Greater Municipality of Ankara in the planning of northern Ankara urban regeneration
Ankara Güneypark Urban Regeneration Project	"Opportunity for a new life full of leisure and shopping". "New life" discourse was envisaged for the high income classes on the basis of "luxury residential life", "green and open spaces" and "a high standard of quality of life"	Legislative intervention (Law No. 5018) Facilitating the privatization of publicly owned resources through empowering central government institutions
Powerful and dominant actors in the political construction of UDPs	The Production and Dissemination of Hegemonic Discourses Central and local governments, property owners and investors, local business associations, ruling political party, universities and media institutions and non-governmental organizations	The Formation of Coercive-Legislative Mechanisms of Capitalist State Central government
Oppositional actors struggling against the formation of UDPs	The Production and Dissemination of Counter Hegemonic Discourses Chambers (affiliated to the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects), labor unions, non-governmental organizations, media institutions, oppositional left-wing political parties and universities	Judiciary actions against the formation of UDPs Chambers (affiliated to the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) and non-governmental organizations
The Configuration of Actors	Political Society + Civil Society (Integral State)	
Two initial arguments through considering the politics of UDPs in the World and Turkey (3) In the political construction of UDPs; not only discursive practices of hegemony construction, but also coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state (new laws, change in the existing laws, decree laws ...etc.) play a key role. (4) UDPs are politically constructed through the complementary relation and differential articulation of the discursive practices of hegemony construction and coercive-legislative mechanisms of the capitalist state.		

CHAPTER 5

THE POLITICAL-ECONOMICAL BACKGROUND OF URBANIZATION AND PLANNING WITHIN THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF İZMİR

Urban development processes in İzmir are investigated with reference to local economic structure and political dynamics within the historical development of the city. In this framework, major urban development plans and urban development projects (UDPs) in different political-economic periods are critically elaborated. Capital accumulation dynamics and dominant urbanization policies are discussed within a critical manner. Through revealing the historical development and transformation of political-economic dynamics, six major trajectories of urbanization are defined and the discussion in this chapter is organized around these six political-economic trajectory of urbanization of İzmir.

The first trajectory of urbanization covers a long historical period in which İzmir was a foreign market dependent agricultural product exporter port city. The second trajectory had been shaped by political revolution and the building of nation state between 1923 and 1945. The third trajectory of urbanization of İzmir reflects the first attempts to liberalize local economy through import substituted industrialization between the years 1945 and 1960. In the fourth trajectory between 1960 and 1980, import substituted industrialization had been developed further and its impacts upon the urbanization processes had become apparent under the influence of a sub-fordist regime of capital accumulation. The fifth and sixth trajectories of post-1980 period show how neo-liberalization, with its global and local dynamics, has been constructed as the dominant political regime of Turkey. In these trajectories of huge political-economic change, urbanization process and local economic structure of İzmir have been emerged as the driving force of capital accumulation regime. The fifth trajectory, which is called “roll-back neo-liberalization” signals the first rise of urbanization within the transformation of local economic structure of İzmir in the 1980s and 1990s. The sixth and ongoing trajectory since the 2000s represents how state and capital have politically constructed and organized the operation of urban entrepreneurialism in İzmir. In the following parts of Chapter 5, the political-economic background of urban development processes are elaborated around these six trajectories of urban political-economic change.

5. 1 17. Century - 1929: A Foreign Market Dependent Agricultural Product Exporter Port city

In the late Ottoman period, İzmir had articulated to capitalist mode of industrial production through exporting agricultural products. In this political-economical trajectory of urbanization, port oriented urban development had become important since it provided key dynamics for the reproduction of capital accumulation dynamics under the dominance of imperialist western countries.

5.1.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics

As an agriculture-oriented port city, articulation of İzmir to capitalist system dates back to 17. century. In the period between 17. and 19. centuries, İzmir was in a position of foreign trade center, distributing agricultural and craft products of city's hinterland to west European countries through the port (Yıldırım & Haspolat, 2010). In this period, İzmir was a colony of imperialist countries, articulated to the relations of trade capitalism under the effects of the mercantilist policies of west European countries (Kurmuş, 2008).

Throughout the 17. century, city's hinterland had produced and supplied agricultural products, which were demanded by western European countries owing to the growth of industrial structure in these countries (Atay, 1991). In this period, these agricultural products were distributed through the port and these products had provided key raw materials for the growth of industries in the western European countries. Large foreign companies of İzmir had become powerful in this local economic context, because they were having significant marketing and trade connections and furthermore the level of the production of some agriculture products (like cotton, grape, fig, oil and tobacco) was increased substantially owing to the demand of foreign markets (Kaya, A.Y., 2010). Although there were large foreign companies and they were dominating trade relations in İzmir, there was also small-scale agricultural producers. However these small-scale producers were not powerful; because large foreign companies were controlling foreign trade relations and they had become dominant actors of local economic structure in İzmir.

The position of İzmir, which is defined as “a foreign market dependent agricultural product exporter port city”, was provided new development dynamics in the year 1838 as a result the “Treaty of Balta Liman” signed amongst the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain and

Northern Ireland United Kingdom. This treaty of trade removed the system, which was prohibiting the marketing of domestically produced raw materials by foreign traders. New trade regime, constructed by Treaty of Balta Liman, provided new opportunities for foreign traders to participate foreign and domestic trade relations. Foreign traders had become more powerful as a result of this system (Beyru, 2000). By this way, the control and the power of foreign traders over the local economic structure of İzmir (which was developed as a dependent agricultural product exporter port city) had been strengthened (İkiz, 2003).

The local economic structure of İzmir had been developed within this framework until the 1920s. İzmir articulated to capitalism within a system in which local economic structure had been controlled by foreign capital. In the 1920s, local economic structure and political dynamics had been changed dramatically as a result of the establishment of Turkish Republic, nation state building and world-wide economic crisis.

5.1.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization

Local economic structure and capital accumulation relations had shaped the processes of the production of urban space in the period between 17. and 19. centuries. In this period, urban development projects (UDPs), constructed according to the plan of Danger & Prost, produced urban spaces of “foreign market dependent agricultural product exporter port city”.

The first city-wide master plan of İzmir was prepared by architects Rene Danger and Raymond Danger with the consultancy of Henri Prost. This first master plan was having a physical planning approach and it was approved in the year 1925. Danger & Prost plan proposed some key UDPs to reproduce and sustain local economic structure and capital accumulation relations of the city (DEÜ, 1997; Altınçekiç, 1987). These UDPs were Alsancak Port and a Railway System with a new central station, which connected agricultural production hinterland to Alsancak station and port (Bilsel, 2000). As a physical planning approach, the plan of Danger & Prost proposed a new port and a new railway transportation system and also new industrial production zones (Bilsel, 2009). These UDPs had produced a working urban spatial system to connect the production and distribution of agricultural and industrial raw material products. Furthermore; within the plan of Danger & Prost, it was proposed to build a new town on the areas that were destroyed by fire and

large boulevards and public squares were also proposed as an expression of this period's French modernist architecture (Can, 2010; Kaya, 2002). Danger & Prost plan did not include the area that are ranging from the backside of the port towards the Karşıyaka district. However it intended to connect some touristic sites to the center and within this context the plan proposed to rearrange İnciraltı as a public beach.

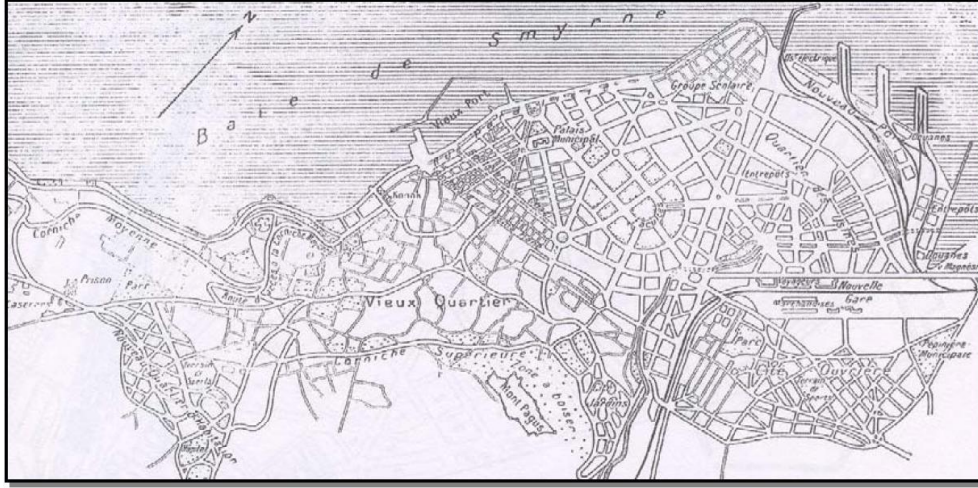


Figure 5.1 The Plan of Danger & Prost, 1925 (Source: Kaya,2002)

Besides of the UDPs that were proposed by Danger & Prost plan, there were also different UDPs, constructed in the hinterland and even in the city center. These UDPs were İzmir-Aydın, İzmir-Kasaba railway systems and large inns and warehouse structures, which were facilitating the distribution and storing of agricultural products. Railway systems provided transportation infrastructure for the transferring and distribution of agricultural products, produced in the agricultural hinterland and delivered to city center for distribution to western European markets. Large inns and warehouse structures, on the other hand, provided opportunities to storage these products before distributing them abroad. (Kıray, 1998; Altınçekiç, 1987).

Thus; UDPs in this period, served to the local economic structure of “foreign market dependent agricultural product exporter port city” and reproduced the relations of the capitalist mode of production through providing a system of the production, distribution and marketing of agricultural products and industrial raw materials. These UDPs (both proposed within the Danger & Prost plan and independently of the plan) had become the hegemonic projects of urbanization to the extent that they dominated, reproduced and

(re)territorialized capitalist economic structure within the context of socio-spatial relations in the city of İzmir and its hinterland.

5.2 1929 - 1945: The Construction of Nation State and State-led Industrial Development Attempts in the City

In the 1920s, there were dramatic events in terms of the change of political regime and capitalist economic relations. Turkish War of Independence was followed by a political revolution through which the nation state of Turkish Republic had constructed. State-led industrialization policies had become dominant in this period to construct an independent economic structure. Policies of urbanization had concentrated to produce the spaces of the new independent republic throughout the 1930s.

5.2.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics

There were significant political and economical changes occurred in the 1920s. The Turkish War of Independence against the occupation of imperialist west European countries and after the war with the declaration of the Republic in the year 1923, a nation state building process had begun to produce a politically and economically independent country. Under the conditions of this political revolution, a dramatic transformation process had began to change previous local economic structure (defined as foreign market dependent agricultural product exporter) of the city. In this process of change and revolution, it was intended to transform dependent economic structure, because it was exporting industrial raw materials as agricultural products and importing industrial products from west European countries. This economic structure was depending on the operation of the capitalist mode of production of west European countries. To transform this dependent economic structure, in the 1930s, a state-led independent industrial development had become the main objective of Turkish Republic. Industrial development policies and local economic development and transformation policies had been produced in this period to construct this state-led independent industrial structure in the whole country (Keskinok, 2010).

In this period between 1929 and 1945; the decisions that were taken in the first İzmir Economic Congress had played a very important role in the construction of the state-led national industrialization process. In the direction of the decisions, taken in the Congress, it was targeted and planned to establish some industrial sectors (whose raw materials were

provided domestically); to support private sector for industrial development and to mobilize state investments for the development of public sector in the industrial growth of the country. Moreover, it was aimed to produce consumer goods which were imported previously and to support domestic industrial sectors through tax regulation. State investments, according to the decisions of the Congress, were mobilized to establish some particular industrial sectors, which were not preferred to make investment by private industrial firms (Altınçekiç, 1998). This was a revolutionary period of economic and political change, while on the one hand a bourgeoisie class had been constructed with state intervention; on the other hand, working class had been constructed, important foreign-oriented establishments had been nationalized and trade union rights were provided to this newly growing working classes. In this period; with its different elements it was started to construct a economy-politic structure, articulated to capitalist system through the political operation of nation state and economic functioning of (relatively) independent state-led industrial growth.

World-wide economic crisis in the year 1929 played an important role in the shaping of policies in this period. Crisis caused a sharp decrease in the prices of agricultural products and industrial raw materials. This decrease disabled agricultural product exporter and industrial product importer local economies like İzmir to pursue free trade policies (Kaya, A.Y. 2010). In this period; as a result of the effect of the crisis, exportation of İzmir Port decreased significantly. Between the years 1927 and 1932 the level of exportation diminished almost % 50, decreased from 99,7 million TL to 40,6 million TL (Kaya, A.Y. 2010). World-wide economic crisis, the declaration of Republic and nation state building processes had all given rise to protectionist trade policies and state-led industrialization policies which also became the driving forces of change and development behind the restructuring of local economy.

In this period; within the context of first Five Year Development Plan, the first modern textile and clothing production establishment Sümerbank was established in 1933. In the year 1935, Etibank was established to process underground sources and to provide raw materials and energy for the development of industry. In the year 1937; an Iron and Steel Plant factory was established in Karabük. Karabük was designed as an ideal model of industrial city in this period within the context of state-led national industrialization policies (Keskinok, 2010). Furthermore; in this period, the organization of small agricultural

producers was also initiated and supported by nation state. With the Law of Agriculture Sales Cooperatives and Unions, small agricultural producers were provided opportunities to supply directly their products to markets through cooperatives without middleman and commissions. TARİŞ (Agricultural Sales Cooperatives Union) as the first agricultural production and marketing cooperative established in İzmir in the year 1937 and it provided opportunities for small-scale agricultural producers to accumulate capital and to involve in the local economic structure (Kaya, A.Y. 2010).

In the 1930s and in the first half of the 1940s, economic structure of the country had been shaped on the basis of state-led national industrialization policies and İzmir articulated to this economic restructuring process through the developments in the food and textile industries. Through the direct investments of the state and the promotion of private sector, textile and ginning factories were established. Furthermore, factories of preserve food, flour, pasta and herbal oil was established within the development of food industry; in addition to them, furniture industry and construction material manufacturing also started to develop in İzmir (Altınçekiç, 1998). On the other hand important resources for industrial development were transferred to public through nationalization in İzmir. For instance; İzmir-Aydın and İzmir-Kasaba Railway Companies, the company of İzmir Port, municipal services and energy production, all of which were controlling by foreign companies, had been transferred from international capital to the nation-state of Turkish Republic (Kaya, A.Y. 2010).

To sum up, in this period of dramatic political and economic change under the conditions of world economic crisis and nation state building, protectionist trade policies and state-led national industrial development policies had become dominant in the shaping of local economic structure of İzmir. The city was no more “a foreign market dependent agriculture product exporter port city”; it was rather a focus of state-led and national industrial development attempts. In the period between 1929-1945, local economic structure of İzmir had been shaped and constructed within the context of this nation state oriented industrialization process. According to Altınçekiç (1987), this period of state-led national industrialization was the first rise period of industrial development of İzmir.

5.2.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization

In the years between 1929-1945, “the construction of nation state and state-led industrial development attempts” had become dominant in the production of urban space. Some decisions of Danger & Prost plan, that was approved in 1925, were realized in this period. In Danger & Prost plan; a new port and industrial production districts (connectedly with this new port) in Halkapınar and Çankaya were planned. In this period; food and textile factories were constructed in these industrial production districts through the direct investment of state.

In 1933, Danger & Prost plan was revised to realize an important UDPs. After Alsancak Port Project, as the second most important UDPs, Kültürpark was planned and designed within this revision of Danger & Prost Plan. Kültürpark was planned and designed as a national and international fair site for the presentation and marketing of industrial products. As a fair site, Kültürpark located in Alsancak, the heart of commercial activities in İzmir.

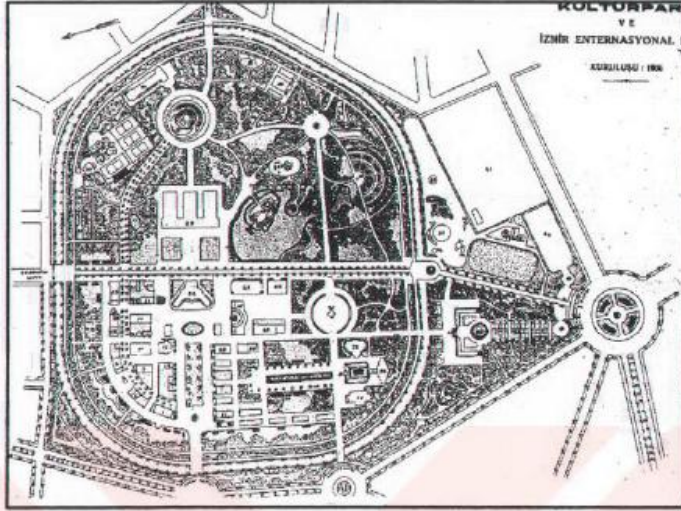


Figure 5.2 The Layout Plan of Kültürpark (Source: Kaya, N., 2002)

The idea to design a fair site complex for the presentation and marketing of industrial products was first suggested in İzmir Economy Congress in the year 1923. To realize this idea, since the first years of the 1930s, the Mayor of İzmir Behçet Uz searched the organization, planning and design of fair site complexes in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. After these studies, he decided to revise Danger & Prost plan to realize Kültürpark as the fair site complex of İzmir. Kültürpark was constructed as a national and

international fair site complex, functioning for the presentation and marketing of local industrial products. It was the most prominent UDP of İzmir in the 1930s, since it provided the key urban spatial organization for the reproduction of local economic structure and capital accumulation relations.

In the period 1925-1945, out of Kültürpark there were not any UDPs. On the other hand; towards the end of the 1930s, the studies to prepare a new city-wide master plan were started since Danger & Prost plan had become incapable and limited to respond the new demands of growing city. Therefore; in 1938, as the leading figure of rational comprehensive planning and modernist architecture, Le Corbusier was charged by the Municipality of İzmir with the duty of preparing the new city-wide master plan. However the start of second world war in 1939 disrupted and delayed planning studies and Le Corbusier completed master plan in 1948.

5.3 1945 – 1960: Attempts to Liberalize Local Economy and Transition Towards Import Substituted Industrialization in the City

In the period between 1945 and 1960, first attempts to liberalize local economic structure of İzmir could be observed. In this period of political and economical change, economic structure of Turkey started to adopt import-substituted industrialization regime under the dominance of right-wing central government of Turkey. As a result of this capital accumulation regime; migration and rural unemployment (owing to the mechanization in agricultural production) had initiated squatter development in the metropolitan centers of Turkey. Policy-makers, in this period, did not tend to solve such structural problems of urbanization through adopting a rational comprehensive, holistic and long-term perspective of planning, but rather they tend to make clientalist urban policies through distributing the rights of construction to particular social classes by partial interventions to urban space. This policy choice had exacerbated social-spatial problems of urbanization process.

5.3.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics

After second world war; rather than protectionist trade policies Turkish government decided to implement free trade policies. The new economic structure in this period gave rise to the formation of a new capitalist mode of production, which orientated industrial production towards domestic markets and prioritized the development of agriculture, mining, construction sectors and infrastructure investments (Kaya, A. Y. 2010).

Parallel with this transformation of economic structure, Turkish Republic became a member of International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and The Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OECD). Unlike the previous period, cooperative and collaborative relations had developed with international institutions under the conditions of foreign-dependent import substituted industrialization. Within this framework of transformed economic structure; Turkey rearticulated to capitalist mode of production and in this rearticulation, imperialist-capitalist countries of west Europe had become powerful in the orientation, manipulation and domination of development policies and investment decisions of Turkey.

In the year 1950; Democrat Party won the elections, came to power and different economic restructuring targets were put into practice. Although the main target of economic restructuring was defined as the liberalization of economy, throughout the 1950s there was not a significant fall in the level of state investments and public expenditures (Yıldırım & Haspolat, 2010). In the years between 1948 and 1951, Marshal Plan was put into practice by United States and Turkish Government decided to take credits within the context of this plan. Government used these credits for the development of industry, energy and infrastructure (Altınçekiç, 1987). However as a foreign-dependent development approach, this credit-based industrial development approach had increased economic and political dependency of Turkey to western imperialist-capitalist system (particularly to US) since these credits were given in return for long-term trade with western imperialist-capitalist countries. Furthermore; Turkish Government was obliged to use these credits for the development of some particular industrial sectors, which were strategically selected by imperialist countries of the world capitalist system. Under such conditions; Marshal Plan of US and its policies that were adopted and implemented by Democrat Party Government had given rise to the construction of a foreign-dependent import substituted industrialization regime in Turkey. Therefore, investments for the development of industrial structure in this period had increased economic and political dependence of Turkey to western imperialist-capitalist countries rather than to construct an independent economic structure, which were the main target in the establishment of Turkish Republic. Turkish Republic was no more adopting an independent and state-led national industrial development regime; rather Democrat Party government prepared and carried out new

policies based on a foreign-dependent import-substituted industrialization regime under the domination, control and manipulation of western imperialist-capitalist countries.

In this period, UDPs had also served to this dependent import-substituted industrialization regime. Within this context; as UDPs Alsancak Port and electricity plants were extended, highway transportation networks were developed and hydroelectric power plants were constructed in the hinterland of the city (Altınçekiç, 1987). In 1957; the credits, that were provided within the Marshal Plan, were used in İzmir to establish the industrial sectors of chemistry, cement, iron and steel. Some important factories in İzmir like İzmir Çimento, Turyağ and Metaş Metalurji were established in this period with the partnership of foreign capital (Kaya, A.Y. 2010). In this period there was a significant industrialization process in İzmir; however industrialization was developing as an import-substituted regime under the domination and control of western imperialist-capitalist countries.

In the 1950s, Marshal Plan also affected agriculture sector of İzmir. In this period; the number of tractors were increased considerably as a result of the credits and financial grants, that were provided by Marshal Plan. Apart from the increasing number of tractors, the extension and improvement of irrigation network and the expansion in the use of fertilizers had all enhanced the level of agricultural productivity (Altınçekiç, 1987; DEÜ, 1997). Such mechanizations and technological improvements in agricultural production decreased the need for labor in the rural areas. The development of industrial sectors in the cities, on the other hand, required more labor to work in these industries. This double effect of the transformations in agricultural production and industrial sectors, attracted migration from rural to urban areas (Altınçekiç, 1987).

In this period; owing to the migration and the lack of a comprehensive social policy program of the state to deal with rural decline and increased migration, squatter development process had begun in İzmir. The development of squatters could not be understood only as a housing problem of migrants; rather it was a product of structural problems, including the transformation of agricultural production, industrial growth and the lack of social state interventions. In the years between 1955 and 1960; ten squatter areas were developed in Buca, Bayraklı and even in the backside of the port (Ünverdi, 2002). Started in the 1950s, the development of squatters had continued and surrounded the peripheries of the urban area until the 1980s (Ünverdi, 2002; Sönmez, 2001).

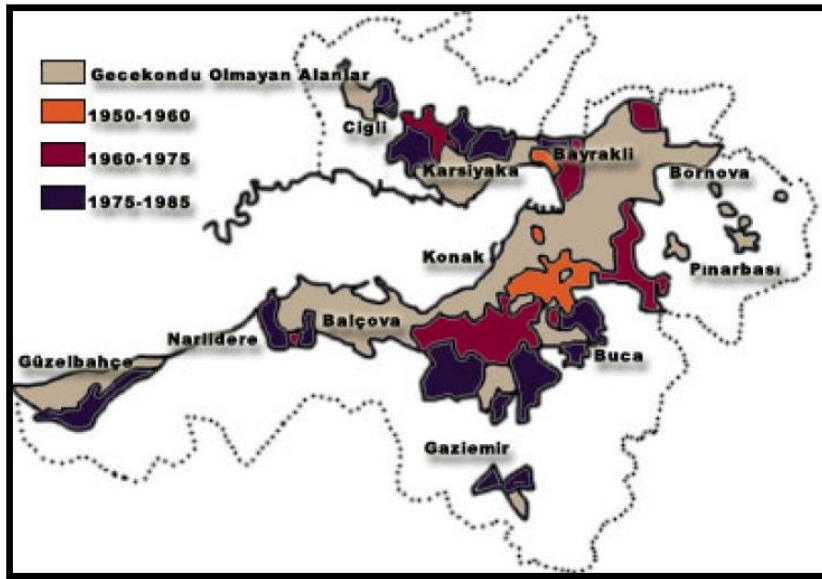


Figure 5.3 The Spatial Development of Squatters (Source: Sevgi, 1988)

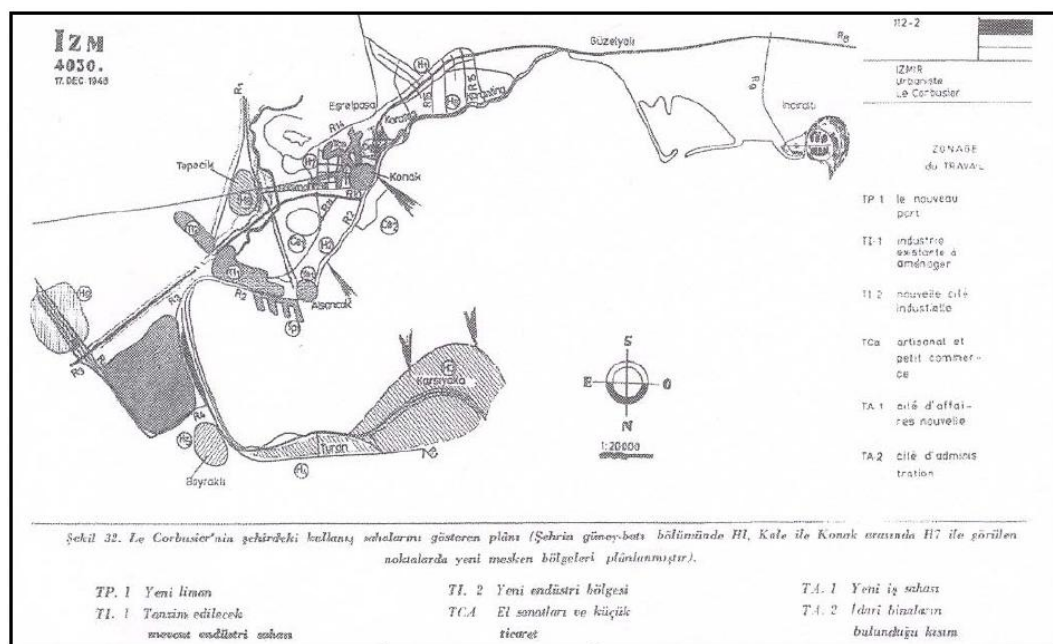
Migrants in this period not only provided required labor force for industrial development; but they also became a mass of consumer for the marketing of industrial products in the domestic markets (İkiz, 2003). In this period, İzmir had experienced an industrialization process; however this industrialization process had become dependent on supra-national political and economical dynamics.

İzmir experienced a transition to import-substituted industrialization under the control and dominance of imperialist-capitalist countries like US. In addition to this, becoming a member of international institutions like IMF and WB also supported this transition. A foreign-dependent regime of capital accumulation had shaped local economic structure. On the other hand, the lack of powerful social policy programs of the state to deal with increased migration had also exacerbated social problems and gave rise to the development of squatters.

5.3.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization

Migration from rural to urban areas had started in İzmir within the context of the transition towards import substituted industrialization under the control and domination of imperialist-capitalist countries. Industrial development in urban areas and mechanization in agricultural production both caused rural decline and attracted migration to metropolitan

The first city-wide master plan, in this period, was prepared by Le Corbusier. Although he started the studies of master plan in 1939, owing to the conditions of the Second World War, he finished master plan in the year 1949. This city-wide master plan was a model project of CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture), introduced to the public through the theme of “a green city with 400.000 population” (Bilsel, 2009). This plan of Le Corbusier was a product of his modernist architecture and urbanism approaches. The plan of Le Corbusier was depending on the strict zoning of urban space (including the zones of commercial, industrial, business, residential areas) and the provision of an effective transportation circulation between these different zones (Kaya, N., 2002; Can, 2010). In the plan, an industrial development zone was proposed for the development of Salhane district and furthermore a sport center with open-green areas were proposed for the development of İnciraltı waterfront.



The Municipality of İzmir in this period decided that the plan of Le Corbusier was inapplicable so that his plan was not implemented (Bilsel, 2009). This decision of Municipality shows us that local government in this period did not adopt the approach of

comprehensive, long-term and radical intervention to urban space. However; on the other hand, it is obvious that the unimplemented decisions of Le Corbusier's plan inspired and oriented planners and produced land use references for them in the preparation of subsequent city-wide master plans (Kaya, N., 2002; Can, 2010).

After the unimplemented master plan of Le Corbusier in the 1950s, preparation of a new city-wide master plan came to the agenda. In 1952 İzmir Development Plan Competition was organized by Provincial Bank of Turkey. A group of architectures consisting of Kemal Aru, Emin Canbolat and Gündüz Özdeş won the competition and their development plan was put into practice in 1953 (Kaya, N., 2002). Their approach behind the preparation of the plan was functionalist planning and they were affected by the plan of Le Corbusier. The master plan of Le Corbusier oriented them in separating urban areas to functional zones including housing, commerce, industry, port and logistics (Bilsel, 2009). There were two significant UDPs, came to the agenda with this city-wide development plan. These projects were (1) the extension of Alsancak Port (with the purpose of container transportation) and (2) the development of a small scale industrial production and warehouse site in Salhane, which was intended to work with Alsancak Port (Bilsel, 2009). Moreover, for İnciraltı this development plan proposed a public beach, which was intended to be designed as a part of the excursion tourism spaces in the waterfront of İnciraltı (Can, 2010). UDPs, came to the agenda with this development plan, intended to reproduce import substituted industrialization regime and related capital accumulation relations. The extension of Alsancak Port was implemented, but the construction of small scale industrial production and warehouse site in Salhane was not implemented.

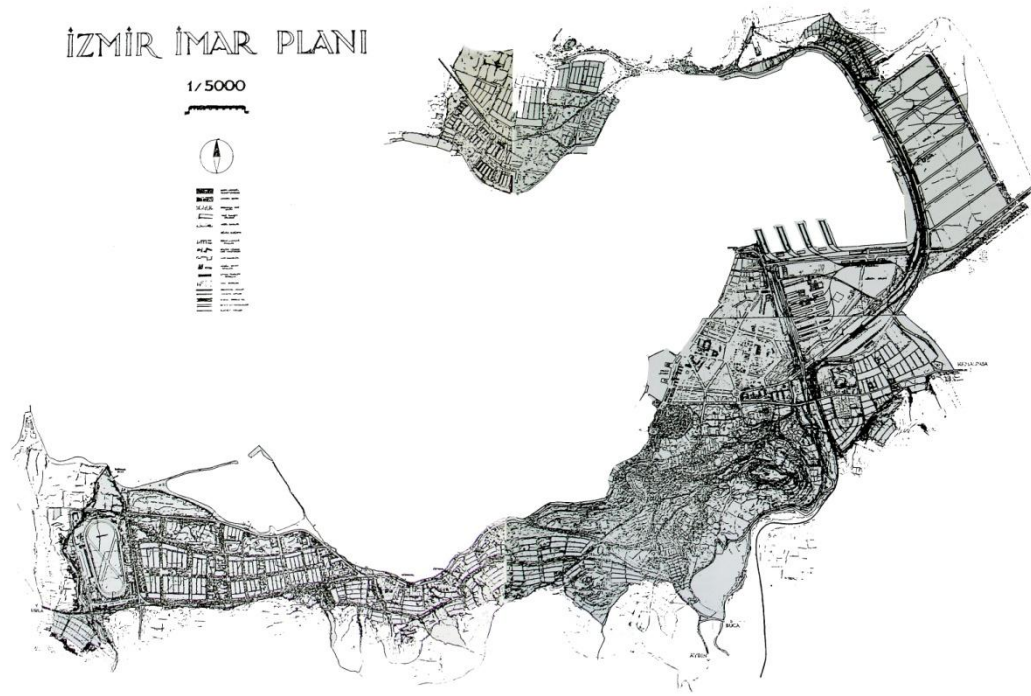


Figure 5.5 The Development Plan of Aru, Canbolat and Özdeş, 1952 (Source: Kaya, N., 2002)

The most important critique against the plan of Aru, Canbolat and Özdeş was that the plan ignored the development of squatters. These critiques underlined that this development plan did not intervene to the development of squatters in the particular districts of the city (Kaya, N., 2002). Within the framework of this criticism, it is possible to identify two developments explaining why this plan did not continue to respond to the needs of growing city. The first development was the increasing number of migration and overpopulation of the city. Population projection of the development plan for the year 2000 was 400.000 and this projection was exceeded in a short period of time. In 1970, the number of population was 520.000. The second development was the bypassing of development plan through the high number of plan revisions. Development plan was approved in 1953 and after its approval approximately 5000 plan revision proposals were submitted and almost 1200 of them were approved by the Ministry of Development and Settlement (İmar İskan Bakanlığı) (DEÜ, 1987). Huge migration and high number of plan revisions show that central government in this period preferred to implement partial interventions that bypassed comprehensive city-wide development of Aru, Canbolat and Özdeş. Furthermore we should also note that clientalist relations and political dynamics between the central government and some social groups demanding these plan revisions had become dominant in the bypassing of development plan. To deal with migration and squatter development, the

political authorities in this period did not prefer to make comprehensive, long-term and integrative interventions; including the planning of rural transformation, industrial development and the provision of formal employment and social housing opportunities to migrants. Until 1970s; plan revisions as short-term and partial interventions were implemented and through such mechanisms of the production of urban space, political authority had distributed the rights of construction to particular social groups and developed a clientalist relation with them by such a way of partial planning.

In 1945-1960 period, city-wide master plans intended to produce urban spaces, which were required for the transition towards an import-substituted industrialization regime. Urban areas in İzmir had been functionally separated as residential, industrial, commercial zones and it was intended to design an effective transportation system between these different zones of the city. UDPs, on the other hand, were proposed and designed for a well-functioning urban spatial structure to serve the relations of import substituted industrialization regime. As an UDP, the extension of Alsancak Port was implemented and this project provided an infrastructural basis for the development of import-substituted industrial sectors in the city. The extension of Alsancak Port with the purpose of container transportation not only provided reproductive dynamics for import substituted capital accumulation regime; but this project also acquired consent of different social classes in the city. Therefore; in this period, the extension of Alsancak Port had become the leading hegemonic project of urbanization. On the other hand; city-wide development plan of Aru, Canbolat and Özdeş did not foresee the dynamics of rapid urbanization and this development plan was bypassed by the political authority through partial interventions. Within this framework, it could be noted that in the 1960s there was not any comprehensive city-wide master plan, guiding holistically the development of urban space in İzmir. Political authority in this period did not adopted such a comprehensive, long term and holistic planning approach; rather it decided to implement clientalist urban policies through distributing the rights of construction to particular social classes by partial interventions to urban space.

5.4 1960 - 1980: Import Substituted Industrialization, Migration and Attempts to Regulate Sub-Fordist Capital Accumulation Regime in the City

In the 1960s and 1970s, import substituted industrialization and sub-Fordist regime of capital accumulation had become dominant in Turkey. Within this period, demand-oriented

redistributive Keynesian policies had regulated the economy and society and in this process, while on the one hand, heavy industrial development zones were developed by the direct investment of the state, on the other hand, structural problems like unemployment and migration were dealt with through condoning and allowing squatter development and informal sector employment. Rational comprehensive plans of İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau, in this period, provided long-term, strategic and holistic solutions for the development of İzmir, however these planning proposals are ignored in the post-1980s period.

5.4.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics

After second world war, import-substituted industrialization regime had become dominant under the ruling political power of Democrat Party government. In the period between 1960 and 1980, import-substituted regime of capital accumulation had shaped local economy and it became the main dynamic behind the processes of industrial development, increasing migration and rapid urbanization. Lipietz (1984) described this import substituted industrialization of Turkey as a “sub fordist regime of accumulation” signifying a dramatic change in the spatial division of labor among the advanced capitalist countries and developing countries. Within the context of this sub-fordist regime, Turkey was no more articulated to capitalist mode of production with the role of agricultural product exporter and industrial raw material supplier; rather it became a sub-fordist focus of import substituted industrial production. In this process of industrialization, production technology and investment goods were imported from developed countries and industrial products were manufactured and finished in Turkish factories. The key feature of this industrial production process was its dependency upon the technology and licence of foreign capital, thus it was as a foreign-dependent mode of industrialization (Ataay, 2001).

In 1960; for the planning of this sub-fordist regime of capital accumulation, State Planning Organization (SPO) was established by the right-wing political authority of this period. The plans and policies of SPO had shaped the regulatory basis of this foreign-dependent mode of industrialization. With these plans and policies, public resources were utilized to sustain the sub-fordist regime of import substituted industrialization. İzmir was also affected by these policies. In the first five year development plan of SPO, %53 of public investments in İzmir was planned to be allocated for the development of manufacturing industry. This rate was increased to %68 in the second and to % 72 in the third five year development plan

(Kaya, A.Y., 2010). According to Altınçekiç (1998), the period between years 1960 and 1980 was the second rise period of state-led industrial development of İzmir.

In this period of import-substituted industrialization, there were two leading investor actors. They were state and private sector. Through the direct investment of the state, Aliğa Oil Refinery was established as a state economic enterprise within a heavy industrial zone in 1972. This was a key investment decision of the first five year development plan. Furthermore; in 1975, İzmir Iron and Steel Industry Company was established in Aliğa as a partnership of national and international capital. This heavy industrial production zone in Aliğa (that is located in the north of İzmir metropolitan area) was supported and advanced with the construction of Aliğa Port (Altınçekiç, 1987). In this period; not only agriculture-based industries (like food and textile) but also chemistry, iron-steel and automotive industries had been developed (DEÜ, 1997). In this industrial development period, state economic enterprises and national-international capital partnerships had specialized in particular processes of industrial production, which required large capital investment and imported technologies. These large-sized, leading actors of industry produced for the markets of whole country. Small and middle sized enterprises, on the other hand, had specialized in labor-intensive processes of production, articulated to large-sized and capital-intensive industrial operations as a subordinated form of industry and organized their productive capacity to serve local/regional markets (Altınçekiç, 1998).

However; although the level of public and private investment for the development of import-substituted industry was high, the local economy of İzmir started to decline in the second half of 1970s. Since the second half of 1970s, İzmir had lost its second position in terms of industrial investments against Kocaeli, that developed as an İstanbul-oriented industrial zone (Kaya, A. Y., 2010). This declining position of İzmir shows us that sub-fordist import-substituted industrialization had been constructed as an İstanbul-oriented regime of capital accumulation across the country. Most of the developing industrial companies of İzmir in this period relocated to İstanbul and became holdings in the 1980s (Sönmez, 1988). Owing to the foreign-dependent structure of import-substituted regime, capital preferred to locate in the metropolitan cities, which have high level of international economic relations and supra-national transportation connections. Therefore; capital preferred to locate in the metropolitan port cities like İstanbul, İzmir and Kocaeli (Ataay, 2001). However; İzmir did not become a dominant and leading center and lost competitive

position against İstanbul within the context of sub-fordist import-substituted industrialization regime.

On the other hand, the wave of migration from rural areas to metropolitan cities continued in this period. The transformation of agricultural production behind the push factors in rural areas and the pull factors of industrial growth in metropolitan cities had constituted a double effect in the stimulation of migration. There was a dramatic migration to İzmir in this period and import-substituted industrial structure was insufficient to respond to the formal employment demands of migrants. Under this condition of unemployment, a huge informal sector developed and articulated to formal industry and service sectors in İzmir (DEÜ, 1997). Migrants did not only find employment opportunities through the development of informal economic sectors, but they also developed informal ways to deal with their housing problems. Squatters were developed as a result of this problem and these informal settlements were constructed in public lands, industrial production zones and even in the peripheral districts of the city (Ünverdi, 2002).

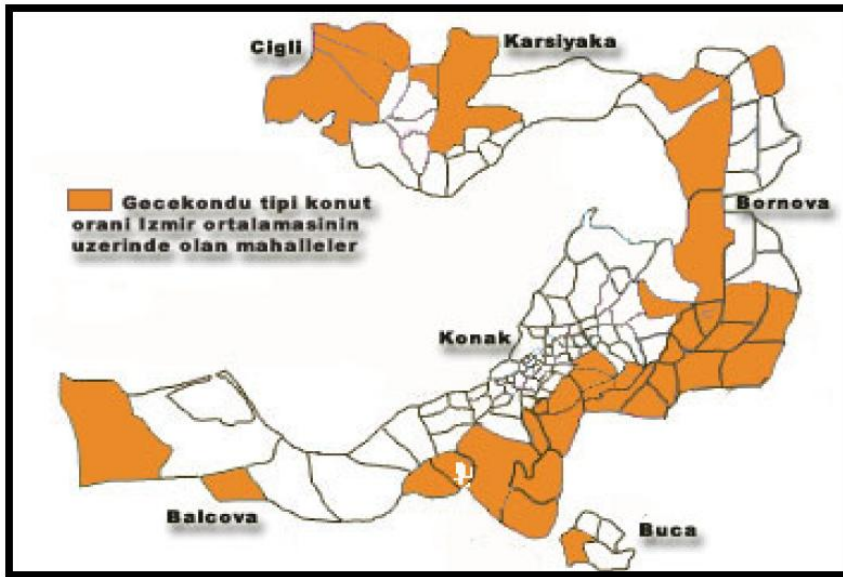


Figure 5.6 Densely Populated Squatter Neighborhoods in İzmir, 1972 (Source: Keleş, 1972)

In this period, import-substituted industrialization regime triggered migration, informal sectors and rapid urbanization and it also caused a relative increase in the level of wages. This import-substituted regime of capital accumulation was based on the production of industrial products for domestic markets. Therefore, an increase in the level of wages did not only enhance production costs but it also raised the level of demands. Wage was an

important factor in the stimulation of demand. In this period, dominant Keynesian policies was depending on this demand-oriented regime of capital accumulation. Within this regime, it was assumed that the provision of collective consumption and the high level of wages for working classes constitute the main dynamic to sustain capital accumulation process (İkiz,2004). Within the framework of this Keynesian sub-Fordist regime, there was a relative increase in the level of wages particularly in the 1970s (Kaya, A.Y., 2010).

Sub-Fordist import-substituted regime of capital accumulation and related Keynesian policies in İzmir had triggered the increasing of wages on the one side and the stimulation of migration on the other. The margin of profits for capital had sustained a high level until to a certain period, owing to the increasing migration and the availability of cheap labor in cities. In addition to it, the provision of formal and informal employment opportunities and the rising level of wages had sustained the high level of demand for a period of time.

However, these demand generating dynamics had exacerbated the reproduction of capital since the 1970s. With the 1970s, the high level of wages started to constitute a pressure over the costs of industrial production in advanced capitalist countries. Huge increase in oil prices in 1973 brought this situation into a world-wide economic crisis. Economic crisis of 1973, entailed a new supply-oriented regime of capital accumulation both for Fordist-developed countries and sub-Fordist developing countries including Turkey. This was an inevitable consequence of Fordist-Keynesian capital accumulation regime and transition to a new regime of accumulation reshaped different political geographies of capitalist system. A post-Fordist regime of capital accumulation and neo-liberal policies (consistent with this new regime) have become dominant for the next thirty years of capitalist system. In Turkey, January 24 decisions (taken by SPO at the 24th of January 1980) played a key role in the transition to a post-Fordist capital accumulation regime and these decisions were also an attempt of Turkish capitalist state to initiate neo-liberal structural adjustment process. İzmir definitely took its share from this post-1980 neo-liberal transformation process.

5.4.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization

In this period, State Planning Organization was established and attempted to plan the development of import-substituted industrialization through plans and policies. As a part of this planning attempts, Metropolitan Planning Bureaus (Metropolitan Nazım Plan Büroları)

were established in three major metropolitan cities (İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir) by the decision of the Council of Ministries

The main target behind the establishment of Metropolitan Planning Bureaus could be defined as the planning of import-substituted urban industrial development and the controlling of rapid urbanization (DEÜ, 1997). Metropolitan Planning Bureaus adopted a synthesis of rational comprehensive planning and structural planning approaches and they also aimed to take the decisions of urban development through the participation of investors, public and private sector institutions and chambers. Within this framework, İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau intended to prepare comprehensive and long-term metropolitan plans, which based on comprehensive survey and analysis, participatory decision-taking models and plan-project integrity (Arkon & Gülerman, 1995). The public interest in this metropolitan planning efforts was aimed to be determined by the involvement of different participants in the city, including local business associations, chambers, universities, all sorts of related public and private institutions ...etc. With this participatory and comprehensive metropolitan planning approach, planning bureau prepared metropolitan plans for İzmir in the 1970s.

The first plan of İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau was approved in 1973. In this plan, a linear urban macroform development was proposed and defined within the axis of Aliğa heavy industrial zone in the north and Torbalı agriculture-based food industry zone in the south. To restrain growth of the city towards the periphery and to inhibit urban development within the east-west axis, a linear urban macroform development was proposed. To provide such a linear macroform development, Aliğa heavy industrial zone in the north and Torbalı agriculture-based food industry zone in the south were planned and designed as the two zones of linearity. In addition to this some key UDPs were proposed within the plan to provide a spatial basis for linear macroform. These projects were (1) the development of a rail transportation system along a linear line of development, (2) the planning of an industrial development zone in Çiğli and (3) the planning of a new port and airport in Çiğli. By the rail transportation project, it was aimed to connect Aliğa, Menemen, İzmir city center and Torbalı along a linear line of urban development. On the other hand, new port and airport projects were intended to be worked with the proposed industrial zone in Çiğli. As a result, rail transportation system was completed and started to service in

2011. Although an organized industrial district was constructed in Çiğli in the 1990s, the port and airport projects were not realized.

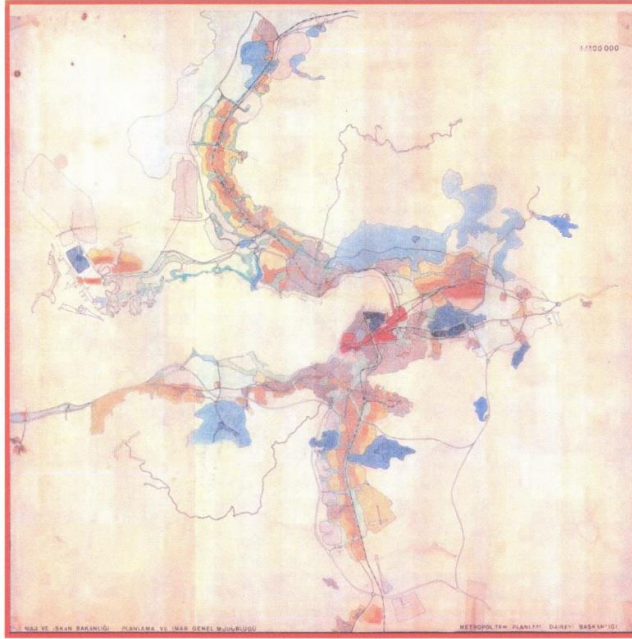


Figure 5.7 The Plan of İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau, 1973 (Source: Arkon & Gülerman, 1995)

According to Arkon and Gülerman (1995); through considering some important geographical, agricultural and economical thresholds, this plan carried out a key macroform development decision. However this plan and the planning system in general, was lacking powerful control mechanisms for the implementation of this macroform decision. Moreover, also the lack of new planning instruments restricted the transformation of the spatial pattern of property and under the existing private property pattern, public investments were not implemented in the areas that were proposed by the metropolitan plan (Kaya, N. 2002). Metropolitan plan entailed the preparation of sub-scale plans, however the delay of these sub-scale plans encouraged the impromptu use of previous plan. By this impromptu use of previous plan, plan revisions and partial plans were prepared and implemented and these partial interventions increased density in the city center and legalized illegal formation of squatters in the peripheries of the city (DEÜ, 1997).

Metropolitan development plan, prepared by İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau and approved in the year 1973, proposed recreation areas for both Salhane and İnciraltı districts. However, this plan was revised in 1978 and strategic decisions were taken within

this revision. One of the most strategic one was the development of city center towards north easterly direction. With this decision of city center development, Salhane district was planned as a new center of business, commerce and service based activities. Therefore, planning of Salhane district as the new center of business-based activities originated from this metropolitan plan revision made in 1978.



Figure 5.8 The Plan of İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau, 1978 (Source: Arkon & Gülerman, 1995)

In the 1970s, İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau intended to control and plan rapid urban growth which was triggered by the development of import-substituted industrialization process. To this end, Metropolitan Planning Bureau prepared and implemented metropolitan plan in 1973 and revised this plan in 1978. These plans were a product of rational comprehensive and structural planning approaches and they propose a linear macroform to restrain unplanned growth of the city towards the periphery. With the proposition of some UDPs, this macroform decision was supported and advanced. However, it is difficult to mention that all targets of Metropolitan Planning Bureau were fulfilled (DEÜ, 1997; Altınçekiç, 1987). Today in the 2010s, it is obvious that İzmir is still growing and does not have a linear urban macroform.

5.5 1980 - 2000 and today: Neo-liberalization Process and Attempts to Construct an Entrepreneurial and Competitive Local Economic Structure

Since the 1980s, a new regime of capital accumulation started to replace import-substituted industrialization. Turkish state form the basis of the new regime through the January 24 decisions. New regime of capital accumulation was constructed through a liberalized free market economy and a strict fiscal discipline under the control of IMF and WB. Moreover, the attraction of foreign investment, the transferring of public resources to public sector and the building up of a competitive and entrepreneurial economic structure was the main political directions behind the formation of the new regime (Boratav, 2003). These regulations, that could be defined as the neo-liberalization of economic structure and state, had set out the political-economic agendas of imperialist-capitalist countries after Washington Consensus. In Turkey, this neo-liberal regulation started to dominate political-economic agenda of the country since the 1980s. January 24 decisions was a very key state intervention, in this respect, redesigned economic structure of the country in accordance with the neo-liberal structural transformation process. The MP (Motherland Party-ANAP) government came to dominate as the leading actor of neo-liberal structural transformation process in Turkey after the military coup on 12th of September 1980 (Bayırbağ 2009; Boratav, 2003).

However, the rise of neo-liberalism could not be explained and discussed with reference to one overall period of structural transformation throughout the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. As Peck and Tickell (2002) identified although a liberalized operation of market forces was presumed and adopted as sufficient for the task of neo-liberal economic regulation during the 1980s; by the 1990s it had become obvious that recurrent failures in sectors like transport, food and environmental pollution and even in financial and labor markets called for responses outside the neo-liberal deregulation and marketization policies of the 1980s. In this respect, neo-liberalization process has moved into a new phase which could be characterized by the rise of new forms of governance and regulation. This move was characterized and theorized by the scholars of third generation regulation approach (Peck & Tickell, 2002; Brenner & Theodore, 2002) as a transition from “roll-back neo-liberalization” towards “roll-out neo-liberalization”. While roll-back neo-liberalization put emphasis on deindustrialization of developed economies, privatization and marketization of collective consumption, dismantlement of Keynesian-welfarist and redistributive functions of the state; roll-out neo-liberalization intends to respond to the contradictions and crisis

tendencies of roll-back neo-liberalization. Therefore, in the roll-out neo-liberalization process, various activities of institution-building and governmental intervention has been observed to overcome the crisis tendencies of the earlier phase of neo-liberalization. In this regard, roll-out neo-liberalization reflects and embodies a series of politically and institutionally mediated responses to the failings of the roll-back neo-liberalization, formulated in the context of ongoing neo-liberal hegemony (Peck & Thickett, 2002).

The rise of neo-liberalization in Turkey in the post-1980 period could be explained within this framework. The crisis of import-substituted sub-Fordist industrialization regime, January 24th decisions and the dominance of MP Government as the leader actor of structural transformation had all shaped the basis of roll-back neo-liberalization (Bayırbağ, 2009). The end of roll-back neo-liberalization and transition to a more interventionist roll-out neo-liberalization process occurred in the 2000s after economic crisis and unstable coalition governments of the 1990s (Bayırbağ, 2009). Therefore; after 2001 economic crisis, the political dominance of JDP (Justice and Democracy Party) government and its regulations concerning economic development, social policy and urbanization could be evaluated within the context of this transition to roll-out neo-liberalism. As the political leader of roll-out neo-liberalization, JDP government structured new forms of state interventions, designed new policy-making mechanisms, new laws and legislations on the basis of this transition to roll-out neo-liberalization. The transformation of the local economic structure of İzmir is critically evaluated and discussed within this big picture of political-economic change. Urban planning efforts, urban policies and UDPs are all elaborated with reference to different phases of neo-liberalization in the post-1980 period.

5.5.1 1980 - 1990: Roll-back Neo-liberalization and the Rise of Urbanization within the Transformation of Local Economic Structure

Urbanization has become the main constitutive dynamic of capital accumulation regime in the post-1980s period by which redistributive demand-side Keynesian policies has been replaced by supply-oriented growth first policies including low wages, marketization of collective consumption, privatization of public lands and services. Except industry, urbanization based activities like commerce, services, tourism and construction has become the leading sectors of local economy in İzmir and through mobilizing the developments in these sectors, urban space has been produced within a profit-oriented and rent-seeking approach of urban entrepreneurialism. Hegemonic discourses to make neo-liberal urban

development vision a common-sense public opinion, were first started to dominate the field of urban politics in this period.

5.5.1.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics

Fordist regime of capital accumulation and Keynesian mode of social regulation confronted with a crisis as a result of the structural problems in the world economy towards the end of the 1970s. Oil crisis in 1973 was a sign of this world-wide economic crisis. Import-substituted industrialization and redistributive-Keynesian policies had been replaced by export-oriented industrialization and post-fordist flexible capital accumulation regime through which wages are kept under pressure (Peck & Tickell, 2002). Paralel with these developments, dominant economic policies in Turkey and İzmir did not support import-substituted industrial structure. Rather; finance, commerce, construction and tourism were the leading sectors of capital accumulation. On the one hand, open economy policies decreased the level of competitiveness of domestic industrialists and on the other hand as the level of profit margin increased in the sectors like construction, tourism and finance, industry lost its attractiveness in terms of investment (Boratav, 2003).

In this process; agricultural production and its share in GDP had declined, but industrial production stayed as an effective economic sector in the regime of capital accumulation. Since the 1980s, the share of agriculture sector in GDP and total employment has declined. Industrial production was also stagnant in this period, but it continued its effective structure upon the local economy in terms of its rate in GDP and the number of newly established industrial companies. Development of industry in İzmir has a long standing history dates back to import-substituted industrialization of 1940s and its functioning in the post-1980 period still continued. In other words, there was not a de-industrialization process shaping the structure of the local economy in İzmir in the post-1980 period. However, on the other hand, it has been observed remarkable developments in the newly growing economic sectors like commerce, services, tourism and construction, which constitute the driving force behind the urban development and redevelopment processes throughout the world since the 1980s. The rates of these economic sectors in GDP and total employment have increased since the 1980s.

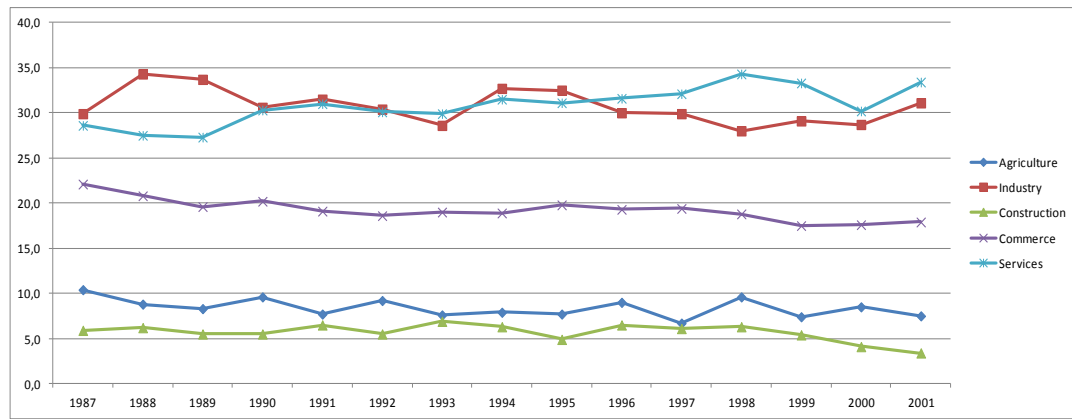


Figure 5.9 The Shares of Economic Sectors in GDP of İzmir, 1987-2001 (Source: TÜİK)

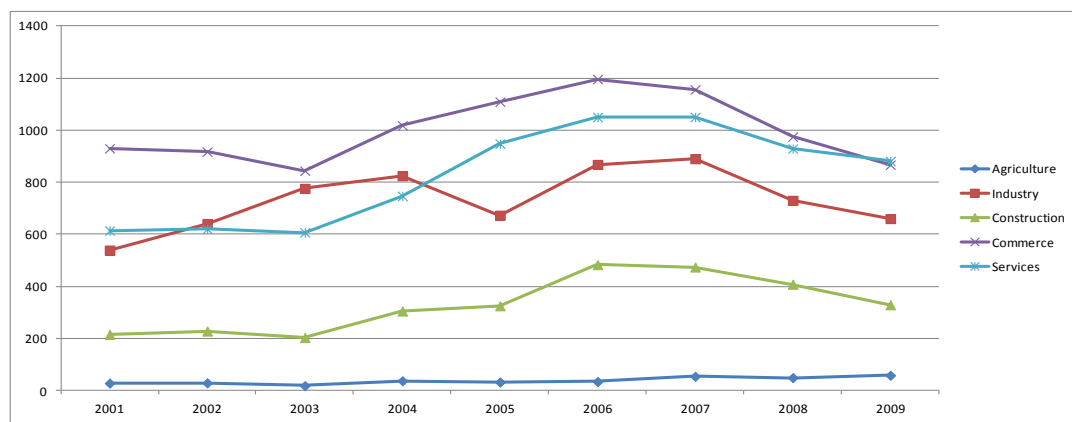


Figure 5.10 The Numbers of Established Firms by Economic Activities in İzmir, 2001-2009 (Source: TÜİK)

When we examine the local economic structure of İzmir, it becomes obvious that industrial sector, as the first circuit of capital, entered into a stagnation period since the 1980s. However, as mentioned, this stagnation was not a deindustrialization process since export-oriented industrial activities continued to function within the relations of capital accumulation. At the same period of time, some urbanization-based sectors forming the second circuit of capital such as commerce, services, tourism and construction have also developed and they started to increase their share in GDP. In other words; there was a concurrent accumulation of capital in both first and second circuits of capital, which means that industry and service based sectors operate together within the local economic structure of İzmir. Therefore this concurrent characteristic of capital accumulation process both in Turkey and İzmir could not be explained with reference to Harvey's capital switching approach (Harvey, 1985). Harvey (1985) develops a functionalist point of view about the relationship between the two circuits and he argues that investments in

secondary circuit are the outcomes of a crisis or a problem occurred in the primary circuit. However Turkish experience of urbanization reveals that secondary circuit contains some specific features make it independent or autonomous from the primary circuit (Balaban, 2008). As Balaban (2008) unveiled, a rise in secondary circuit of capital (involving the investments in service and construction based sectors) could be independent from the rising or falling trends in primary circuit activities (include industrial production). Therefore functionalist capital logic approach of Harvey could not explain the formation of economic structure in Turkey and İzmir. At this point, to understand the motivations behind the movement of capital between different circuits, it is needed to investigate political dynamics. In short, state intervention and its policies in the regulation of economic structure and urbanization should be investigated to highlight how capital was transferred to second circuit.

State intervention and its policies have played a very crucial role in the switch of capital from first to second circuit in İzmir as well as in Turkey. This switch of capital to second circuit, which was defined by Harvey as the urbanization of capital, could be observed through the increase in the production of built environment. Parallel to the raise of built environment production in Turkey, the number of buildings in İzmir has increased significantly since the 1980s.

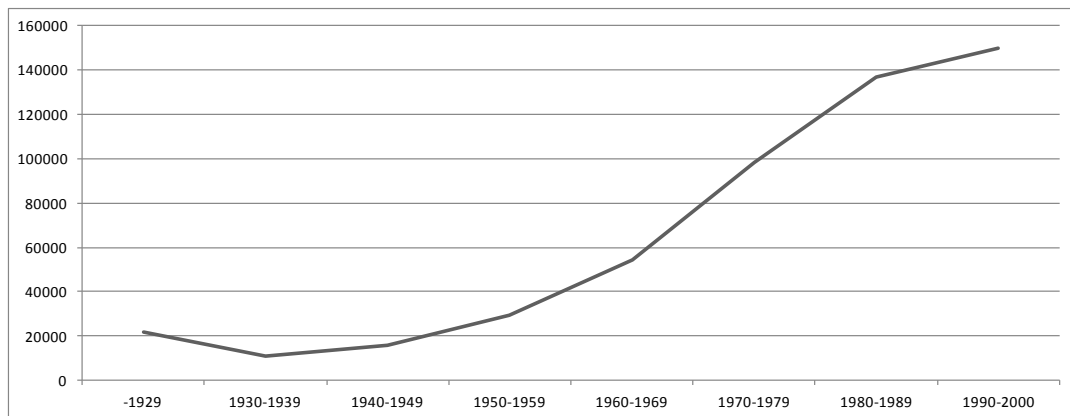


Figure 5.11 The Increase in the Number of Buildings in İzmir, 1929-2000 (Source: TÜİK)

In fact; there are two periods, 1983-1988 and 2002-2007 in which the production of built environment showed a huge increase and construction sector had grown remarkably. In 1983-1988 period MP came to political power and decentralized urban planning powers to municipalities through many legislative interventions. In this period, with the enactment of

Development Law (No. 3194), municipalities were empowered to prepare and approve development plans in 1985.

For Balaban (2008), this was a selective decentralization of planning powers because decentralized planning powers were utilized selectively, served to the interests of large construction companies which were in a clientalist relation with municipalities. Furthermore, local government system was also changed with the law no. 3030 in the year 1985. With the enactment of law no. 3030, a two-tier municipal system was established within metropolitan cities and mayors of the Greater Municipalities have been provided more authorities and powers against the Municipal Councils and District Municipalities (Balaban, 2008). Moreover, a new law on housing sector (Law No. 2985) was also introduced in 1984. With the approval of law no. 2985, new financial means were provided to housing sector and Housing Development Administration founded as a new public body in the housing sector. For Balaban (2008) the main intention behind these arrangements was to provide public support for housing production in both financial and technical terms. Within the increase of built environment production in the 1980s, state played an initiator role behind the switch of capital to second circuit through some sort of legislative interventions, including the reorganization of urban planning powers, the promotion of mass housing production and the restructuring of local government system.

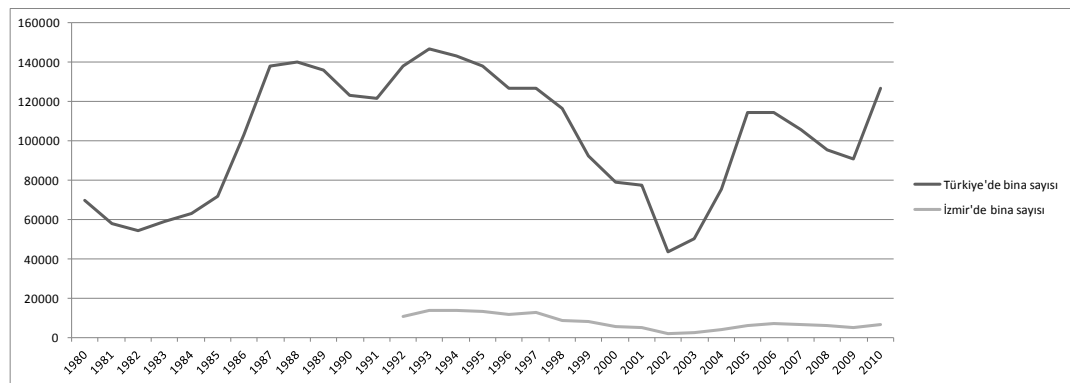


Figure 5.12 The Number of Buildings in İzmir and Turkey According to Construction Permits, 1980-2010 (Source: TÜİK)

These legislative interventions within the roll-back neo-liberalism of the 1980s underpinned the formation of more powerful municipalities and mayors. At the local level; organizational structure, powers and financial capacities of municipalities were changed dramatically. Municipalities were given authorities to prepare, approve and implement

their development plans and furthermore the investment volume of municipalities was enhanced considerably (Ersoy, 1992). In the period between 1984 and 1989, the investment volume of İzmir Greater Municipality showed approximately a 20-fold increase, under the local political dominance of MP and its mayor Burhan Özfatura (Kaval, 2005).

Migration to İzmir city center continued until the 1980s. However after 1980s, the net rate of migration has declined. Stagnation of industry was the major cause behind the decline of migration to İzmir city center. In fact, in the post-2000 period any sector of local economy including not only industry but also agriculture, commerce and services, did not provide adequate employment opportunities for the migrants. In addition to decreasing employment opportunities, the diminishing availability of public lands for the occupation of squatters had also decreased the level of migration to İzmir city center. Migration and squatter development processes had reached to a certain threshold in economic and geographical terms.

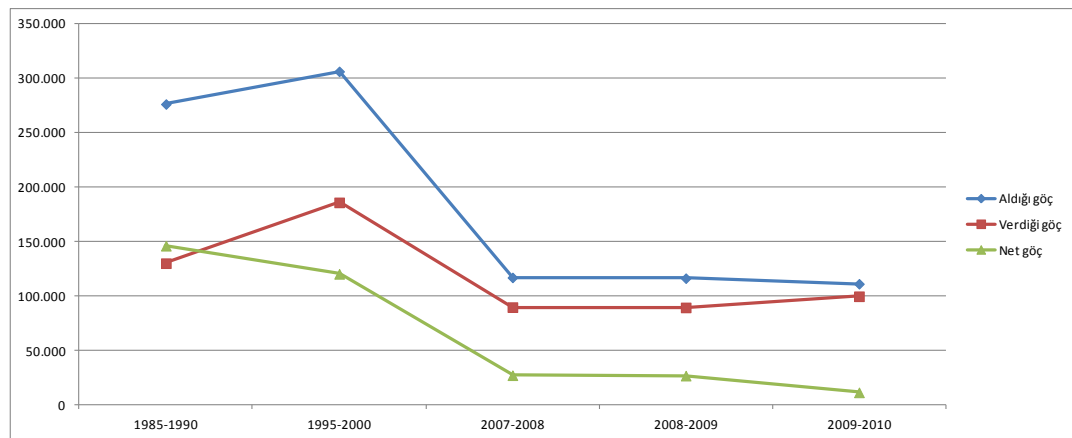


Figure 5.13 The change in the Numbers of In-migration, Out-migration and Net Migration of İzmir, 1985-2010 (Source: TÜİK)

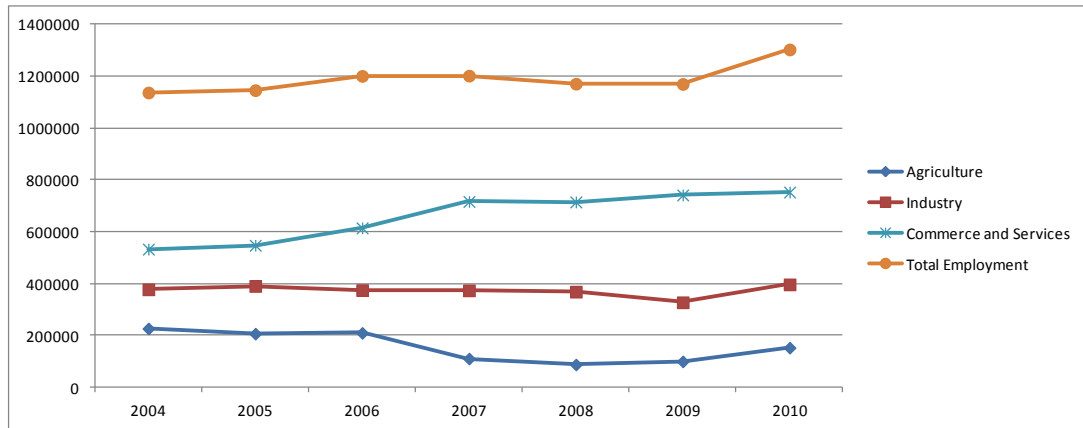


Figure 5.14 The Number of Employment by Economic Activity in İzmir, 2004-2010 (Source: TÜİK)

Roll-back neo-liberalization stagnated industry, exacerbated rural decline and decreased employment opportunities almost in all sectors of the local economy in İzmir. At the same time, in 1983-1988 period a huge increase was observed in the production of built environment. In this process, capital accumulation relations had been changed through the switching of large amount of capital to second circuit, which signals the rise of construction sector. However these developments in capital accumulation and switching processes could not be explained only with reference to the free operation of market forces within a deregulated market atmosphere. On the contrary, state played a very important role as the initiator and driving force of these developments. For instance, in Turkey, urbanization became the main strategy behind the capital accumulation processes in the 1980s and this role of urbanization was provided through a series of state intervention, including new laws, legislations and policies.

Laws no 3194 and 3030, that provided selective decentralization of urban planning powers, could be evaluated within this context of state intervention. Behind these state interventions there was MP government as the ruling political authority of Turkey. In fact, MP government had become the dominant political actor in the construction of roll-back neo-liberalization process. In 1983; MP came to political power and formed the first neo-liberal government of Turkey. Just one year later, in 1984, MP win the local elections and acquired local political power in İzmir. Neither the local economic structure of İzmir nor the national economic structure of Turkey was no more depending on import-substituted industrialization; rather the new regime of capital accumulation was structured on the basis of finance and urbanization-based sectors like construction and tourism. In the 1980s, these rent-based economic activities were supported, privileged and advanced through the

clientalist relations between the state and capital under the political dominance and leadership of MP government.

The end of roll-back neo-liberalization and transition to a different variant of neo-liberalization, which is called as the roll-out phase, did not occur simply and automatically as sequential phases of neo-liberalization. In this transition process, there were several economic crisis and unstable coalition governments came to political power throughout the 1990s. As Bayırbağ (2009) pointed out, the end of the roll-back phase was not immediately followed by roll-out measures. A painful decade of economic crises and unstable coalition governments had to pass in between.

5.5.1.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization

Roll-back neo-liberalization process in the 1980s triggered the development of urbanization-based sectors including tourism, construction and commerce. Within this context, legislative interventions and urban policies of this period have constituted considerable effects over the development and planning of İzmir.

MP came to political power in 1983 and one year after in 1984 it won the municipal election in İzmir and acquired a significant level of local political power and control over the urban policy and planning processes. İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau was disempowered with the law no 3194, that was enacted in 1984. In this period; under the mayorship of Burhan Özfatura, elected as the candidate of MP, Greater Municipality of İzmir had become the leading actor in the formation of urban policies and planning practices.

In 1989, a city-wide master plan was prepared and approved by the Greater Municipality of İzmir. This was not a rational comprehensive plan, offering long-term and strategic solutions for the serious urban development problems of the city (Kaya, N., 2002). This plan also did not make a macroform decision. Rather, it was a an eclectic upper scale plan, prepared according to the reclamation and partial plans of the 1980s (Arkon & Gülerman, 1995). This upper scale plan, approved in 1989 by the Greater Municipality of İzmir, reflects a kind of an incremental planning approach since it rejected to develop any comprehensive,

holistic and long-term perspective for the development of city. This plan combined partial urban developments without any holistic approach.

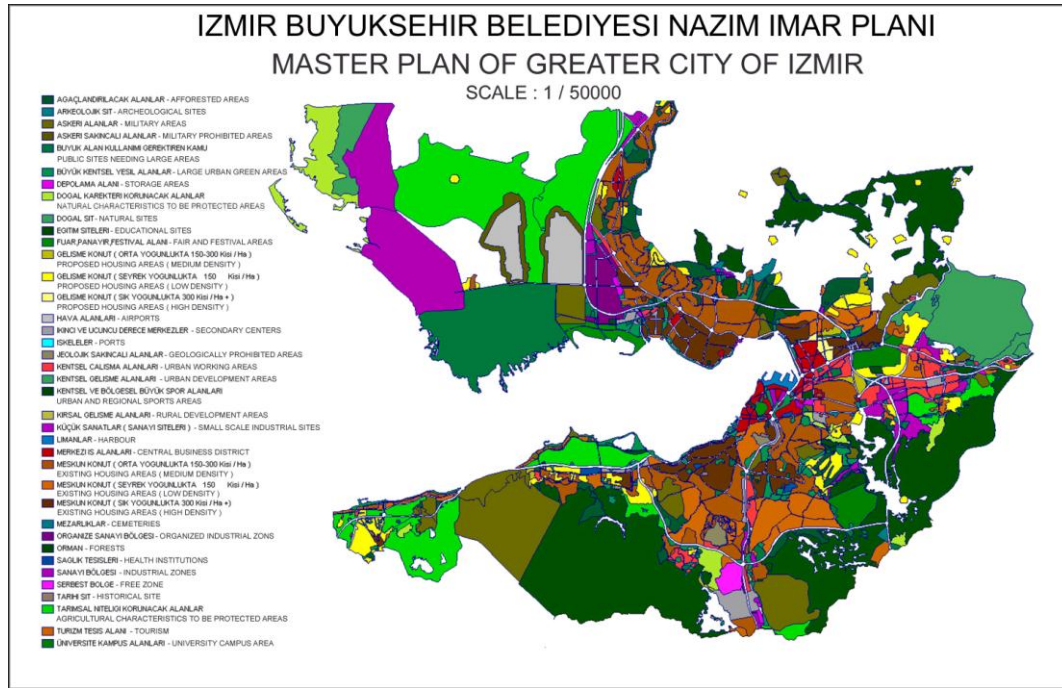


Figure 5.15 The Master Plan of İzmir Metropolitan area, 1989 (Source: Arkon and Gülerman, 1995)

Undoubtedly, such a plan served the interests of some property owners and construction companies, who developed clientalist relations with the Greater Municipality of İzmir. Such legal actors like property owners and construction companies were not the only ones satisfied with this process. In the year 1984, Amnesty Law was enacted (with the Law no. 2981) and in five years all squatter developments within the Karşıyaka, Buca and Bornova district boundaries, covering a total of 1944 hectares in 54 neighborhoods, were legalized through the reclamation plans and the distribution of title deed allocation certificate. In fact, this was a dramatic legalization of illegal urban developments in İzmir (Kaval, 2005). In other words, the victory of exchange-value over the use-value of urban space had been constructed through the transformation of the squatter neighborhoods to multi-storey apartment blocks by the reclamation plans and the distribution of title deed allocation certificates (Şengül, 2009). Migrant squatter dwellers in İzmir were involved into this neo-liberal urban policy regime through the bribes, distributed under the name of title deed allocation certificate by the Greater Municipality of İzmir.

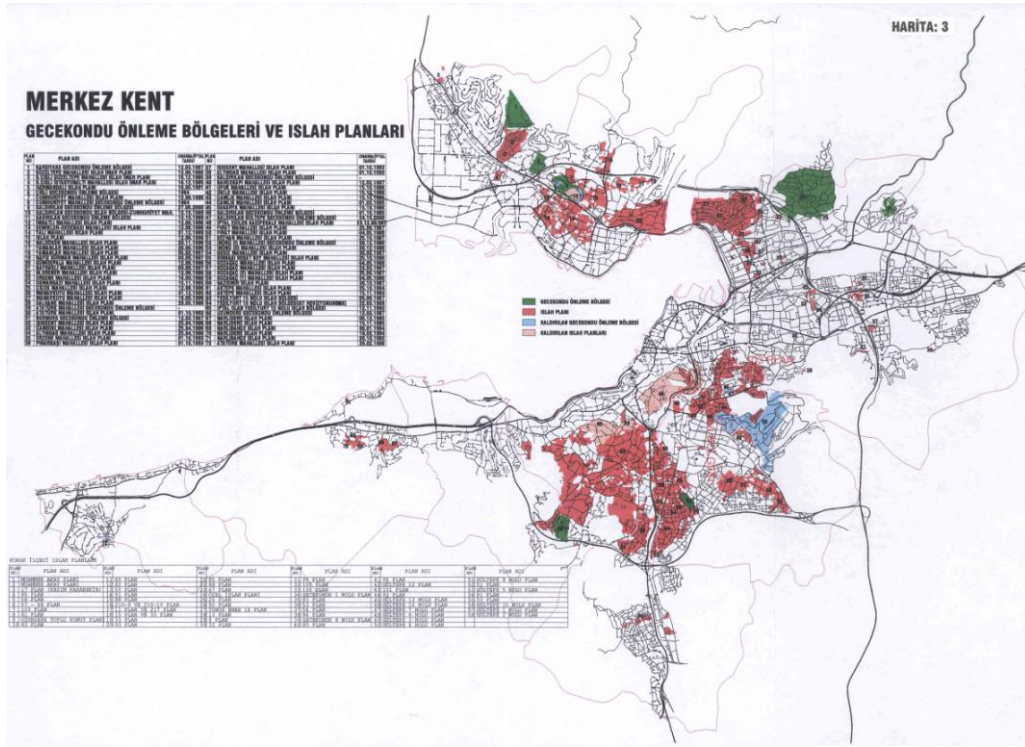


Figure 5.16 Reclamation Plans in İzmir prepared according to 1989 Master Plan (Source: İKBNİP, 2007)

On the other hand, owing to the enactment of Mass Housing Law (Law no. 2985) in the 1980s, the level of mass housing production increased considerably. Mass Housing Law played a key role in the increasing of the number of buildings in this period (Kaval, 2005). In line with the decisions of 1989 upper scale plan, some mass housing projects like Egekent and Evka were implemented in Çiğli, Buca and Bornova districts (DEÜ, 1987). These projects also supported the sprawl of urban pattern towards the periphery.

The upper scale plan of 1989, determined Salhane district as the potential development area of exiting city center. This decision of city center development was coherent with the previous metropolitan development plan made in 1978. Therefore, commerce and service oriented land use functions were proposed for Salhane district to give a direction to the development of existing city center. The plan of 1989, on the other hand, proposed tourism and recreation based land use functions for the development of İnciraltı waterfront. This decision was not compatible with the previous city-wide master plan made in 1978. Later on, in 1989, İnciraltı was declared as a Tourism Center and by this way the development authority in İnciraltı was transferred from Greater Municipality to Ministry. Ministry of

Tourism was empowered in the 1989 as the major authority of planning in the development of İnciraltı Tourism Center.

After the 1980s; although it seemed that MP started to lose its country-wide political power, Burhan Özfatura was still continuing the right-wing mayorship through being elected with a different center-right political party RWP (Right Way Party-DYP) in the 1990s. As the leading right-wing local political power, the Greater Municipality of İzmir in this period proposed several rent and profit oriented UDPs and by these projects it attempted to provide a hegemonic basis for the dominance of a neo-liberal urban development vision in İzmir.

The major UDPS, implemented in the 1990s, were Mass Housing Projects, Aegean Free Zone Project and İzmir Hilton Otel Project. The resources behind the implementation of these projects were different. Mass Housing Projects were implemented through the direct investment of Turkish State, Aegean Free Zone Project was implemented as a corporation of local and international capital and lastly, İzmir Hilton Otel Project was designed and constructed as a foreign direct investment (Kaval, 2005). Different ways of funding UDPs, including foreign investment and partnership of local and international capital, were first realized in the 1990s. Foreign capital started to become an actor in the production of urban space in İzmir.

Some other remarkable UDPs were planned and designed but they were not implemented in the 1990s. A critical review of these projects is important since these projects clarify how local political power intended to construct a neo-liberal urban development vision through the UDPs. Amongst these unimplemented UDPs, the most prominent ones were İzmir Tourism and Trade Center Project, Konak Square Redevelopment Project and Gedizkent luxury housing project. In fact, these projects were introduced to public as a part of Mayor Burhan Özfatura's campaign for the local government elections in 1999. With the introduction of these projects, it was intended to mobilize public support and to increase the level of votes for the local elections. In addition, the discourse of "world city" was first used by the right-wing local political authority of İzmir in local government election campaign in the year 1999. Within this vision of "world city", Burhan Özfatura and his right-wing local political leadership proposed some emblematic UDPs to construct a neo-liberal urban development vision. These projects were the tourism oriented redevelopment of

Alsancak port, the construction of a central business district in Salhane and the construction of an underwater tunnel to directly connect Üçkuyular and Bostanlı (Kaval, 2005). Although these projects were not implemented in 1980s and 1990s; they constituted the basis of neo-liberal urban development perspective, directed tendencies, visions and activities of large property developers, investors and local business associations in İzmir for the post-2000 period (bknz; İZTO 2003; 2006; 2007a; 2007b; 2009a; 2009b). The UDPs, proposed in 1980-1990 period, were introduced and presented to the public on the basis of discourses, emphasizing the “attraction of investment” and the “enhancement of competitiveness”. These neo-liberal discourses intends to mobilize public support and consent behind the formation of the projects. In this period, the attempts to construct the hegemony of neo-liberal urban development vision could be observed through the dominant discourses of UDPs.

Most of the UDPs, that were brought to the urban planning agenda, were not implemented in this period. In fact, these rent-oriented UDPs were brought to the agenda under the right-wing local political dominance of MP and RWP. In addition, these UDPs could be viewed as the key mechanisms in the attempts to switch capital from first to second circuit and furthermore they also played a crucial role in the mobilization of public support and consent behind the urban policies and planning efforts in this period. Thus, these UDPs have become prominent neo-liberal urban policy mechanisms since the 1980s and they also become the attempts to construct an urbanized hegemony.

5.5.2 From the 2000s onwards: Roll-out Neo-liberalization and the Reorganization of Capital and State Policies in the Way of Urban Entrepreneurialism

From the 2000s onwards, the role of the state has come into prominence in terms of the regulation of neo-liberalization. In this period of political-economic change, state interventions at different scales of policy-making to construct competitive local economies have become key constitutive political force behind the construction of urban entrepreneurialism in İzmir as well as in Turkey. The rise of urban entrepreneurialism is having a state-led character and it has prioritized project-based interventions and neo-liberal urban development visions to boost local economic growth. However, as the indicators of local economy show, the local economic structure of İzmir has been negatively affected in this process of neo-liberalization.

In this process of state-led urban entrepreneurialism new urban policy mechanisms like UDPs, place- and scale-based governance mechanisms like Development Agencies have become dominant regulative mechanisms of urbanization. Furthermore, urban planning powers have been sectorally recentralized though empowering different central government institutions in planning. As a result of these processes Ministries, Greater Municipalities and profit-oriented UDPs have gained exceptional power over the planning system which has become fragmented, uncoordinated and non-holistic. These entrepreneurial urban policies in İzmir have exacerbated socio-spatial inequalities in İzmir. The results and political-economic background of these policies are discussed with detail in the following parts.

5.5.2.1 Local Economic Structure and the Political Dynamics

Since the 2000s, foreign trade deficit started to dominate the local economic structure of İzmir. Neo-liberal structural transformation process enhanced imported-input dependence of local industrial structure in İzmir. In addition to imported-input dependence, export-oriented domestic industrial production stagnated and importation of agricultural products was also increased. All these worsening conditions in the local economy of İzmir have produced serious employment problems and trade deficit problems. In the 2000s; under the effect of neo-liberal structural transformation process, local economy of İzmir became more vulnerable owing to the high level of unemployment and decreasing competitiveness of almost all sectors of the local economy (Kaya, A.Y., 2010). Although in the neoliberalization process; policy-makers at the central and local level, developed discourses on the basis of “competitiveness” and “local economic growth”, İzmir confronted with a high level of unemployment and decreasing competitiveness. Such structural problems of neo-liberal transformation have become more apparent since the 2000s.

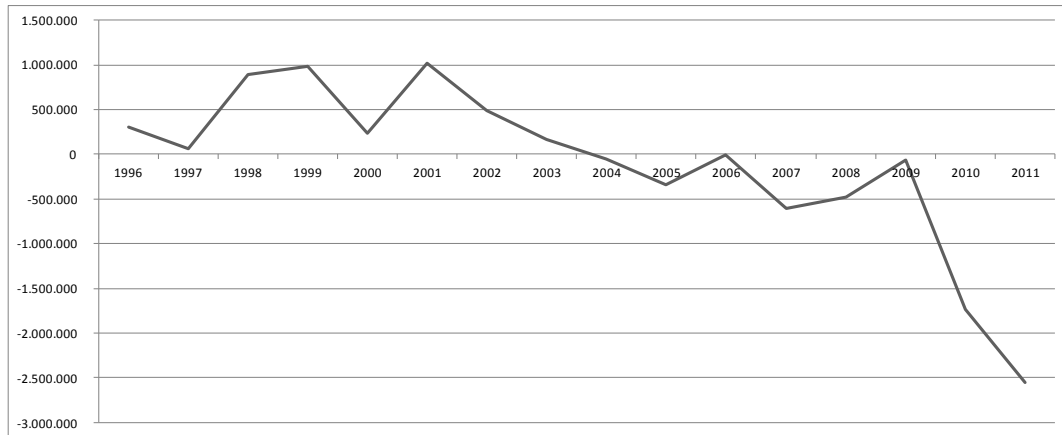


Figure 5.17 Foreign Trade Surplus/Deficit of İzmir, 1996-2011 (Source: TÜİK)

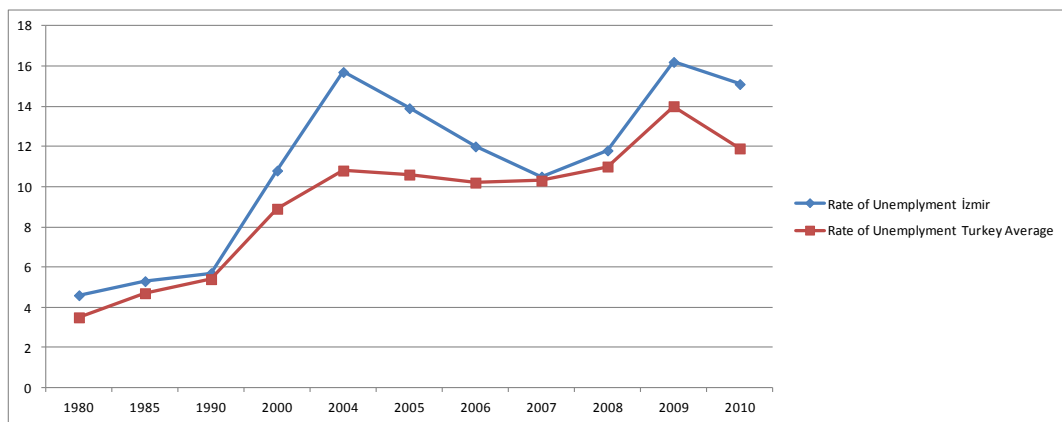


Figure 5.18 The Rate of Unemployment in İzmir and Turkey Average, 1980-2010 (Source: TÜİK)

Destructive effects of roll-back neo-liberalization became more apparent with the economic crisis of 1994 and 2001 in Turkey. The economic crisis of 1994 caused 500.000 people to lost their jobs and triggered the flight of 4.2 billion dollars foreign capital from Turkey. Turkish government intended to manage these crisis conditions through the decreasing of direct state investment, the promotion of tourism sector and most importantly by the dominance of IMF-supported fiscal policies (Boratav, 2003). The results were not successful. A second economic crisis hit the Turkish economy in a short period of time in 2001

The stagnation of export-oriented industrial production and the decline of agricultural production have been exacerbated after 2001 crisis. Under the destructive effect of neo-liberal structural transformation, agricultural production lost its main dynamic in terms of being a profitable economic activity and it was shrunk by state policies. As the two

leading textile companies of İzmir, Kula Mensucat and İzmir Pamuk Mensucat, whose raw material input were provided by the agricultural production of İzmir, announced their bankruptcy after 2001 crisis (Kaya, A.Y., 2010). This was a shock for İzmir, reflecting how deeply local industrial and agricultural sectors were affected by the crisis. In addition to the decline of agriculture and industry, most of the private finance institutions in İzmir preferred to relocate to İstanbul after the crisis of 1994 and 2001. In İzmir, economic sectors like industry and agriculture, which provided the development of local economy in the previous periods, did not adopted to the changing conditions of competitiveness. A high rate unemployment started to dominate local economic structure and almost all sectors of local economy started to lose their competitiveness. İzmir, in this context, could be defined as a loser economy since the 2000s under the effects of neo-liberal structural transformation process (Sönmez., 2010).

However; although İzmir started to lose its competitive power and employment opportunities, this decline has also triggered the regeneration of local economy and the organization of local capital to overcome the crisis of capital accumulation. Within such a framework of local economic restructuring; throughout the 1990s, different fractions of local capital had been organized and they consolidated their power. In the 1990s, many local business associations, including İzmir Industrialists and Businessman Association (İZİAD), Aegean Industrialists and Businessmen Association (EİİAD), Aegean Young Businessmen's Association (EĞİAD) and Aegean Foundation for Economic Development (EGEV) were established as civil and non-governmental associations of business community in İzmir. Furthermore, in this period, different local capital groups intended to increase their competitive power through establishing joint venture companies and corporations. Güçbirliği Holding and KİPA are the leading joint venture companies, that were established in the 1990s in İzmir. On the other hand, the interests of these organized local business communities oriented towards the development of urban space in İzmir. İzmir Chamber of Commerce, for instance, started to prepare strategic plans since the 1990s to set the agenda of urban development policy and to influence the decision-makers of urban development. During the last 20 years, parallel with the rise of neo-liberalization, İzmir Chamber of Commerce has become a leading actor over the agenda of local economic development and urban spatial development processes. It proposed certain urban policies and some key UDPs for the sake of capital accumulation dynamics (see İZTO, 2003; 2009a). The organization of different fractions of local capital was not limited with these

developments. Since the 1990s, powerful holdings and leading local business associations have established private universities to develop local human capital resources, to support technology production and research & development activities. Through establishing universities, powerful local capital groups in İzmir aimed to provide new dynamics for the accumulation of capital. İzmir University of Economics, Yasar University and İzmir University are three of them, established in the 1990s and 2000s.

Not only different fractions of local capital but also even the state itself reorganized its power, institutions and policy-making mechanisms within the context of neo-liberalization. State power has been reorganized through the designing of new policy-making institutions and the mobilization of legislation power. In fact; these changes in the reorganization of state power reflect a new era of neo-liberalization, assigns a more interventionist and regulatory role to state. This new era was called roll-out neo-liberalization and in Turkey since 2002, JDP government has become the ruling political authority behind the transition from roll-back to roll-out neo-liberalization. Since 2002, as the leader and authoritarian political actor, JDP government consolidated policy-making power in the hands of government to construct a state-led roll-out neo-liberalization process. However this transition to roll-out neo-liberalism was not the direct result of the contradictions of roll-back era. In Turkey, roll-back neo-liberalization was not immediately followed by roll-out neo-liberalization. As Bayırbağ (2009) emphasized, roll-out neo-liberalization came as a result of a double-pressure, both from below (the National Outlook Movement and the rise of JDP) and from above (the IMF and the World Bank). Within the framework of such a transition, it could be stated that a hybrid form of neo-liberalization has been shaped by the ruling political authorities of Turkey.

As roll-out neo-liberalization assigns a more interventionist and regulatory role to capitalist state, JDP government have made numerous legislative interventions concerning the redistribution of urban policy-making and planning powers. New laws, legislations, the changes in the existing laws and decree-laws have been enacted since 2002, the year when JDP won the elections and came to political power. Public Administration Reform was enacted in this period and it gave rise to the privatization of public services. As a part of Public Administration Reform, Greater Municipality Law (Law no. 5216) and Municipality Law (5393) were enacted. In addition to these laws, some powers of policy-making were transferred from central to local levels through empowering new local policy-making

institutions like Special Provincial Administrations and Development Agencies (Ersoy, 2003; Şengül, 2003). These legislative interventions were based on the neo-liberalization of state intervention (to provide efficiency for the functioning of markets) and they also rescaled the policy-making power of capitalist state (Bayırbağ, 2009).

Although it seems that legislative interventions in the 1980s and 2000s decentralized urban policy-making and planning powers, a series of other legislative interventions recentralized some key urban planning powers at the same period of time in the 2000s. In this period, JDP government has enacted a series of new laws and decree-laws to construct a power over the production of urban space.

Within the context of such an increase in state intervention, it has been observed a huge number of legislative intervention of the state in the regulation of urban policy and planning powers. Since 2003, under the political authority of JDP government, approximately 200 new laws and many decree-laws have been enacted and through these legislative frameworks the production of urban built environment has been promoted (Balaban, 2008). Most of these legislative interventions are separating and disintegrating planning powers, defining them on the basis of sectors (like housing, industry, tourism... etc.) and assigning them to sectorally-specialized Ministries (like Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Culture and Tourism... etc.) without any holistic planning approach. This disintegration of planning powers, which Balaban (2008) calls “the sectoral recentralization of planning powers”, has dominated the formation of urban planning power since 2002 and it played an initiator role in the increase of urban built environment production both in Turkey and İzmir.

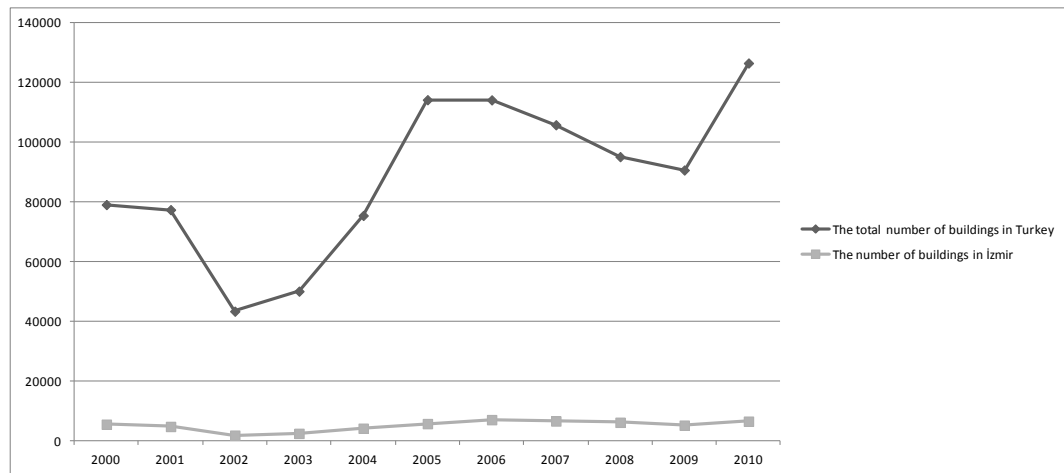


Figure 5.19 The Number of Buildings in İzmir and Turkey, 2000-2010 (Source: TÜİK)

In the roll-out phase of neo-liberalization; Turkish state, under the political authority of JDP government, played an offensive role and proactively intervened the production of space through legislative interventions. For instance; in 2003, with the enactment of Amendment Law on Tourism Incentive Law (Law no. 4957), Ministry of Culture and Tourism was empowered to prepare and approve development plans for the areas that were determined as tourism centers. Furthermore; Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) was provided with extended and exceptional authorities for mass housing production and urban regeneration processes through eleven legislative interventions that were made throughout the 2000s. By these legislative interventions, Mass Housing Administration has become one of the leader and dominant entrepreneurial state actor in the production of built environment. Exceptional urban planning powers of Mass Housing Administration have been mostly used to reduce the rent-gap in the peripheral and central locations of cities. In addition to the empowerment of Mass Housing Administration, Ministry of Industry and Commerce was also empowered by the Law of Industrial Zones (Law no. 4737) to prepare and approve development plans in industrial zones. Lastly, with the decree-laws no 644 and 648, a new Ministry called Ministry of Environment and Urbanism was established in 2011 and it was given a wide range of powers, concerning urban planning, environmental protection (or non-protection) and overall management of built environment production. By these decree laws, Ministry of Environment and Urbanism was empowered to prepare and approve environmental plans and to take decision on the development of protected areas; furthermore it was also given power for an overall facilitation and promotion of urban built environment production. These changes in the restructuring of planning powers did not only centralize some key locally-administrated

urban planning processes, but they also open the way to distribute development rents to particular interest groups.

Table 5.1 Some Prominent Legislative Interventions Gave Rise to the Sectoral Recentralization of Planning Powers

Empowered State Institutions	Legislative Interventions	Years	The Authorizations of Planning and Built Environment Production that were Provided with Legislative Interventions
Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ)	Mass Housing Law (Law no 2985) and 11 Supportive Laws (Laws no. 4767, 4864, 4964, 4966, 5104, 5162, 5229, 5234, 5327, 5273, 5609)	Throughout 2000s	The authorizations to provide housing credit, to produce mass housing in disaster areas, to form and implement urban regeneration projects for the purpose of squatter regeneration, to form and implement luxury mass housing projects, to establish companies and public-private partnerships for the implementation of urban regeneration and housing projects
Ministry of Culture and Tourism	Amendment Law on Tourism Incentive Law (Law no. 4957)	2003	The authorization to prepare and approve development plans in tourism centers
Ministry of Industry and Commerce (previous name)	The Law of Industrial Zones (Law No. 4737)	2002	The authorization to prepare and approve development plans in industrial zones
Ministry of Transportation	Amendment Law on the Law of Duties and Organization of Ministry of Transportation (Law no. 5494)	2006	The authorization to prepare, approve and implement development plans and projects concerning the realization of transportation investments
Privatization Administration	Amendment Law on Concerning the Regulation of Privatization Implementations (Law no. 5393)	2005	The authorization to prepare and approve development plans for the areas that belong to Privatization Administration
Ministry of Environment and Urbanism	Decree-laws no 644 and 648	2011	(1) The authorization to prepare and approve Spatial Strategy Plans and Environmental Plans (2) The authorization to take decisions on the conservation or development of protected sites (3) The authorization to prepare and approve all development plans and to give construction permits for the all public and private properties in Turkey, whose development plans were not approved by the authorized state institutions in three months (a huge overall authority to manage, facilitate and promote the production of built environment in Turkey)

JDP government intended to consolidate urban planning powers in the hands of central government through these legislative interventions. Furthermore, JDP government also aimed to enhance its local political power by constructing a direct control, domination and power over the urban rent production and distribution processes. In fact, these legislative interventions to construct a power over the production and distribution of urban rents, could also be critically interpreted as politically-motivated attempts to enhance the local political power of JDP in the localities like İzmir where oppositional parties are stronger. However, these attempts were not successful in the enhancement of local political power in İzmir. After 2002, although JDP won local elections and get the power of Greater

Municipalities in many metropolitan cities, it did not win any local elections in İzmir in the 2000s.

Table 5.2 Winning Parties and Their Rate of Votes in Greater Municipality Elections in 1999, 2004 and 2009

	1999	2004	2009
İstanbul	FP (%27)	AKP (%45)	AKP (%44)
Ankara	FP (%33)	AKP (%55)	AKP (%38)
İzmir	DSP (%30)	CHP (%47)	CHP (%56)
Bursa	DSP (%28)	AKP (%53)	AKP (%47)
Adana	ANAP (%26)	AKP (%39)	MHP (%29)
Konya	FP (%48)	AKP (%62)	AKP (%68)
Antalya	CHP (%21)	AKP (%34)	CHP (%40)
Gaziantep	CHP (%31)	AKP (%57)	AKP (%53)
Mersin	DSP (%19)	CHP (%34)	CHP (%30)
Kocaeli	CHP (%40)	AKP (%51)	AKP (%47)
Diyarbakır	HDP (%62)	SHP (%58)	DTP (%64)
Samsun	ANAP (%27)	AKP (%46)	AKP (%46)
Kayseri	FP (%39)	AKP (%70)	AKP (%61)
Sakarya		AKP (%37)	AKP (%44)
Erzurum	MHP (%36)	AKP (%61)	AKP (%56)
Eskişehir	DSP (%42)	DSP (%44)	DSP (%51)

Source: TÜİK

As a dominant and authoritarian political power, JDP won local elections and acquired the power of Greater Municipalities in Ankara and İstanbul in the 2000s. Although; they were not successful in İzmir, the attempts to enhance local political power of JDP have continued with an offensive and proactive approach throughout the 2000s. In other words, the failure of JDP in İzmir local elections did not decrease its motivation and interest, on the contrary, it has continued its activities and efforts to become politically powerful in İzmir. Within this framework of continued activities and efforts, İzmir Development Agency was established

in 2006. JDP government established the first Development Agency of Turkey in İzmir. Through the establishment of Development Agency, it was intended to design a local policy-making mechanism to facilitate and attract investments, to serve and balance the interests of different fractions of local capital and to mobilize entrepreneurial urban policies. In addition to this, İzmir Special Provincial Administration was established in 2005 and it was also empowered as a local policy-making mechanism to distribute a significant level of rural development resource and to prepare and approve Provincial Development Plans. These policy-making state institutions were established within the context of Public Administration Reform and they started to play crucial roles within the increased control of JDP government over the distribution of resources in İzmir.

On the other hand, JDP central government is also entrepreneurial and offensive in proposing and forming some UDPs for the urban spatial development of İzmir since 2002. For instance, with the decision of central government, İzmir was chosen as Turkey's candidate to host EXPO 2015. After this decision; through a collaboration of central and local governments, a new development plan was prepared and a series of new investment decisions were taken for the development of İnciraltı waterfront as the fair site of EXPO 2015. Although İzmir lost EXPO 2015 hosting contest against Milan, it is chosen again as the candidate to host EXPO 2020 and a partnership of central, local governments and local business associations is established and significant urban policy-making powers are transferred to this public-private partnership, that established with the cabinet decision of JDP government. In addition to attempts to host mega events, central government also aims to implement two important large scale infrastructure projects for İzmir, which are the construction of İstanbul-İzmir Highway and the implementation of North Aegean Çandarlı Port Project. Not only these large scale infrastructure projects; but also New City Center and İnciraltı Tourism Center Development Projects were emphasized and used intensively in the propaganda and program of JDP in 2009 İzmir local elections. Since the 2000s; JDP has introduced itself as the powerful political authority to implement these UDPs, to attract investment, to provide employment opportunities and finally to mobilize local economic growth dynamics. In fact; through these urban development policies and projects, it is intended to shape and construct a local public opinion in İzmir, supportive of JDP's political power.

However, JDP is not the only political power building the agenda of urban politics on the basis of UDPs. As the leader and dominant local political power in İzmir, RPP (Republican People's Party) also strongly emphasized UDPs and similar with JDP, it defined them on the basis of "investment", "employment" and "local economic growth". In this respect, most of the local governments in İzmir, that were managed by RPP, embraced the logic of entrepreneurial urban policy within the context of neo-liberalization. Therefore, The Greater Municipality of İzmir and some District Municipalities have adopted a profit-oriented and rent-seeking approach in the (re)production of urban space and they concentrated on how to provide new urban spaces for capital accumulation through the formation of UDPs. For instance, New City Center Development Project was first brought to the agenda of urban politics by the Greater Municipality of İzmir. UDPs and urban planning efforts are elaborated and critically discussed in the later part with their features and details.

5.5.2.2 Urban Development Plans and Projects as the Hegemonic Projects of Urbanization

In the roll-out phase of neo-liberalization; central, local governments and capital have shaped a form of urban entrepreneurialism in İzmir. In this process, city-wide master plans and UDPs have played a crucial role in the formation of urban entrepreneurialism. In 2007, Greater Municipality of İzmir prepared and approved İzmir Urban Region Development Plan (İzmir Kentsel Bölge Nazım İmar Planı). In this plan, a macroform of urban development is proposed between Menemen and Menderes on the north-south axis and Bornova and Narlıdere on the east-west axis. With the decisions of the plan; agricultural basins, protected natural zones and vast forest lands limit and surround macroform through forming a green belt. In the plan, There are also sub-centers of urban region development proposed (Aliğa on the north, Torbalı on the south, Kemalpaşa on the east and Urla on the west) to provide a settlement hierarchy and a balanced and coordinated development of the whole urban region (İKBNİP, 2007). İzmir Urban Region Development Plan aims provide a sustainable, balanced, evenly developed and planned urban region under the approach of strategic spatial planning (Aysel & Göksu, 2008). However, the co-existence of different upper-scale plans for İzmir, their conflicting plan decisions and the lack of coordination, continuity and unity amongst different upper-scale plans make even difficult to implement strategic spatial development decisions of İzmir Urban Region Development Plan.

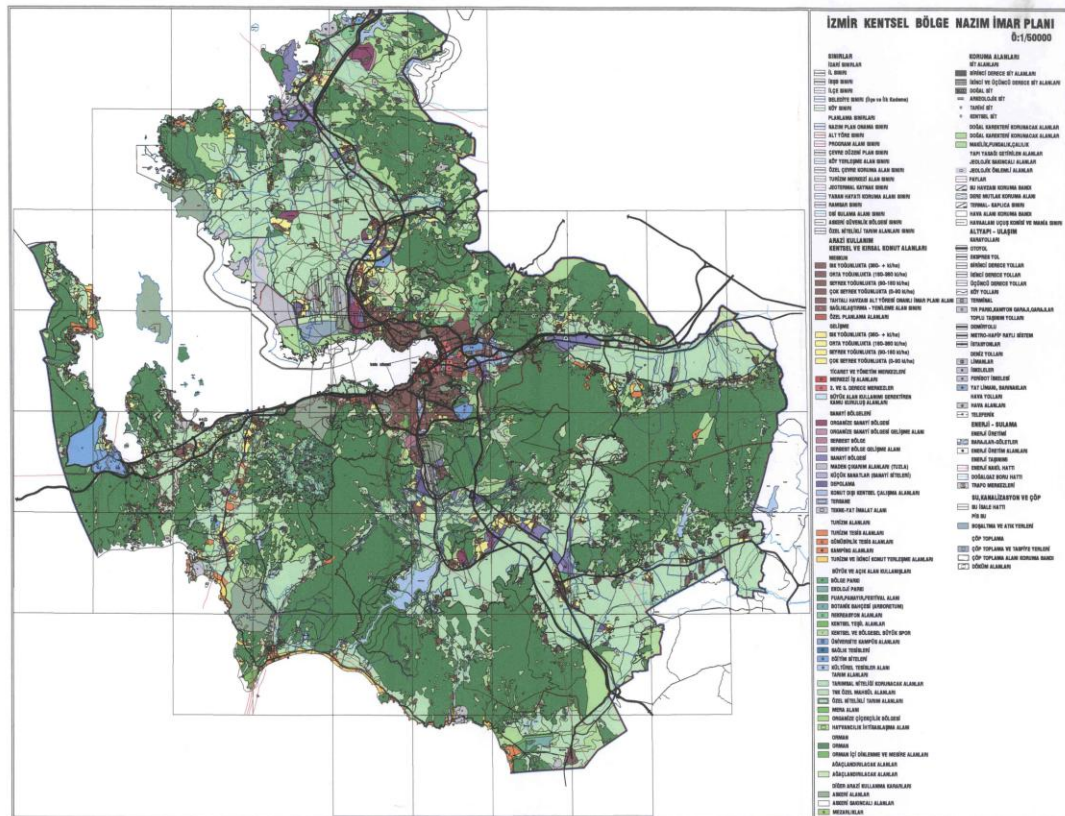


Figure 5.20 İzmir Urban Region Development Plan (Source: İKBNİP, 2007)

Within the İzmir Urban Region Development Plan, Greater Municipality of İzmir planned İnciraltı Tourism Center as an agricultural protection area. However, the planning of İnciraltı Tourism Center belongs to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Ministry targets to develop İnciraltı as a center of health tourism (bknz: KTB,2007; 2011). This conflicting views on the planning of İnciraltı show how a political struggle occurs between local and central governments.

İzmir Urban Region Development Plan defined the backside of Alsancak Port and Salhane District as the new city center development area. According to this plan, in the long-run, Alsancak Port will be transformed to a cruise port and commerce and tourism-oriented land use development for the backside of the port and Salhane district will integrate with this cruise port. These plan decisions are coherent with the new city center development plan (İKBNİP, 2007; İYKMNİP, 2010).

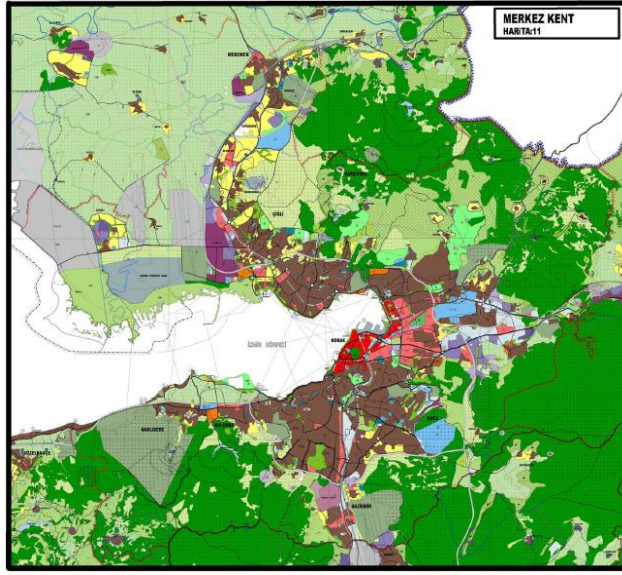


Figure 5.21 A Part of İzmir Urban Region Development Plan, showing the urban macroform of İzmir
(Source: İKBNİP, 2007)

İzmir Urban Region Development Plan was also defined some areas in the city as “urban rehabilitation and renewal program areas”. In a short period of time, it is expected to form and implement urban rehabilitation and renewal projects for these areas, that were built up through reclamation plans. These “urban rehabilitation and renewal program areas” are defined in the plan as the “old and declining urban areas, completed their economic life”. Furthermore, it is also stated that “to produce more healthy, safe and attractive places to live with a high quality of life, it is needed to intervene to the existing decline of these areas” (İKBNİP, 2007). It seems that large scale urban regeneration projects will be formed and implemented for the redevelopment of these areas and İzmir Urban Region Development Plan constitute the basis of this regeneration-oriented intervention. The locations of these urban rehabilitation and renewal program areas are displayed in the map mentioned below.

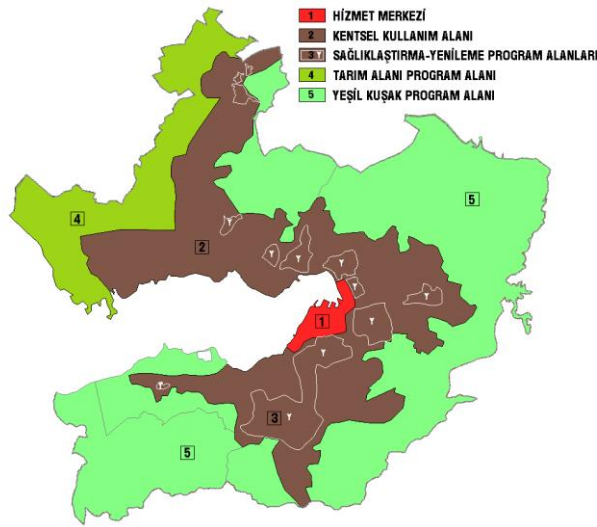


Figure 5.22 The Program Areas of İzmir Urban Region Development Plan (Source: İKBNİP, 2007)

İzmir Urban Region Development Plan was not the only mechanisms that brought UDPs to the agenda of urban planning. Throughout the 2000s, it is possible to observe many UDPs. Some of these projects were implemented, while some other ones were not implemented and many of them were in progress. The first UDP in İzmir was İzmir World Trade Center Project which was intended to be developed as a public-private partnership of İzmir Greater Municipality and Güçbirliği Holding. Owing to the financial problems of Güçbirliği Holding, the implementation of this project was delayed for a long time and in the last five years this time the plan concerning the implementation of the project, was cancelled by the court as result of the judicial actions of former mayor and chambers. İzmir World Trade Center Project is the first UDP that was introduced and presented to public on the basis of the local economic growth and investment-oriented discourses like “attraction of investment”, “promotion of commerce-based activities” and “making İzmir a world city”. Although this project was not implemented, investment and growth-based hegemonic discourses were first used within this project to mobilize the support and consent of large segments of society in İzmir.

Another important UDP in the post-2000 period was İzmir Olympic Village Project that were implemented in 2005 as a part of the Universiade Games. As a large scale event like EXPO, Universiade Games was introduced to public as a “catalyst to boost local economic growth” and Olympic Village Project, in this context, presented as the “production of an attractive

and high-quality space". This project was implemented and Universiade played a crucial role in the mobilization of public support behind the project. In 2006, Greater Municipality of İzmir started to form a new project called İzmir New Fair Site and Congress Center Project. This project is not implemented yet, but it is known that 22 hectares of privately owned land was expropriated by the Greater Municipality of İzmir to implement this project. This huge expropriation was defended and justified through the hegemonic discourse of Greater Municipality emphasizing that New Fair Site and Congress Center Project will "attract billion dollars of investment" and "provide thousands of new employment opportunities".

In the post-2000 period, there are also several large transportation development projects, formed and being started to be implemented. Among them the most crucial ones are the Urban Railway Transportation Project and Northern Aegean Çandarlı Port Project. Urban Railway Transportation Project was first started in 1994 and three lines were completed since then. Western line is under construction and it become a site of political struggle between the central and local governments owing to the problems of financing of the project. Northern Aegean Çandarlı Port was planned as the largest port in Turkey and this project has been organized under the authority of central government since 2009. Container functions of Alsancak Port will transfer to Çandarlı Port after the implementation of the project. The efforts of central government to form the project have increased the level of property prices in and around the project area.

However since the 2000s, it is undoubtedly apparent that the most important projects, that are expected to attract the highest level of investment, are New City Center (NCC) and İnciraltı Tourism Center (İTC) Development Projects. It is widely agreed that these two projects will radically transform the existing social and spatial structure of urban space and furthermore, it has been observable in last ten years that investment and growth-oriented hegemonic discourses of state and capital have been concentrated on these two projects. In fact, NCC and İTC projects are formed within a political-economic context in which agriculture and industry-based sectors are declining and commerce, tourism and consumption-oriented activities are gaining attraction. This transformation of the political-economic context, behind the formation of the projects, also reflects that these projects are the product of the rise of neo-liberal structural transformation process and its influences upon the local economic structure of İzmir. Therefore, these projects reflect and

embody the changing relations and strategies in the regime of capital accumulation. From this aspect, it could be stated that these projects reproducing, reinforcing and reconstructing the neo-liberal hegemony of capitalist system at the urban level. However, analyzing the restructuring of local economy and capital accumulation dynamics is not adequate to reveal how neo-liberal hegemony has been constructed through these UDPs. We need to critically investigate the political construction of UDPs to elucidate through which discourses, reinforcements and socio-political relations UDPs have become the “hegemonic projects of the production of space”.

To sum up; since 2002, a state-led roll-out neo-liberalization process has been shaped under the political dominance of JDP government. In this process, although, on the one hand, public-private partnership and project-based new local policy-making mechanisms have been designed, on the other hand central government institutions have been empowered with the powers of urban planning through a series of legislative interventions. In fact, this concurrent de- and re-centralization of urban planning powers did not democratize planning process, rather it open the way to distribute rents unevenly to particular interest groups. However, these state interventions and policies did not provide a smoothly operating political-ideological basis for the implementation of profit-oriented UDPs. In İzmir, for instance, most of the profit-oriented UDP were not implemented and they failed in acquiring the consent of organized social classes. Although New City Center Project was started to be implemented and acquired a certain level of public support and consent; İnciraltı Tourism Center Development Project was contested and confronted by particular organized social groups and not implemented yet. Thus, it is needed to investigate through which discourses and activities of hegemony construction a powerful political-ideological basis is provided to the formation of the projects. We should also unveil which social forces play what kind of roles in this political construction of the projects. A comparative and detailed analysis of the formation of two projects will be critically elaborated with reference to these questions in the later chapter.

5. 6 The Critical Review of İzmir’s Urban Development Processes Within the Context of Political-Economic Dynamics

In this concluding part of Chapter 5, an overall summary and a critical review of the political-economic dynamics in terms of İzmir’s trajectories of urban development are presented. As timelines mentioned below illustrate, there are key events and developments

forming the basis of political-economic background of urban development. It is identified six trajectories in İzmir's experience of urbanization, each of which are constituted by different but successive and inter-related politically and economically important events like wars, economic crisis and the changing of ruling political authorities in Turkey's government. These key historical events and developments define different political-economic trajectories of urbanization and planning. As timeline figures mentioned below display, İzmir was a foreign market dependent agricultural product exporter port city in the late Ottoman period until the Turkish Republic was established. After the Turkish War of Independence, Republic was established and nation state had become the regulative power of urbanization and planning. In this process of nation state building, a state-led industrial development process had shaped the development of Turkish cities including İzmir. Since the 1945, the ruling political power in the central government of Turkey had changed and the right-wing political authority aimed to liberalize local economy through an import substituted industrialization. Import substituted regime continued to dominate local economic structure of Turkey as well as İzmir until the 1980s. In this regime of capital accumulation, demand-side Keynesian-redistributive policies was the major urban policy framework, however the Turkish state was not "successful" in dealing with migration and squatter development in metropolitan cities of Turkey, including İzmir.

1980s signals the start of a new political regime in Turkey, which was widely known as "neo-liberalization". In this period of political-economical change, demand-side redistributive policies have been replaced by supply-side and growth-oriented entrepreneurial policies including the privatization of public services, profit-oriented and rent-seeking production of urban space. State-capital relations have been restructured and policy-making power of state has been re-scaled in this process to design new policy-making mechanisms in order to make and implement these entrepreneurial urban policies. The rise of neo-liberalization could be investigated with reference to two sub-periods of change, the first covers 1980s and 1990s and the second includes key developments from 2000s onwards.

In the roll-back neoliberalization of 1980s, the ruling political power in Turkey changed and the right-wing political power had dominated the formation of urban policies in İzmir. In these years, there were important changes including the stagnation of industry and the rise of commerce, service, tourism and construction based sectors, all of which had shaped the

structure of local economy. The production of built environment showed a huge increase in the 1980s as a result of the direct intervention of the state. Towards the end of the 1990s, it could be observed that different fractions of local capital started to organize their power by establishing local business associations through which they aim to influence urban policy-making processes in İzmir. In the 2000s, the roll-out phase of neo-liberalization and the rise of urban entrepreneurialism in İzmir has been organized by the state power and the active involvement of local business associations in urban policy-making processes. The establishment of Development Agency, some public-private partnerships, urban planning processes and the UDPs reflect how urban entrepreneurialism in İzmir has been organized by the state and capital. All policies and mechanisms of state intervention, since the 2000s, have been mobilized to construct the hegemony of neo-liberal urban development visions. Within this context of increased state intervention, UDPs have been proposed by the collaboration-cooperation of powerful governmental and investor-business actors as the urban policy choices to overcome structural problems of neo-liberalization regime, including stagnant economic growth, unemployment and trade deficit.

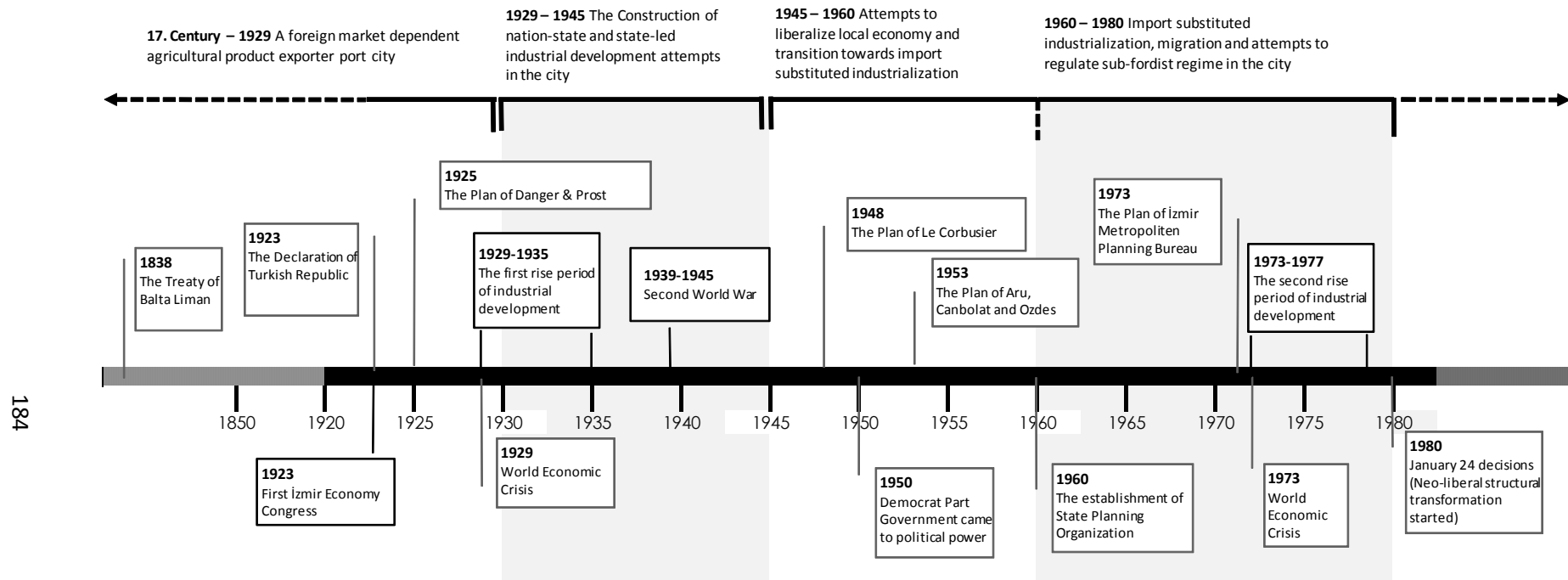


Figure 5.23 Key Events and Development in the Formation of the Political-Economic Background of Urbanization and Planning of İzmir, 17. Century - 1980

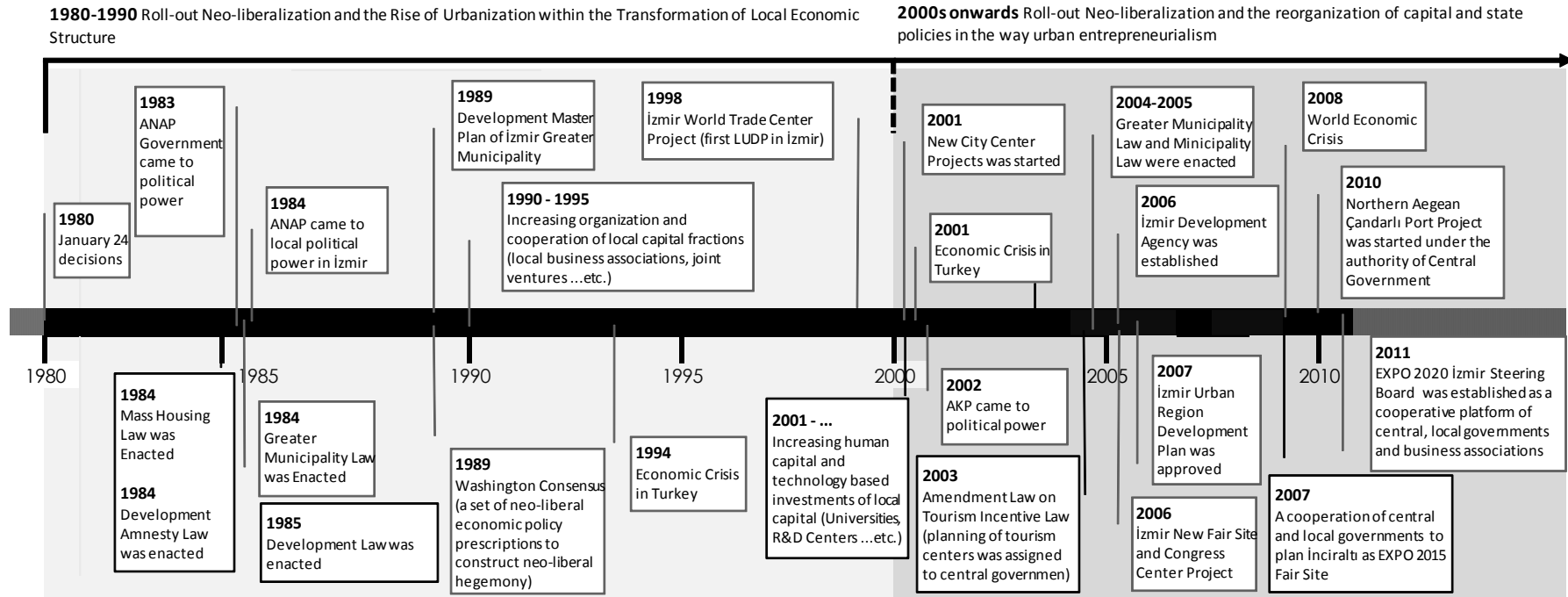


Figure 5.24 Key Events and Development in the Formation of the Political-Economic Background of Urbanization and Planning of İzmir, From 1980s Onwards

In this chapter, it is particularly focused on post-1980s periods of political-economic change. As the table mentioned below show, there are six trajectories of urbanization each of which represent different regimes of capital accumulation and modes of social regulation. The leading sectors of local economy and the dominant urban policies have changed throughout different trajectories of urbanization. In these different political-economic trajectories of urbanization, various city-wide master plans are prepared to deal with urban development problems and in different plans different propositions are made for the development of New City Center and İnciraltı Tourism Center areas that constitute the case study of thesis.

Urban Development Projects (UDPs) that brought to the agenda of urban politics by dominant social forces, have changed throughout different trajectories. The common economic motivation behind the UDPs in different trajectories was the regime of capital accumulation. UDPs in different time periods are formed and implemented to reproduce the dynamics of capitalist local economic structure. Through producing required spaces for the accumulation of capital (port in the first decades of 20th century, Kültürpark in the 1930s, Railways and industrial development zones in the period between 1945 and 1970 and rent-oriented urban development projects since the 1980s) UDPs have provided the key dynamics for the reproduction of capitalist socio-spatial relations in the city. In each of the time period, the hegemonic bases of these different UDPs have been constituted on the basis of local economic structure and capital accumulation relations. In other words, public support and consent behind these UDPs have been mobilized through introducing these UDPs to public something serving the functioning of local economic structure. To sum up, the historical consideration on the politics of UDPs in İzmir reveals that, the hegemonic basis of UDPs (mobilization of public support) has been constructed through the dominant relations and dynamics of local economic structure and capital accumulation. In brief, it could be stated that UDPs of İzmir in different periods reflect the dominant local economic relations of capital accumulation. Therefore, it could be argued that these UDPs of different periods, summarized within the table mentioned below, are all “hegemonic projects of the production of space”. However, to investigate how the hegemonic power has been mobilized with these projects, it is not enough to shed light on economic structure and capital accumulation relations, but rather we should investigate through which discourses and activities of hegemony construction, a powerful political-ideological superstructural basis is constructed for the formation of the projects. It is needed investigated how UDPs,

particularly in the post-2000s period, have been politically-ideologically constructed and which social forces play what kind of roles in this political construction process. A comparative and detailed analysis of the formation of two leading UDPs from İzmir, namely New City Center (NCC) Project and İnciraltı Tourism Center (ITC) Project will be critically elaborated with reference to these questions in the following case study chapter of thesis.

Table 5.3: The Six Trajectories of Urbanization with reference to Changing Local Economic Structure and Political Dynamics

The trajectories of urbanization	The regime of capital accumulation	The leading sectors of the local economy	Urban policies as the mode of social regulation	Master Plan	The Planning approach behind the master plan	The propositions of the master plan for the development of new city center and İnciraltı tourism center area	Urban Development Projects (UDPs)	The Hegemonic basis of the UDPs
17. Century - 1929 A foreign market dependent agricultural product exporter port city	Capital accumulation in the first circuit (primitive accumulation) under the imperialist policies of western capitalist countries	Agricultural production (articulated to capitalist mode of industrial production through exporting agricultural products as the raw material)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Producing the spaces of port city to serve western European capitalist countries as an agricultural product exporter - Building a new town on the areas that were destroyed by fire 	The plan of Danger & Prost (1925)	Physical planning approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New city center area was not included by the plan - Public beach was proposed for İnciraltı 	Alsancak Port Project and Railway Projects (as the large scale transportation infrastructure projects)	Distribution and circulation of agriculture products to reproduce the relations and processes of capital accumulation
1929 – 1945 The Construction of nation-state and state-led industrial development attempts in the city	Capital accumulation in the first circuit through state-led industrialization	Industry and Agriculture (State-led national industrial development and agricultural production)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The construction of nation-state and citizenship through urban policies - Nationalization of energy production and transportation & infrastructure services - State-led industrialization policies (protectionist policies and the planning of industrial development districts through state investment) 	The Revision of the plan of Danger & Prost (1933)	Physical planning approach	New city center and İnciraltı tourism center areas were not included by the master plan revision	Kültürpark (planned and designed as an international fair site for the advertisement and marketing of industrial products)	Marketing and advertisement of industrial products to reproduce the dynamics of nation state-led industrial development

Table 5.3 (Continued)

1945 – 1960 Attempts to liberalize local economy and transition towards import substituted industrialization	Capital accumulation in the first circuit through import substituted sub-fordist industrialization	Industry and Agriculture (import substituted industrialization and agricultural production)	- Socially inclusive urbanization: Tackling with rural unemployment and migration through providing industrial employment and legalization of illegal squatter development - Large scale transportation, energy infrastructure and industry investments through foreign financial resources (WB and Marshal Plan)	- The Plan of Le Corbusier (prepared but not implemented in 1948)	Modernist urbanism & architecture approach	- Small scale industrial development was proposed for the new city center area - A sport center with an open-green space system were proposed for İnciraltı	- Alsancak Port Extension Project (to enhance container transportation capacity) - Industry and logistic oriented development of Salhane district (not implemented)	Production and distribution of industrial products to provide local economic development and industrial employment
				- The Plan of Aru, Özdeş & Canbolat (1952)	Functionalism planning approach	- Small scale industrial development and logistic functions were proposed for the new city center area - A public beach with excursion tourism functions were proposed for some parts of İnciraltı		
1960 – 1980 Import substituted industrialization, migration and attempts to regulate sub-fordist regime in the city	Capital accumulation in the first circuit through import substituted sub-fordist industrialization	Industry and Agriculture (import substituted industrialization and agricultural production)	- Demand-oriented Keynesian redistributive policies: relatively high wages, provision of collective consumption and reproduction of labor - Socially inclusive urbanization: (1) Planning of heavy industrial zone through the investment of state and the provision of industrial employment (2) Tackling with unemployment and migration through condoning and allowing squatter development and informal sector employment	- The Master plan of İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau (1973) - The Revision of the Master plan of İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau (1978)	A Synthesis of rational comprehensive planning and structural planning approach	- Commercial and Service functions were proposed in the revision of the master plan for the development of new city center area - A public beach with excursion tourism functions were proposed in the revision of the master plan for some parts of İnciraltı	- Railway Project (connecting Aliğa and Torbalı along the north-south axis) - A new industrial development zone in Çiğli with a new port and airport (partially implemented)	Development of industrial structure in the city to provide industrial employment on the basis of a linear urban macro-form

Table 5.3 (Continued)

1980-1990 Roll-out Neo-liberalization and the Rise of Urbanization within the Transformation of Local Economic Structure	Capital accumulation in the first and second circuits through a stagnant export-oriented post-fordist industrial structure and developing commerce, tourism and finance based sectors	Commerce and Service based sectors (tourism, finance...etc) and construction sector	- Supply-oriented growth first policies: low wages, marketization of collective consumption and privatization of public lands and services, attraction of capital through rent-oriented production of urban space, reproduction of capital rather than labor - Selective decentralization of planning powers: (1) Urban planning powers were decentralized to Municipalities (2) Greater Municipality and Mayors have become entrepreneurial and empowered through legislative interventions (3) Clientalist relations of Greater Municipality with large construction companies and also with squatters to provide economic interest and to get political support	The master plan of İzmir metropolitan area (Greater Municipality of İzmir, 1989)	Incremental planning approach	- Commercial and Service functions were proposed in the master plan for the development of new city center area - İnciraltı was planned as an agriculture area to be protected. However, the first rent-oriented tourism development initiatives and counter activities to protect the area were first started in this period	- Aegean Free Zone Project and Mass Housing Projects (implemented) - İzmir Tourism and Trade Center Project, Konak Square Redevelopment Project and Gedizkent Luxury Housing Project (not implemented) - First formation of urban entrepreneurialism and neo-liberal urban development visions and projects: İzmir Tourism and Trade Center Project and Tourism and trade oriented development of Salhane district within the context of "world city İzmir" discourse (projects not implemented)	First formation of urban entrepreneurialism and neo-liberal urban development visions and projects which was presented to public as the mechanisms of local economic growth and making İzmir "a competitive world city" through attracting investment
2000s and today Roll-out Neo-liberalization and the reorganization of capital and state policies in the way urban entrepreneurialism	Capital accumulation in the first, second and third circuits: a diversified and entrepreneurial local economic structure to overcome the crisis of capital accumulation	Commerce and Service based sectors (tourism, finance...etc) and construction sector	- Socially exclusive urbanization: (1) socio-spatial polarization and exclusion (2) urban regeneration projects without no social and spatial integrity (3) no more legalization of squatters and (4) privatization of public lands and services - Re-institutionalization of urban policy mechanisms: (1) Urban development projects as entrepreneurial urban policy, (2) place and scale based governance mechanisms like development agencies, and Special Provincial Administrations ...etc. - Sectoral recentralization of planning powers... Planning system has become fragmented, uncoordinated and non-holistic	İzmir urban-region development plan (Greater Municipality of İzmir, 2007)	Strategic Spatial Planning	- Commercial and Service functions are proposed in the plan for the development of new city center area - Tourism-oriented development is proposed for İnciraltı by central government. However this proposition has been confronted by some oppositional social groups on the basis of public interest and protection of ecological values	- Northern Aegean Çandarlı Port Project (not implemented yet) - İzmir World Trade Center Project (started in 1998, not implemented yet) - İzmir Olympic village Project (implemented in 2005 as a part of Universiade) - İzmir New Fair Site and Congress Center Project (not implemented yet) - New City Center Development Project (started in 2001, continuing to be implemented) - İnciraltı Tourism Center Development Project (not implemented yet)	The rise of project-based and state-led urban entrepreneurialism. Neo-liberal urban development visions and projects was presented to public as the inevitable policy measures to boost local economic growth, to provide employment and to enhance quality of life

CHAPTER 6

THE CASE OF İZMİR: A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION OF THE POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION OF NEW CITY CENTER AND İNCIRALTI TOURISM CENTER DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

In Chapter 6, the empirical evidence of the case study research is presented, discussed and critically elaborated within a comparative perspective. The methodological framework of this thesis oriented research to make inductions and deductions and to use qualitative and quantitative research methods with a complementary manner. Through reviewing the literature on the politics of UDPs in the world and Turkey, initial arguments are deducted to design the case study of thesis. Furthermore; through making a political-economy based quantitative analysis of İzmir's local economic structure, underlying structural dynamics of capitalist urbanization processes are explained. This literature survey of UDPs and quantitative analysis of local economy provided key sources of deduction in designing the case study of research.

The Case study research provides inductive findings to reconsider initial arguments of thesis. By this inductive way, empirical evidence of the case study contributes to the reconsideration of the political construction of UDPs. Empirical findings of the case study are elaborated in two parts. Firstly the dynamics of decision making behind the formation of NCC and İTC projects are comparatively investigated. In the second part, the dynamics of opinion building in the political construction of two UDPs are compared and explored in detail. This case study chapter put particular emphasis on revealing how governmental and non-governmental agents collaborate to mobilize public support and consent for UDPs.

6.1 The Comparative Investigation of Decision-Making Dynamics Behind the Formation of the Projects

Decision-making dynamics behind the formation of the projects are comparatively investigated with reference to planning processes, property relations and cooperative relations of dominant actors in the formation of the projects. Firstly as the key decision-making process, the preparation and approval of development plans are outlined within a chronological manner. Not only the procedures of planning process, but also different

views and opinions, supportive and oppositional discourses of key actors are identified and critically reinterpreted. This chronological evaluation of events provides a critical perspective to reveal how the formation process of the projects has been shaped and constructed through the prevalent discourses and dominant views of powerful actors. Secondly, it is a widely-known fact that property relations play a crucial role in the production of urban space. Therefore, the existing and changing property patterns and relations are investigated and reinterpreted as the key dynamics of decision-making in the formation of the projects. The third point of consideration in the investigation of decision-making dynamics outlines the key and powerful position of leading and dominant actors in the formation of the projects and emphasizes that these projects also reflect and embody “a coalition of social forces” (in Gramscian sense) which mainly includes state institutions, business associations, investors and media institutions. Lastly, the main findings of critical discourse analysis are pointed out through the identification of predominant and oppositional views and the discursive practices behind the formation of these views.

6.1.1 The Chronology of Events in the Formation of Projects

The formation of NCC project dates back to the first years of 2000s. In 2001, the Greater Municipality of İzmir decided to organize an international urban design competition for the redevelopment of the backside of Alsancak Port. A German architect Jochen Brandi won the competition with his project which was widely-known as the “Third İzmir Project”. Since then designing a new city center in this declining urban area (ranging from the backside of the Alsancak Port towards the Karşıyaka District and including 538 hectares of urban space) has become a flagship urban regeneration project to attract capital through a new central business district, commerce and consumption based activities, luxury and gated residents, shopping malls ...etc.

After the competition, Greater Municipality of İzmir prepared and approved a development plan to design the new city center in 2005. Some proposals of Brandi’s winning project were taken into consideration in the preparation of development plan. More importantly, it was made a series of meetings and discussions with investors, local business associations and chambers. The Greater Municipality of İzmir paid particular attention to incorporate the views of these groups in the planning process and the demands of them were taken into consideration in formation of land-use and density decisions of the plan. In fact, this was a strategic decision to cooperate and collaborate with local capital and chambers. As a

result, New City Center Development Plan was approved in the year 2005 with the consensus of local government institutions, local capital (including investors and local business associations) and chambers.

New city center development plan was introduced and presented to public as “the crucial opportunity to regenerate the old industrial and storage-oriented use of this declining and abandoned urban area” (İYKMNP, 2010). The project also announced to public as “a viable basis to provide new urban images, flagship urban design and regeneration projects to make İzmir an internationally competitive word city” (İYKMNP, 2010). It was also stated that NCC area should become “a locomotive power of İzmir’s competitiveness and entrepreneurialism within the context of new global and local economic development dynamics (İYKMNP, 2010) The Greater Municipality of İzmir played the key and central role in the production of such predominant discourses in the formation of NCC project.

The Greater Municipality of İzmir did not only intend to shape and build a supportive public opinion through the domination and manipulation of such regeneration and competitiveness based discourses but it also produced and disseminated collaboration and cooperation oriented discourses signifying that the project was prepared with the involvement of different stakeholders including investors, chambers and business associations. The years between the 2002 and 2006 passed through the dominance of such prevalent discourses and the Greater Municipality, investors, local business associations and chambers played an important role in the production and dissemination of such hegemonic discursive practices.

In 2006, owing to the demands of investors, Greater Municipality of İzmir revised the plan and increased the density of building with this plan revision. İzmir Branch of the Chamber of Architecture (whose leader served as the consultant of the Mayor of Greater Municipality in this period) supported this plan revision. The Greater Municipality of İzmir and investors argued that this revision of building density should be understood as a “promotion to attract investment in the project area”.

In the following three years, there had been judiciary actions for the nullity and the cancel of the plan. As a result of the lawsuit, that was sued by the ex-Mayor of Greater Municipality and a few city councilors, the NCC development plan was canceled in 2009.

The reason behind the decision of the court was the lack of geological surveys and reports concerning the risk of earthquake in the NCC area. In fact, this judiciary action against the plan was carried out by a small group of local politicians and does not reflect an ideologically oppositional position against the formation of the project.

After the court decision against the formation of the project, a new wave of hegemonic discourses started to dominate urban political agenda. The Mayor of Greater Municipality emphasized that “the NCC development plan will attract 20 billion dollars investment and thousands of new job opportunities”, therefore “such judiciary actions against the plan harm to all people living in İzmir and prevent local economic development of the city”. Parallel with these discourses, investors and local business associations stated that judiciary actions obstruct huge investments, employment opportunities and preclude the regeneration of local economy and urban space on the basis of finance, commerce and tourism oriented sectors.

In addition to the hegemonic discourses of the state and capital, investors has announced their particular projects in the NCC area since 2007. Their projects concentrate on the redevelopment of privately owned land with mixed use functions including shopping malls, offices and luxury residents. Huge office towers, shopping malls, gated and luxury residents has been introduced, presented and advertised to public as the new attractive spaces of NCC. In these place marketing strategies, it is emphasized that these towers, malls and residents enhance the quality of life of all the people living in İzmir. Through such discourses and place-marketing strategies, it is intended to mobilize public support and consent.

In 2011, after the completion of geological surveys and reports, NCC development plan was approved again and District Municipalities started to prepare 1/1000 scaled complementary development plans (uygulama imar planı) in accordance with the regulative land use and density decisions of NCC development plan. As a result, since the year 2011 investors have taken their building licenses and started to construct their particular projects in the NCC area. Although there was judiciary actions against the formation of the projects throughout the 2000s, the project was started to be implemented in 2011. Important events and their roles in the formation of NCC project are outlined with a chronological manner in table mentioned below. It took ten years of time to start the implementation of NCC project.

Table 6.1 The Chronology of Events and Developments in the Formation of NCC Project

Years	Events and Developments
2001	International Urban Design Competition for the redevelopment of the backside of Alsancak Port was organized by the Greater Municipality of İzmir
2002 - 2005	NCC development plan had been prepared by the Greater Municipality of İzmir through collaborating with investors, local business associations and chambers
2005	NCC development plan was approved by the Greater Municipality of İzmir
2006	NCC development plan was revised to increase building density
2007 - 2010	Judiciary actions against the formation of NCC project. A small group of local politicians brought several judiciary actions for the nullity and cancel of NCC plan
2007 - ...	Investors started to declare their particular projects in NCC area , including the construction of huge office towers, shopping malls, gated and luxury residents ...etc.
2009	NCC development plan was canceled owing to the lack of geological surveys and reports concerning the risk of earthquake in the NCC area
2010	NCC development Plan was revised and approved again through the completion of geological surveys and reports
2011	NCC project was started to be implemented. Implementary development plans were prepared and approved by the District Municipalities and investors started to construct their particular projects in the NCC area.

The formation of İnciraltı Tourism Center (İTC) Development Project follows a different path in terms of the planning process and the relations of different actors. In fact, the “development problem” of İnciraltı dates back to 1989 the year when İnciraltı was declared as a Tourism Center by the central government. Before the 1990s, İnciraltı was an agricultural area with a diversity of ecological resources. After the tourism center decision, since the 1990s, it has been subjected to various development efforts although there were important counter decisions declared that İnciraltı is an agricultural and ecological area that should be absolutely conserved. Between the years 1990 and 2006; a five star hotel, a shopping mall and some luxury villas had been constructed as piecemeal developments through bypassing and relaxing conservation decisions. As a result of this piecemeal developments, the level of boron in the soil had increased excessively and therefore agricultural productivity and ecological diversity of the soil had decreased sharply in İnciraltı. The agricultural and ecological characteristics of İnciraltı was exterminated intentionally in the 1990s and 2000s as a result of these developments and construction facilities.

In 2006, as the leading local business association İzmir Chamber of Commerce stated that İnciraltı should be developed as a site of fair and tourism to attract investment within the

context of EXPO. Central and local government authorities supported and advanced this proposal of local business through expanding the area of tourism center and starting the planning procedure for development. In the year 2007, İTC project was started with the cooperation and collaboration of central and local governments, local business associations and property owners in the project area. Within the project, İnciraltı waterfront was determined as the fair site of EXPO 2015 and furthermore EXPO 2015 İzmir Executive Committee was established as a public-private partnership to manage EXPO 2015 Candidacy process of İzmir. These developments show us that hosting a large scale event become a catalyst in the formation of İTC project.

In 2007, İTC Project was introduced and presented to public as an EXPO-based tourism development project to “attract billions of tourism investments” and to “provide thousands of new employment opportunities”. EXPO 2015 İzmir Executive Committee stated that EXPO-oriented development of İTC will contribute to the development of local economy through “attracting huge transportation investments” and “increasing GDP per capita in İzmir” (KTB, 2007). Such EXPO-based hegemonic discourses intended to mobilize public support and consent behind the formation of İTC project. Moreover, it should also be noted that behind the formation of the İTC project in 2007, there was an EXPO-based coalition of state and capital actors including central and local governments, investors and local business associations.

In fact; such an EXPO-based coalition of social forces did not only produce and disseminate hegemonic discourses on the basis of “investment”, “employment” and “tourism”; but it also carried out key decisions concerning the development of İnciraltı waterfront. For instance; in 2007 as the central actor of this EXPO-based coalition, Ministry of Culture and Tourism take the decision of “public interest” for the development of İTC and by this decision “agricultural protection zone” status of İnciraltı was eliminated and the agriculture areas in İnciraltı was opened to tourism-oriented development. There was an active and offensive EXPO-based coalition of government and business behind the formation of İTC project. However, chambers of UCTEA (The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) environmentalist non-governmental organizations, left wing-socialist political parties and most of the academicians from universities have opposed to the formation of the İTC project and they did not involve in such an EXPO-based coalition of actors.

In 2008 it was announced that İzmir did not win the competition to host EXPO 2015 event. However EXPO-based coalition of government and business actors continued to concentrate on the development of İTC. In the last months of 2008, a new plan was prepared and approved with the collaboration and cooperation of central and local governments. Local business associations and property owners also supported this İTC Environmental Plan (İTM Çevre Düzeni Planı).

In fact, İTC environmental plan not only proposed a tourism-oriented development, but it also has commerce and residential-based land use decisions to construct shopping malls and luxury residents in İnciraltı. The Chambers in İzmir (affiliated to UCTEA) opposed to this rent-oriented development of İTC and they brought judiciary actions for the cancel of İTC environmental plan in 2009. As a result of this judiciary action, İTC environmental plan was canceled in 2009. The coalition of state and capital actors behind the formation of İTC project explicitly stated this court decision and chambers as the oppositional forces obstructing the tourism-oriented development of local economy. Since 2010, project-based coalition behind the İTC project started to discuss the legislation of a new project-based law to facilitate the implementation of İTC project.

The major argument behind the discourse of project-based law is that “such UDPs (like İTC) entails the enactment of particular and project-based legislative frameworks to facilitate the implementation of the project”. Currently there is not any project-based legislative framework designed and enacted to bypass court decisions and to facilitate the implementation of İTC project; however it is a high probability that such a project-based legislative framework could be enacted within the EXPO 2020 Candidacy process to overcome oppositional activities of chambers. Although İTC project is not implemented yet, there is an EXPO-based government and business coalition aggressively supporting the implementation of the project. As the attempts to implement İTC project fail, this EXPO-based coalition tend to mobilize legislative power of the state to form a coercive base of power for the implementation of the project.

The formation process of İTC project is briefly and critically discussed and this discussion is outlined with a chronological manner within the table mentioned below. A detailed investigation of the formation processes of NCC and İTC projects and the critical analysis of

predominant and oppositional discourses are elaborated within the tables mentioned in the case study chapter.

Table 6.2 The Chronology of Events and Developments in the Formation of İTC project

Years	Events and Developments
1989	İnciraltı was declared as Tourism Center (İnciraltı Tourism Center - İTC)
1989-2005	Discussions and failed attempts to form a development project for İTC
2005	İnciraltı was determined as “agricultural protection zone” (by the decision of İzmir Provincial Directorate of Agriculture)
2006	A participatory meeting (called İnciraltı Forumu) was organized to give rise to the collaboration of different stakeholders in the formation of the İTC (including central and local government institutions, local business associations, chambers, universities and other non-governmental institutions)
2007	Ministry of Culture and Tourism eliminated “agricultural protection zone” status of İnciraltı through the decision of “public interest”. (Agriculture areas in İnciraltı was opened to tourism-oriented development)
2007	İTC project was first prepared and approved with the cooperation and collaboration of central and local governments, local business associations and property owners (An EXPO-based coalition of central, local governments and business associations started to dominate the local agenda in the formation of İTC project)
2007	The Chambers affiliated to UCTEA brought judiciary action against the İTC project.
2008	İzmir lost the competition against Milano to host EXPO 2015 event
2008	A new İTC project was prepared and approved with the cooperation and collaboration of central and local governments, local business associations and property owners
2009	The Chambers affiliated to UCTEA brought judiciary action against the İTC project again
2010	Local and central government politicians started to discuss and demand a project-based new law to facilitate the implementation of İTC project
2011	A new İTC project was prepared and approved with the cooperation and collaboration of central and local governments, local business associations and property owners
2011	The Chambers affiliated to UCTEA opposed to the new İTC project and brought judiciary action for the cancel of the project
2011	Central government politicians stated that a project-based new law to facilitate the implementation of İTC project could only be legislated within the context of EXPO 2020 Candidacy Process (EXPO-based coalition of government and business continued to dominate the formation of İTC project)

6.2.2 The Existing and Changing Property Patterns and Relations in the Areas of the Projects

Property patterns and relations could be investigated as a driving force of decision-making in the formation of NCC and İTC projects. Although the case study of thesis does not focus on the analysis of property relations; a short interpretation on property relations is

reflected in this part to briefly explain how the changes in the property patterns and relations have constituted an influence over the key decisions taken in the planning process of each projects.

NCC project covers two neighborhoods and a waterfront site ranging from Alsancak Port towards the Karşıyaka district. In this project area there were privately and publicly owned factories, small-scale manufacturing workshops, warehouse and storage buildings. To a large extent, the property pattern of NCC project area was shaped by these privately and publicly owned properties. In the last ten years, most of the public properties in this area were transferred to private sector through the privatization of publicly owned lands and buildings. Currently; except Ege Neighborhood, the property pattern of NCC project area is consisted of large plots and parcels that belongs to private holdings and companies. Ege Neighborhood is located at the backside of Alsancak Port and consisted of small properties of migrant and poor Romans (an ethnic minority in Turkey) whose title deeds were distributed in 1984 through the enactment of the Development Amnesty Law.

The pattern of property has influenced the major decisions of NCC development plan. Large property owner investor firms affected the formation of land-use and density relations. Because they intended to construct mixed-use projects including huge office towers, shopping malls, gated and luxury residents, they demanded mixed-use land-use and high-density building decisions. The Greater Municipality of İzmir regarded the interests of these large property owner investor firms and revised NCC development plan in accordance with such demands of large property owners. The interviews texts (that are deciphered from the voice record of interviews) indicates how the Greater Municipality of İzmir revised the planning decisions in order to serve to the interests of large property owner and developer investor firms.

İzmir Greater Municipality, City Planner 1

"We negotiated with large property owners from NCC site... We saw their projects. They told and present their projects to us. In the preparation of NCC development plan, we always consider their particular projects. These large property owners saw draft of the development plans in different phases of planning. We also saw their particular projects that are expected to be constructed in their large plots. But, other than large property owners, local residents for instance saw the plan when it is announced officially by the municipality... In the first NCC development plan, as planners we did not think housing, but afterwards investors and large property developers demanded housing. We considered this demand and revised the plan... I could say that the demand of large property owners have become influential in taking land use decisions. Almost all of the NCC site has become a mixed use land use zone due to their demands."

Investor of NCC site, Tekfen Holding Executive Board Member

“In the first development plan in 2005, the land use decision for our parcel was commerce. But we also want housing because we want to construct a mixed use project including mall, residences and offices. Most of the property developers and construction companies think like us. They all have mixed use projects... Later on, we talked with the Mayor Kocaoğlu. We stated our demands and say that we need housing land use because our projects are mixed use. With the plan revision in 2009, they considered our demands and revised the plan. Currently, there is not any obstacle for us to construct our mixed use project.”

Property Owner Household at Ege Neighborhood

“Large holdings, construction companies will make construction in NCC site, thus their demands and views have become dominant. İzmir Greater Municipality paid particular attention to the demand of such powerful groups. We are poor, migrant local residents and our thoughts and views are not important for them. They did not take our views in the preparation of NCC development plan. But we heard that they are preparing an urban regeneration project for our neighborhood. Well, probably they will negotiate with us by this plan. But I don’t know what to do. If they give us apartments in return for our properties, then we might consent to the plan. We don’t want to move away from here. Who wants! Officials from Greater Municipality come here and we said these to them. There are poor, migrant and tenant people here. We don’t want displacement of such deprived people.”

The interview texts mentioned below also reveal that small property owners and tenants in Ege Neighborhood could not have an influence over the formation of planning decisions. They could not affect the formation of land-use and density decisions, rather NCC project is expected to give rise to the displacement of migrant and poor people living in Ege Neighborhood. Moreover, because it has a small property pattern with a migrant and poor population, Ege Neighborhood is excluded from the framework of NCC development plan. In NCC Development Plan, Ege Neighborhood is determined as a “special planning zone” entails further attention and a detailed intervention to regenerate the neighborhood (İYKMNP, 2010). As a “special planning zone” within the NCC project, it is planned to regenerate Ege Neighborhood through a detailed “urban regeneration project” that is expected to be prepared by the Greater Municipality of İzmir. In fact, through the interviews and observations, it is not detected a significant change of property pattern in NCC area. However, planning processes and decisions have changed according to the pattern of property and the mechanisms and decisions of planning have differ in intervening to large and small property patterns in NCC area (Acar, 2011; İYKMNP, 2010).

As distinctive from the property pattern of NCC area, İTC area was once consisted of small scale agricultural producers of citrus fruits. However in the last decade agricultural productivity of soil was declined sharply and most of the agricultural producers abandoned the production of citrus fruits. As a result, the property pattern in İnciraltı was started to be changed not only under the effect of agricultural decline but also as a direct outcome of tourism-oriented development initiatives. The formation of İTC project has dramatically affected the pattern of property and some investors started to buy the small lands of citrus

producers. Interview texts and observations in the field survey show us how the property pattern has changed and large investors have become dominant in the planning decisions of İTC project.

Balçova Municipality, City Planner

"The property pattern in İnciraltı has showed a huge change over time. Small land owners farmer families started to sell their land to large tourism investors. This has increased dramatically after 2006... Now we see that there are three or four large tourism investors collecting small lands of such farmer families in İnciraltı."

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Assistant Expert

"It is true that large property owners have become influential in the planning of İTC site. But this is not like that just for İnciraltı, this is always the case in the planning of tourism centers. There are investors having allocation of public lands or even collecting small land of local residents. They have also employ people to follow their work in here. They come here and endeavor to get the right land use and density decision for them which maximize their profits from tourism planning... If a property owner is economically and politically powerful, he has more influence over the decisions of tourism planning. In İTC project, there are such powerful large property owners. Small land owners also organized their power in İnciraltı by establishing an association. They defend their interest by this association."

Property Owner Household at Bahçeleraşı Neighborhood

"In inciraltı, the lands have been changed hands incredibly. The people like us coming from the agricultural production of citrus fruits have become the victims of development problem in inciraltı. In one sense, we are forced to sell our lands to large investors. There were no choice... We could not take development rights for building in our own lands, on the other side, we all have debts. We obliged to sell our lands to pay our debts because we don't have any accumulated money. Just I left. I am still resisting to sell my small land that was inherited from my family."

It is understood that the decline of agricultural production have constituted a pressure for the development of İnciraltı. This development pressure is also created by a few investors who aim to construct shopping malls, five star hotels and gated residents in İnciraltı with the support of central and local governments. Unlike NCC project, İTC project initiated the transformation of property patterns and this transformation make large investors (who have bought the small lands of İnciraltı's inhabitants) more powerful in the planning process since they have obtained a power over the taking of land use and density decisions. Furthermore, as interview texts unveiled, this power of large investors has been utilized and exerted in the preparation of İTC plans through closed meetings behind closed doors with the top decision-makers of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

In addition to the transformation of property pattern, small land owner inhabitants of İnciraltı also organized their power through forming associations on the basis of their interests in the planning of İTC. These associations of inhabitants (İnciraltı Bahçeleraşı Derneği, Balçova Arsa Mağdurları Derneği) were established to defend and advance the interests of small land owner inhabitants in the planning process. Such associations also

strengthens collaborative relations with different small land owner inhabitants and therefore intend to facilitate the formation and implementation of the project

6. 1. 3 Leading and Dominant Actors and the Role of Their Cooperative Relations in the Formation of the Projects

Which governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations play a leader and dominant role in the formation of NCC and İTC projects? How these dominant actors collaborated and cooperated in the formation of the projects? And how such collaboration-based relations form a project-based and short-term coalition of social forces in the political construction of NCC and İTC projects? In-depth interviews and institution questionnaire provide key findings for the answering of such questions.

It could be identified six major actors playing interrelated roles and sharing dominant positions in the formation of NCC project. Firstly, there is the Greater Municipality of İzmir operate as the central decision-maker in the planning process of NCC project. İzmir Greater Municipality (İGM) performs this central decision-maker role through organizing an international urban design competition, preparing and approving development plan and designing selectively participative platforms to take decisions in the preparation of development plan. This platform was organized as advisory committee meetings to take key land-use and density decisions in the preparation of NCC development plan and investors-large property owners, local business associations and chambers affiliated to UCTEA were included in these advisory committee meetings. İGM intended to acquire the support and consent of these key social groups through organizing such advisory committee meetings. Secondly, it is obvious that investors (most of whom are large property owners in NCC project area) are in an important and decisive position in the taking of NCC planning decisions. In fact, large construction companies and property investment partnerships have particular projects for the redevelopment of NCC, including the construction of shopping malls, five star hotels, huge office towers and luxury residents. İGM paid particular attention to the particular projects of these investors and revised the land-use and density decisions of development plan to make it adaptable for the implementation of such malls, hotels and towers. For instance, in 2006, building density and land-use decisions were changed after the demands of investors. Thirdly, District Municipalities (Konak and Bayraklı Municipality) also operate as important governmental institutions in the planning process and implementation of the project. District

Municipalities carried out key planning decisions in coordination with İGM in every stage of planning process and prepared and approved 1/1000 scale implementary development plans to start the implementation of NCC project.

Fourthly, the chambers affiliated to UCTEA could be stated as the most crucial and key non-governmental actors in the formation of NCC project. As interview texts reveal, İzmir Branch of the Chamber of Architectures actively involved in the preparation of NCC development plan. In this process, the head of the İzmir Branch of the Chamber of Architectures (Mr. Hasan Topal) worked as the advisor of Mayor. In addition to this, it is understood that İzmir Branch of the Chamber of Architectures provided occupational and technical support in every stages of NCC development plan. Not only the İzmir Branch of the Chamber of Architectures, but also different related chambers (affiliated to UCTEA) were invited to the advisory committee meetings in the preparation of NCC development plan. Interview texts show that İGM intended to mobilize the support of chambers in the formation of NCC development plan.

İzmir Greater Municipality, Ex-head of the Department of Urban Development

"We made advisory committee meetings before the preparation of NCC development plan. With this meetings, we wanted to learn the interests and expectations of large property owners from NCC project. Investors, business groups, chambers and us we all gathered together and worked as an advisory committee... We always talked with investors and take care of learning their tendencies and expectations. We asked them what you want to construct in your large plots? We had always stay in touch with them to learn their particular projects. And we always considered their tendencies, expectations and projects in preparing NCC development plan... They demanded high-rise and high density building conditions and as the head of urban development, I approved their demands."

Chamber of Architectures, The Head of İzmir Branch

"I am one of the people worked in the Greater Municipality in the preparation of NCC development plan. Therefore, I have supportive views in favor of NCC project. As chamber, all organized architectures, supported to the formation of NCC project. As I said, not only supported, but also we even involved in the formation of the project... In the preparation of NCC development plan, we made significant contributions to the planning process"

İzmir Greater Municipality, City Planner 1

"As the head of the chambers of architectures, Mr. Hasan Topal has made significant contributions to the preparation of NCC development plan. Not only his personal efforts, but also İzmir Branch of Chamber of Architectures as a whole contributed to the formation of NCC project. They come here. We made meetings and discussions concerning the formation of land use and density decisions and so on... These provided very crucial advantages for the NCC project."

As a fifth point of consideration, local capital organizations (the chambers of commerce, industry and businessman associations) could be stated as a significant non-governmental actor in the formation of NCC project. All local capital organizations support the formation of NCC project without any disagreement. As interview texts show, the most of the local

capital organizations were invited to advisory committee meetings in the formation of NCC development plan. These local capital organizations have manifested their support for NCC project in every stages of the project and they play a significant role in mobilizing public support and consent through the (re)production of investment, growth and employment-based predominant discourses in these manifestations.

As the later parts of case study chapter elucidate, such predominant discourses (reflected and manifested in media) have become hegemonic superstructural elements in the shaping of public opinion within the formation of both project. As the sixth and last point of consideration, the supportive role of government in the formation of NCC could be underlined. Although central government does not have any authority of planning and therefore it is in a passive position in the formation of NCC project, the representatives of Justice and Development Party (JDP) central government (The Minister of Transport, JDP's members of parliament and even the board members of JDP İzmir provincial organization) declared their support for NCC project. In addition, it is also detected that one of the most important promise of JDP's candidate of İzmir Greater Municipality in the local election campaign of 2010 was the implementation of NCC project. Although JDP government has no authority in the formation of NCC project, it declared its support for the project and constituted an implicit consensus with İGM for the implementation of the project.

İzmir Chamber of Commerce, Consultant of Urban Affairs

"The largest chamber in İzmir in terms of the number of members is İzmir Chamber of Commerce. After us, there are other business associations coming to the fore including the chambers of industry and marine trade, İZSiAD and EĞİAD. As business associations, we may have divergent opinions on some issues of local economy. But we totally agree in the formation of NCC and İTC projects. We all support to the formation of these projects... I could say that different local business groups in İzmir share a common vision concerning the formation of these two projects. We support to the formation of these projects, because they will provide million dollars of investment and thousands of employment. Actually, I don't know if there is any local business group opposing to the formation of these projects."

Justice and Democracy Party, Administrative Board Member of İzmir Branch

"NCC Project should be realized. Because it will attract both foreign and domestic investors. We should not obstruct the implementation of this project. With this project, there will be provided attractive spaces for investors and lots of new employment opportunities for the people. NCC project provide benefits to everybody... After the implementation of large investments in NCC site, it will contribute to the increase of GDP both in İzmir and Turkey. This project plays a very important role in economic growth."

İzmir Institute of Technology, Academic Staff

"What capital expects from NCC project are symbolic power of towers and certainly a huge amount of rent. I should also add that different capital groups in İzmir want to make a corporate something and this project provides such an opportunity to corporately dominate urban development. NCC project is so critical for those who argue that I make investments for economic development of İzmir... We also know that Justice and Democracy Party has supported İzmir Greater Municipality in NCC project. There is an implicit coalition of two powerful parties... Taha Aksoy was JDP's candidate in local elections and one of his promise was the

implementation of NCC project... I think that there is consensus amongst İGM and central government concerning the NCC project.”

Like NCC Project, there are six major dominant actors playing key roles in the formation of İTC project. Firstly, there is Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) operating as the central decision-maker in the planning process. The MCT has authority to prepare plans for the tourism-oriented development of İTC area and through using this authority it aims to manage different interests, demands and views (of different social groups) on the basis of tourism-oriented development. It could be also interpreted that the MCT has play a crucial role in JDP’s strategy to become politically powerful in İzmir through the implementation of İTC project, which is expected to give rise to the production and distribution of a huge amount of rent. Secondly, it is clearly observable that property owners and investors are in an influential position in the taking of İTC planning decisions. The property patterns have been changed in İnciraltı and large investors and developers have bought the lands of small land owners. Interview texts unveil that these large investors have become dominant and influential in taking land-use decisions through direct and closed door meetings with the top managers of the MCT. In addition to large investors, small land owners have also organized their power to become influential in the planning process and for this purpose they established two associations (İnciraltı ve Bahçelerarası Tabiatını Güzelleştirme ve Değerlendirme Derneği, Balçova Arsa Mağdurları İnsani Dayanışma Derneği) and organized meetings with the MCT.

Thirdly, it should be uncovered and underlined how local government institutions collaborated and cooperated with the MCT in the formation of İTC project. Through the observations, interviews and questionnaires in the field survey, it is detected a collaboration of central government (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism) and local governments (İzmir Greater Municipality and Balçova Municipality) in the formation of İTC project. As interview texts show every draft plans (prepared by the MCT for the development of İTC) have been sent to local governments and the decisions of the plans have been finalized through considering the views and revisions of local governments. Therefore, there is a collaboration and cooperation of central and local governments in the planning of İTC. In fact, through developing such a collaborative relation, the MCT target to acquire not only the consent of local governments, but also an active support and consent of key local non-governmental organizations (including chambers affiliated to UCTEA, environmentalist NGOs and universities).

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Top Level Bureaucrat 1

"We started the planning of İnciraltı after the demand of investors. Two public meetings are organized. We invited all stakeholders to this meeting because there are common issues like EXPO arousing the interest of all the stakeholders. In this meetings, İzmir Greater and Balçova Municipalities declared their support to the formation of İTC project. We know they support EXPO and İTC development plans. After this meeting, we started to the planning of İTC site. There was an agricultural protection zone decision. This was an obstacle for İTC project. Investors, property owners, local governments and us as a whole thought that this decision should be abolished. Then, we took public interest decision for İnciraltı and bypassed agricultural protection zone status by this decision. İTC plans were prepared with the collaboration and cooperation of Ministry and Greater Municipality. Although we have legal authority to prepare and approve plans for İnciraltı, we never impose the plan and always cooperate with local governments in İzmir and take their thoughts and views into considerations. We send the drafts of İTC plans to them. We made meetings with them and took their recommendations on EXPO, land use and density decisions and finalized the plan cooperatively."

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Expert

"It was very clearly seen in public meetings on İTC project that except chambers and universities all of the local stakeholders support to the planning of İTC site. The governor of İzmir, the Mayors of Greater Municipality and Balçova Municipality all of them did their best to realize İTC project... Property owners established associations and expressed their demands by this way and we also considered their demand in planning. Investors, local business groups have already pursued the planning studies and even collaborated with us. I mean that we collaborate and take into consideration the views of almost all stakeholders. But chambers affiliated to UCTEA and some academicians from universities obviously declared their oppositional views against the planning of İTC site. They think that İnciraltı should not be planned. This is wrong ! How they propose it ! İnciraltı ought to be planned and this planning will provide benefits for all members of the society".

İzmir Greater Municipality, City Planner 2

They want to make collaboration with us even in all stages of the planning of İTC site. They sent us 5000 and 1000 scale draft development plans and asked our views on these draft plans. Such activities show us that the Ministry of Culture and Tourism aims to collaborate with local governments in the planning of İTC... Also I heard that some bureaucrats of the Ministry come here and made meetings with the decision-makers of Greater Municipality and board members of chambers. Moreover, they also expect from us to persuade chambers for the formation of İTC project. Bu we can't do it !

As the fifth and sixth actors, EXPO İzmir Steering Board and local business associations play leading and predominant roles in the formation of İTC project. A large part of İTC area was determined as EXPO Fair Site in 2007 and since then İTC project has been formed and presented with an EXPO-based tourism-oriented approach that is constructed and dominated by EXPO İzmir Steering Board and local business associations. EXPO İzmir Steering Board was established as a public-private partnership of government institutions and business associations and it has played a key role in increasing awareness and mobilizing public support and consent through presenting and advertising İTC project as an EXPO-based tourism development scheme. These activities of EXPO İzmir Steering Board play a constitutive role in the (re)production of predominant view within the formation of İTC project. İzmir lost the competition against Milano to host EXPO 2015 meeting; however İzmir is declared again as Turkey's candidate to host EXPO 2020 by the decision of central

government and İTC area is expected to be planned again within an EXPO-based tourism development approach. The efforts of central and local governments, local business associations and EXPO 2020 İzmir Steering Board continue to plan İTC both as an EXPO fair site and health tourism center.

In both of the projects (NCC and İTC), there are obvious attempts to construct collaborative and cooperative relations between governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations. Such attempts in NCC project become successful since a collaboration of local governments, investors, local business associations and chambers is provided. Central government also gives a passive support to İzmir Greater Municipality for the implementation of NCC project. The field survey findings also show that the collaboration and cooperation with chambers (affiliated to UCTEA) is particularly important in NCC project. İTC project, on the other hand, is intended to be realized through a collaboration of central and local governments. As a central government institution, the MCT initiated this collaboration. Through the collaboration of government institutions, the MCT aimed to manage conflicts in the formation of İTC project. However, such attempts fail since chambers refused to collaborate with the MCT and continue to oppose against the formation of İTC project.

The MCT is not successful in acquiring the support of chambers (affiliated to UCTEA). However; after the determination of İnciraltı as an EXPO fair site, an EXPO-based tourism development approach started to dominate the formation of İTC project. As a large scale event EXPO is utilized as a catalyst to implement İTC project. Although İTC project is not implement yet, an EXPO-based coalition of government and business emerged and started to dominant the agenda of İTC project. Interview texts mentioned below show how EXPO-based coalition of actors forms a base of political power in the formation of İTC project.

Chamber of City Planners, The Head of İzmir Branch

It could be observed that the state and capital have collaborated for the formation of İTC Project. They want the same thing from İTC project. The maximum building right. This is what they want ! Ministry had organized meetings and invited local governments, tourism investors, local business associations. They formed a collaboration after these meetings. This collaboration aims to get maximum building rights from İTC project. I could also emphasize that this collaboration of state and capital actors has operated as a coalition. İzmir Greater Municipality did not resist to this coalition, rather it integrated to this coalition... Even I don't think that if Greater Municipality had legal authority to plan İTC site, it would have been able to prepare a good plan different from the Ministry's plan."

Chamber of Architectures, The Head of İzmir Branch

“Now there is cooperation over the tourism and EXPO based planning of İTC site. It is very clear that İzmir Greater and Balçova Municipalities make collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for the planning of İTC site. I don’t know what bureaucrats of the Greater Municipality think, but I am sure that the Mayor, his deputies and most of the city councilors support to this collaboration. I exactly know that Ministry is not taking any planning decision without asking the views of İzmir Greater and Balçova Municipalities. For instance, I heard that the final decision of building density in the plan was taken together with the decision-makers of Greater Municipality and Ministry.”

Except in-depth interviews, institution questionnaire also reveals the collaborative relations of central decision-maker actors in the formation of the project. According to the findings of institution questionnaire, the majority of institutions are of the opinion that İzmir Greater Municipality (İGM) prioritizes to collaborate with investors-property owners in the formation of NCC project. The other actors with which İGM collaborates and cooperates are district municipalities, chambers and local business associations.

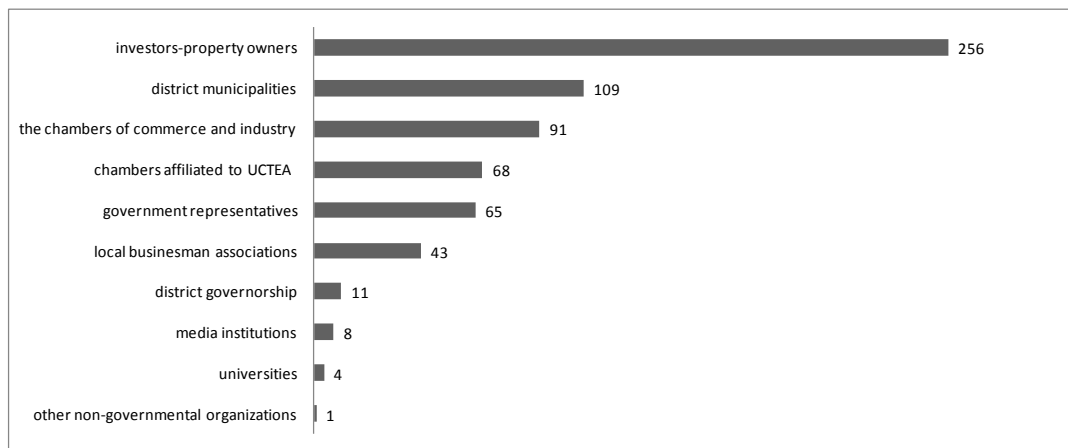


Figure 6.1 The actors that are considered as the collaborative-cooperative partner of İGM in the formation of NCC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

Note: The rating of each actor is computed by the rating of answers. Actors ranked first as the collaborative-cooperative partner are assigned 3 points. Actors ranked second as the collaborative-cooperative partner are assigned 2 points. Actors ranked third as the collaborative-cooperative partner are assigned 1 point. The rating of each actor is computed by summing up of these points. This rating method is explained here and will not mention under each of the figure.

Like İGM, the MCT focuses firstly and most importantly to develop collaborative and cooperative relations with investors-property owners in the formation of İTC project. Another crucial point is that there is an obvious central and local government collaboration-cooperation in the formation of İTC project. Most of the institutions are of the opinion that the MCT also gives precedence to collaborate with İGM. This finding of institution questionnaire could be validated through observations and interviews from field survey,

which reveals the cooperation of MCT, İGM and Balçova Municipality in the formation of İTC plans.

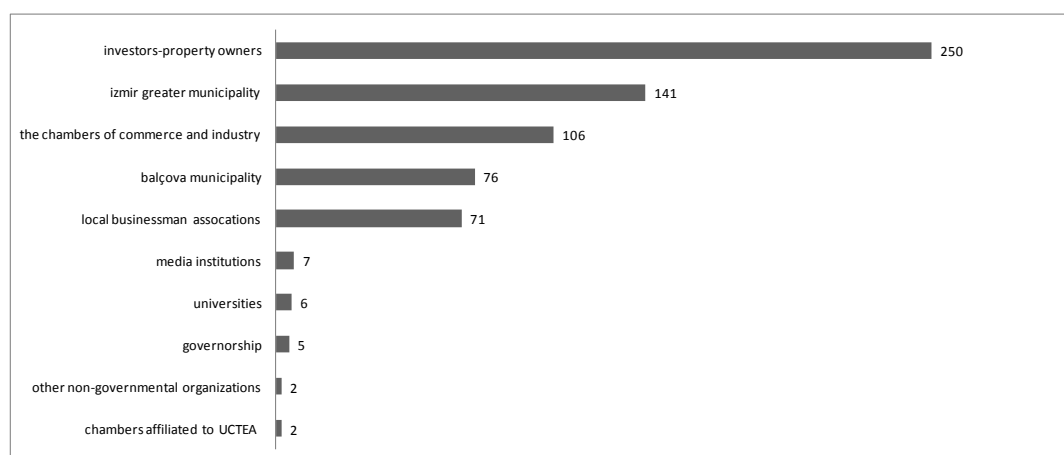


Figure 6.2 The actors that are considered as the collaborative-cooperative partner of MCT in the formation of İTC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

Interviews texts and the opinions of various institutions are reflected in the figures and quotations mentioned above. Such empirical evidence shows that governmental decision-makers (İGM in NCC project and MCT in İTC project) in the formation of each project prioritizes to collaborate and cooperate with investors-property owners and local business associations. In addition to this, the passive support of central government in the formation of NCC project and the cooperation of central and local governments in the formation of İTC project have all played significant roles. However it should also be noted that these patterns of collaboration and cooperation does not directly mean a strict and long-term coalition of government and business actors in the formation of the project. Thus, the figures mentioned below represent not a long-term pro-growth coalition of actors in the formation of the projects, but rather they outline the major leading and dominant actors and their collaborative, cooperative relations in the formation of the projects. These governmental and non-governmental actors reflected in the figures constitute short-term, project-based and profit-oriented coalition like formations, constructing the political-ideological basis of the projects. This short-term and project-based coalition like formation of actors succeeded in NCC project, but failed to implement İTC project owing to the struggle of particular oppositional actors in the formation of İTC project.

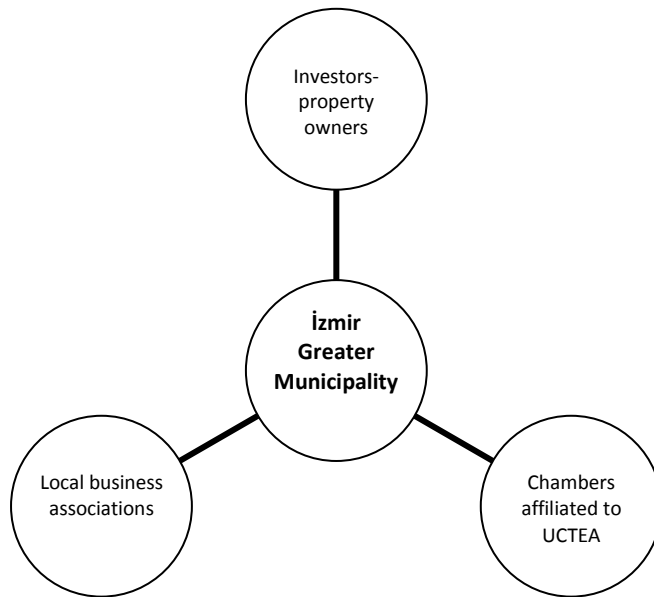


Figure 6.3 Leading actors and their cooperative relations in the formation of NCC project

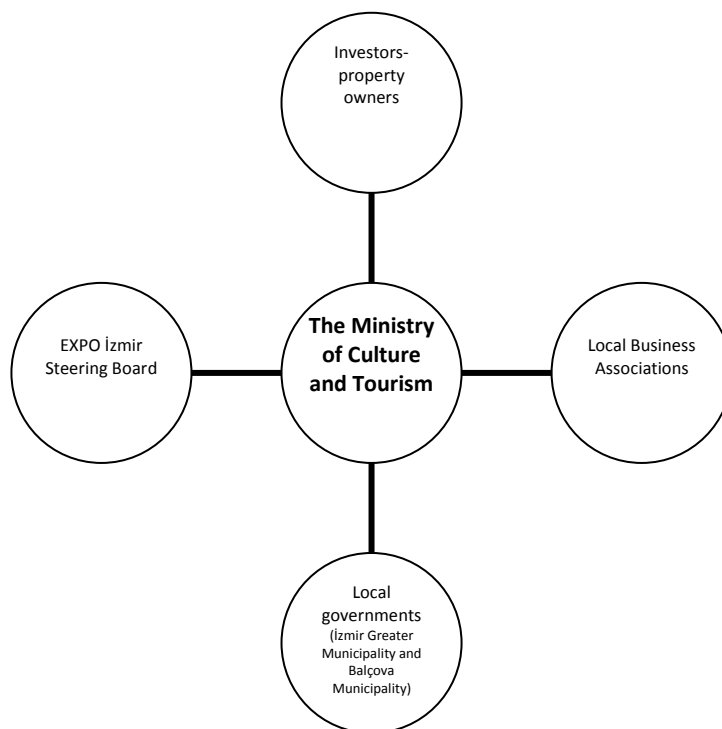


Figure 6.4 Leading actors and their cooperative relations in the formation of ITC project

6. 1. 4 The Main Findings of Critical Discourse Analysis

The case study of thesis elucidates discourses of different actors. Predominant and oppositional discourses of governmental and non-governmental actors are critically analyzed with reference to Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough,

1995; 2001). The framework of critical discourse analysis concentrates on six main dimensions of discursive practices including vocabulary, grammar, textual structures, forces of utterance, intertextuality and the ideological coherence of texts. Discourses of different actors in the formation of the projects are critically and comparatively analyzed within this framework. An overall summary of the findings of critical discourse analysis are presented in the tables mentioned below.

The findings of critical discourse analysis signify that governmental decision-maker actors and business actors in both of the projects use common economic growth-oriented words like “investment”, “local economic development” and “employment”. In addition to these common words, there are also different words specific to each project. For instance in the formation of NCC project; IGM, investors and local business associations use “urban regeneration” based words and themes extensively. Governmental and business actors, on the other hand, use “tourism” and “EXPO” based words and themes in the formation of ITC project. Moreover, there are coalition-based words like “cooperation” and “collaboration” of “different stakeholders”. Such discourses are ideologically constructed to mobilize and consolidate public support in the formation of the projects.

Grammatical features of media texts are also important since they dominate, manipulate and reinforce some particular meanings and perceptions concerning the formation of the projects. For instance; in both of the projects, scientific reasons behind the judiciary actions of oppositional actors are obscured through manipulating the grammatical structure of headings and news. Furthermore, the use of grammatical modes and pronouns reflects ideological contradictions between predominant and oppositional actors in ITC project. Textual structures of media texts reveals how the formation of headings and articles in news gives rise to the manipulation of public opinion. The accusatory acts of speech and expressions of decision-makers and investors have constitute a force of utterance over the formation of public opinion. In the formation of ITC project, through such acts of speech, these decision-makers and investors aim not only to construct public support, but also to constitute a public pressure over the oppositional activities of chambers.

Critical discourse analysis also made an intertextual analysis of several documents and it is revealed that some concepts like “investment”, “growth”, “employment”, “public interest” and “cooperation” have all stated and ideologically constructed as common discourses and

themes in several documents. Lastly, the findings of critical discourse analysis also indicate that the internal ideological coherence of predominant discourses is high in both of the projects. However; unlike NCC project, there is a certain ideological contradiction between predominant and oppositional discourses in ITC project.

Table 6.3 The Main Framework of Critical Discourse Analysis

	NCC Project	İTC Project
Vocabulary		
Rewording, overwording and emphasized words	"investment", "attracting investor", "employment", "new job opportunities", "declining urban area", "abandoned urban area", "an old storage site", "urban regeneration", "new city center", "shopping malls", "residence", "mixed use", "high building density", "Folkart Towers", "İzmir's new attraction center", "tower", "cooperation", "collaboration"	"investment", "employment", "EXPO", "health tourism", "tourism revenue increase", "agricultural decline", "unauthorized buildings", "development problem", "changing ownership pattern of land", "luxury hotels", "residences", "high building density", "cooperation", "collaboration", "the support of non-governmental organizations", "cooperation with chambers", "those who bring judiciary actions" "restraining local economic development of İzmir" "a special law" "project-based law"
Ideologically constructed and contested words	"pave the way for investors" "provide new employment opportunities" "abandoned and declining urban area should be regenerated" "cooperated and collaborated with different stakeholders"	"investments will be provided" "tourism will develop" "EXPO" "persuade each other" "restraining İzmir's development" "a special project-based law should be legislated"
Ideologically relevant and significant meaning relations between words	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NCC Project is defined and positioned as a "cooperative-collaborative project of different stakeholders" "providing benefits for all the people living in İzmir". ▪ NCC development plan is defined and positioned as an "instrument" "to attract investment", "to provide employment opportunities" and "to regenerate economically unproductive declining urban areas". 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ İTC Project is defined and positioned as a project "to attract tourism investments", "to provide employment opportunities" and "to serve public interest" with "EXPO". ▪ "Cooperation", "collaboration" and "persuasion" based discourses reflect the efforts to acquire the consent of oppositional actors in the formation of the project ▪ "The special project-based law is defined as an "enforcement of the state" to obstruct the struggle of oppositional actors in the formation of İTC project.
Grammar		
Sentence structures through which the subject, causality and responsibility of action are obscured	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Scientific reasons behind the judiciary action against the NCC development plan are concealed through manipulating the grammatical structure of heading and news 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The reasons and responsible actors behind the agricultural decline of İnciraltı are concealed through the formation of media texts ▪ Oppositional actors bringing judiciary actions against the İTC plans are emphasized; however scientific and occupational reasons behind these judiciary actions are obscured through manipulating the grammatical structure of heading and news
Grammatical modes adopted in the declarations and news (three major modes; declarative, grammatical question, imperative)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NCC Project area and development perspective of the project are defined through a declarative grammatical mode to mobilize the support of the readers of newspapers ▪ NCC Project area is presented to public with an "imperative" grammatical mode in the texts of newspapers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ İTC project area and development perspective of the project are defined through a declarative grammatical mode to mobilize the support of the readers of newspapers ▪ İTC Project area is presented to public with an "imperative" grammatical mode in the texts of newspapers ▪ Public reaction is manipulated and oriented against the oppositional groups who bring judiciary action against the İTC Project. Public reaction is manipulated and directed through accusing grammatical modes.

Table 6.3 (Continued)

The use of Pronouns “we” and “you” to ideologically define and separate subject positions	No ideologically defined and separated subject positions. There is no use of ideologically defined “us” and “them”.	The leading actors and the supporters of İTC Project are defined as “us” and counter-oppositional actors against the project are defined as “them” and “those”. Such definitions aim to stigmatize and marginalize counter-oppositional actors and to consolidate public support in the formation of İTC project.
Textual structures The constitution and the designing of texts, heading and articles in the formation of news	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The headings of the news emphasize “investment” and “employment”. In these headings, local politicians (bringing judiciary action against the project) are blamed as oppositional groups restraining the development of İzmir. Through such formations of headings it is intended to manipulate public opinion. • Newspaper texts emphasize predominant/prevalent development perspective in the formation of NCC Project. In these texts; geological, scientific and urban planning based reasons and justifications behind the judiciary actions are ignored. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Tourism investment” and “tourism development”, “EXPO” and “employment” are emphasized in the headings of news and through the manipulation of these themes it is aimed to mobilize public support and consent. Chambers (who bring judicial action against the project) are stigmatized as oppositional actors and a public pressure is constructed against such actors to disable their oppositional activity • Newspaper texts emphasize predominant/prevalent development perspective and ignore scientific, ecological and urban planning based motivations and justifications of oppositional actors.
The Force of Utterance Ideological meanings and reinforcements through the observation of acts of speech	The Mayor of İGM and the leaders of local business associations attempt to mobilize and manipulate public support and consent through accusatory acts of speech and expressions reflected in the photos of news.	The representatives of MCT, the Mayors of İGM and Balçova Municipality and the leaders of local business association attempt to mobilize and manipulate public support and consent through accusatory acts of speech and expressions reflected in the photos of news. Through such acts of speech they aim not only to construct public support, but also to constitute a public pressure over the oppositional activities of chambers.
Intertextuality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The finding of common themes (written and/or verbal) within several texts in several documents • The uncovering of a “historical perspective” often used in documents to displace previously embedded ideology and to deploy new ideological messages. 	<p>(1) The planning of NCC is defined and constructed as an “opportunity to promote investment” and “to provide employment”. The Project is also supported on the basis of “public interest” and presented as “a product of the cooperation-collaboration of different stakeholders”</p> <p>(2) “The regeneration of declining urban area”, belongs to previous industry-based economic structure of the city, into a “high-quality consumption, working and living urban space” reflecting the new consumption-based local economic structure.</p>	<p>(1) İTC Project as an “instrument to attract tourism investment” and “to provide employment” within the context of “EXPO” and “government-business cooperation”</p> <p>(2) “The competitiveness of agriculture has been declined” within the new economic structure. And therefore, “building demands of small agricultural land owners should be satisfied” through “producing a tourism and consumption oriented space” on the basis of “public interest”</p>
The Ideological coherence of texts Ideological coherence and contradictions of texts	The structural-ideological coherence of predominant/prevalent discourses is high. The Ideological contradiction of counter/oppositional discourses is low	The structural-ideological coherence of predominant/prevalent discourses is high. The ideological contradiction between predominant/prevalent and counter/oppositional discourses is high.

Through critically analyzing the discourses of a wide range of actors (including central and local government politicians and officers, investors and property owners, the leaders of local business associations and chambers) not only the ideological basis of predominant discourses but also the ways and mechanisms of their domination and manipulation are revealed. The definition of problems and development perspective in the formation of both of the projects reflect such ways of public opinion building. Critical discourse analysis points out that predominant and oppositional discourses define different problems and development perspectives for the formation of the projects. For instance, the actors of predominant discourses in the formation of NCC project (which include İGM, investors, local capital organizations and chambers) emphasize that “NCC project area should be regenerated to provide investment, employment and an attractive urban space”. Contrary to these predominant discourses, oppositional discourses underlines the fact that “NCC project site should stay undeveloped owing to the geological problems of this site”. Like NCC project, predominant and oppositional discourses emphasize conflictual dimensions of İTC project area. For instance predominant discourses state “agricultural decline” and “economically unproductive and undeveloped” situation of the site and underline them as “problems to provide local economic development for İzmir”. Therefore, the definition of urban problem and development perspective in any UDP is a politically-ideologically constructed process which has been shaped to serve the long-term interests of capitalist class fractions.

Table 6.4 The Main Findings of Critical Discourse Analysis

	NCC Project	İTC Project
The definition of problems within the predominant/prevalent discourses	“An abandoned old industrial and warehouse site”, “a deteriorated and declining urban areas surrounded with unauthorized buildings and needs to be regenerated”, “an economically unproductive area to which construction companies should be directed to make investment”	“An agriculturally declining area owing to the high level of boron in soil”, “small land owners have become victims owing to the development problems” “An undeveloped waterfront site in spite of the high potential of tourism-based development”, “a profitable area for tourism investment but stayed undeveloped owing to the opposition of particular non-governmental organizations”.
The definition of development perspective within the predominant/prevalent discourses	“The regeneration of economically unproductive declining urban area into a high-quality consumption, working and living space” that will also “provide investment and employment”	“The development of an agriculturally declining” and therefore “economically unproductive site on the basis of EXPO-oriented tourism development” that will also “attract tourism investment and employment opportunities”
The definition of problems within the counter/oppositional discourses	A group of local politicians bringing judiciary action for the cancel of NCC plan. They argue that “NCC project site should stay undeveloped owing to the geological problems of this site” (However this group of local politicians have not become a powerful and broad base of ideological opposition against the formation of the project)	“The reason of declining agricultural productivity is partial developments in İnciraltı” and “ecological characteristics of İnciraltı are ignored by the MCT and investors”. “İTC is not an appropriate location to construct EXPO fair site” and “the decisions of İTC plan are conflicting with the decisions of upper scale spatial plans of İzmir”.

Table 6.4 (Continued)

The definition of development perspective within the counter/oppositional discourses	–	Restraining the high-density development of hotels and shopping malls, develop inciraltı rather as an urban agriculture site and as an open-green space system on the basis of ecology-sensitive conservationist planning approach
The speaker actors of predominant/prevalent discourses	İzmir Greater Municipality, investors-property owners, local capital organizations, District Municipalities, Chambers affiliated to UCTEA	The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, investors-property owners, İzmir Greater Municipality and Balçova Municipality, EXPO İzmir Steering Committee, local capital organizations
The speaker actors of counter/oppositional discourses	A group of local politicians (not become a powerful and broad base of ideological opposition against the formation of the project)	Chambers affiliated to UCTEA, academicians in universities, left-wing and socialist political parties, some non-governmental institutions (collectively and coordinately form a powerful base of ideological opposition against the formation of the project)
Targeted audiences of predominant/prevalent discourses	Local public of İzmir as a whole	Organized social groups (including chambers and environmentalist non-governmental organizations) city planners and local public of İzmir as a whole
Targeted audiences of counter/oppositional discourses	İzmir Greater Municipality and local public of İzmir	The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, İzmir Greater Municipality and Balçova Municipality, organized social groups and local public of İzmir
Mechanisms (re)producing and disseminating predominant/prevalent discourses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ News and articles in mass media tools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The declarations of İGM ▪ The declarations of investors and construction companies ▪ The declarations of local business associations ▪ The declaration of the İzmir Branch of the Chambers of Architectures ▪ The advertisements of shopping malls, office towers and luxury residence that are constructed within the NCC Project ▪ Face to face communications of local residents living or working in the project area ▪ International urban design competition for the backside of the port 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ News and articles in mass media tools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The declarations of MCT ▪ The declarations of EXPO İzmir Steering Board ▪ The declarations of property owners ▪ The declaration of İGM and Balçova Municipality ▪ The declaration of local business associations ▪ The declaration of central government representatives ▪ Advertisements and presentations concerning the EXPO candidacy ▪ Forums, meetings and symposiums on the formation of İTC Project ▪ Face to face communications of local residents living or working in the project area
Mechanisms (re)producing and disseminating counter/oppositional discourses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ News and articles in mass media tools ▪ Face to face communications of local residents living or working in the project area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ News and articles in mass media tools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The declarations of Chambers affiliated to UCTEA ▪ Forums, meetings and symposiums on the formation of İTC Project ▪ Face to face communications of local residents living or working in the project area

As the table of the main findings of critical discourse analysis shows the speaker actors of predominant/prevalent discourses are the ones who play leading and dominant roles and collaborate and cooperate with each other in the formation of the projects. However, the speaker actors of oppositional discourses are different in each of the projects. A small group of local politicians constitute counter/oppositional actors but this oppositional group could not extend and strengthen the base of their opposition through incorporating chambers, universities and NGOs against the formation of NCC project. İTC project, on the other hand, attracts the political-ideological opposition of chambers, universities, some

political parties and non-governmental organizations which collectively and coordinately form a powerful base of ideological opposition against the formation of İTC project.

Revealing the audiences of predominant and oppositional discourses is also critical to enlighten the target of these discourses. In NCC project, through the production, dissemination and domination of predominant discourses, local public of İzmir (as a whole) is focused as a general target to mobilize public support and consent. In İTC Project, owing to the availability of oppositional discourses and relatively powerful ideological base of opposition, predominant discourses primarily target to mobilize active support, collaboration and cooperation of these oppositional groups including chambers (affiliated to UCTEA), environmentalist non-governmental organizations and city planners.

Mechanisms in the (re)production and dissemination of discourses are also investigated to reveal the ways of public opinion building in the formation of the projects. The findings of critical discourse analysis show that news, articles and advertisements in mass media tools play an important role in disseminating and dominating the predominant discourses in the formation of both of the projects. It is observed that the declarations of governmental and business actors dominate the formation of news and articles in most the media sources. The predominant discourses specified in these declarations play a facilitative role in the dissemination of predominant view in the formation of the projects. For instance, the governmental decision-makers and local business associations in both of the projects use media sources to build a supportive public opinion for the projects. Furthermore; the advertisements of shopping malls, office towers and luxury residence, that are presented within the NCC project, have constituted an ideological power in shaping public perception and manipulating the common-sense of the people. In İTC project, there are EXPO-based advertisements and presentations aiming to increase awareness and to mobilize the support of all the people living in İzmir. Lastly, it is also observed that face to face communications of local residents living or working in the project area have also constituted persuasive discursive practices and mobilized the support of the large part of the people living or working in the project area.

A comparative and brief analysis of discourses is presented and summarized with the tables in this part. Through critically analyzing the discourses of different actors, it is elucidated how predominant discourses attempt to construct a hegemonic power over the definition

of urban development priorities. NCC and ITC projects and the predominant discourses of powerful state and capital actors have played an important role in the attempts to construct a hegemonic power.

The main findings of discourse analysis points out that discourses could be seen and studied as a political-ideological site of power, struggle and opposition of different social forces in the formation of the projects. Powerful state and capital actors (re)produce and disseminate predominant discourses to mobilize public support for the formation of the projects. However, on the other side, oppositional actors confronts against these predominant discourses through putting forward their counter/oppositional discourses. There is a struggle at the level of discursive practice in the formation of UDPs.

Critical discourse analysis provided an initial step and preliminary findings to investigate the (re)production, domination and struggle of different discourses. Discourses of key actors in the formation of the projects are critically analyzed and this analysis oriented urban field research through playing an important role in designing the questions of questionnaire and interview. Discourse analysis detected and outlined the formation of major discourses. Field survey investigated to what extent these discourses are (re)produced by particular actors in the formation of the projects. Moreover, field survey also aimed to reveal motivations, tendencies and causal explanations behind the (re)production, domination and struggle of discourses in the formation of the projects.

6.2 The Comparative Investigation of the Dynamics of Opinion Building in the Political-Ideological Construction of the Projects

In this part of case study chapter, the results of urban field survey including the findings of questionnaires and in-depth interviews are comparatively analyzed and critically reinterpreted. Firstly, hegemonic discourses and the construction of predominant opinion are investigated through analyzing the dynamics behind the formation of the views of institutions and local residents. Oppositional actors and their counter discourses are also analyzed as the basis of struggle against the formation of the projects. Lastly; coherences, conflicts and struggles in the formation of the opinions of certain institutions are investigated. This last part of case study chapter is finalized by an overall summary of empirical evidence.

6. 2. 1 Hegemonic Discourses and the Construction of Predominant Opinion

As critical discourse analysis outlined, there are different discourses produced and disseminated by particular social forces in the formation of the projects. Thesis argues that predominant discourses have become hegemonic discourses in the formation of the projects since they dominate, manipulate and reinforce certain ideas, themes, thoughts and perceptions over the formation of public opinion. It is also critically reinterpreted that this domination-manipulation process could be seen as a political-ideological construction to mobilize public support and consent for the formation of the projects.

Case study of thesis develops a particular focus on empirical investigation of the major constitutive ways and dynamics of the political construction of NCC and İTC projects. For this purpose, the decisive factors behind the support of institutions and local residents, hegemonic discourses and the ways of their dissemination and the targeted actors in the mobilization of consent are all comprehensively and comparatively investigated in this part with reference to the findings of questionnaires and interviews.

6. 2. 1. 1 The Formation and Dissemination of the Views of Institutions

The findings of institution questionnaire reveal that tendency of institutions to decide on an official view concerning the formation of the project is low. Although NCC and İTC projects are expected to have remarkable influence to the city, not a large majority of the institutions state that they decide on an official institutional view (resmi kurum görüşü) concerning the formation of the projects. Only %45 of the surveyed firms stated that they decide on an institutional view for the formation of NCC project. On the other hand, %65 of the surveyed firms specified their institutional view for the formation of İTC project. The gap between these two percentages stem from the fact that chambers, unions and other NGOs are more motivated to decide on an official institutional view for İTC project.

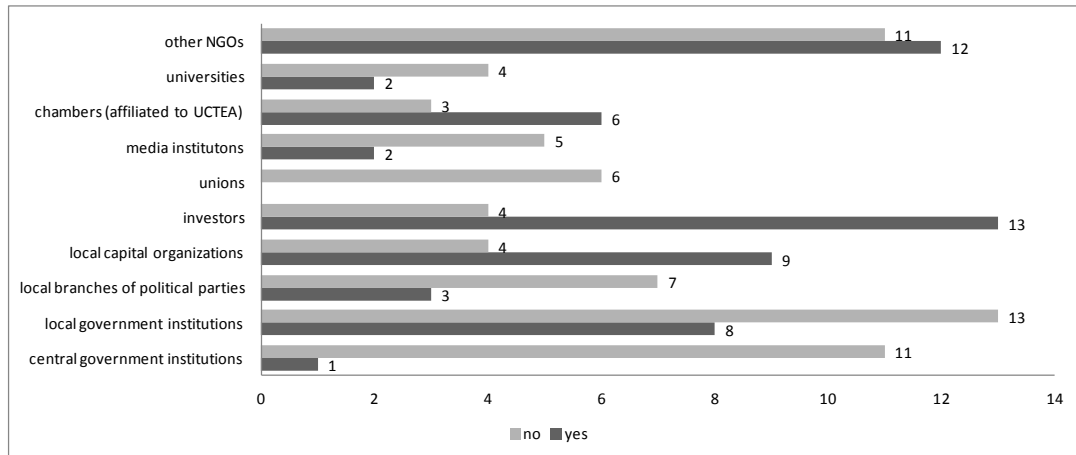


Figure 6.5 Institutional views whether or not decided for NCC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

When institutional view decisions are investigated according to the categories of institutions, it is possible to reach remarkable findings. The governmental decision-maker institutions having authority in the formation of the project are more motivated in deciding on an institutional view than the institutions having no authority. In fact, governmental decision-maker institutions like İGM and District Municipalities decide on an official institutional view in the formation of NCC project; however some other administrative institutions (like the mukhtars-the head of the neighborhood), who are expected to be influenced directly by the project but have no authority, do not tend to decide on any view for the project. Moreover, the head of the related neighborhoods and the people living in them are not incorporated in the planning processes of each projects. This selective participation-incorporation of actors in the formation of the projects decreases the level of awareness and obstructs local residents to inform about the project.

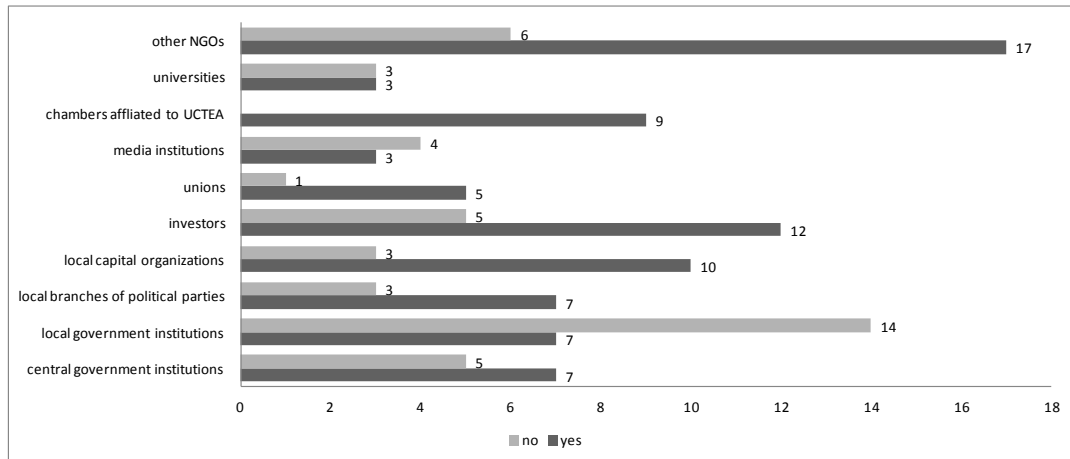


Figure 6.6 Institutional views whether or not decided for ITC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

Like NCC project; major governmental decision-maker institutions, having certain authorities in the formation of ITC project, state their supportive institutional view. However, a significant part of other governmental institutions, which have no authority concerning the formation of ITC project, do not declare any officially taken view. On the other hand, 47 of 73 institutions (%65), stated that although they do not declare any officially decided view, they tend to adopt the views of some other institutions concerning the formation of NCC project. The number of institutions stating such a tendency is 29 in ITC project.

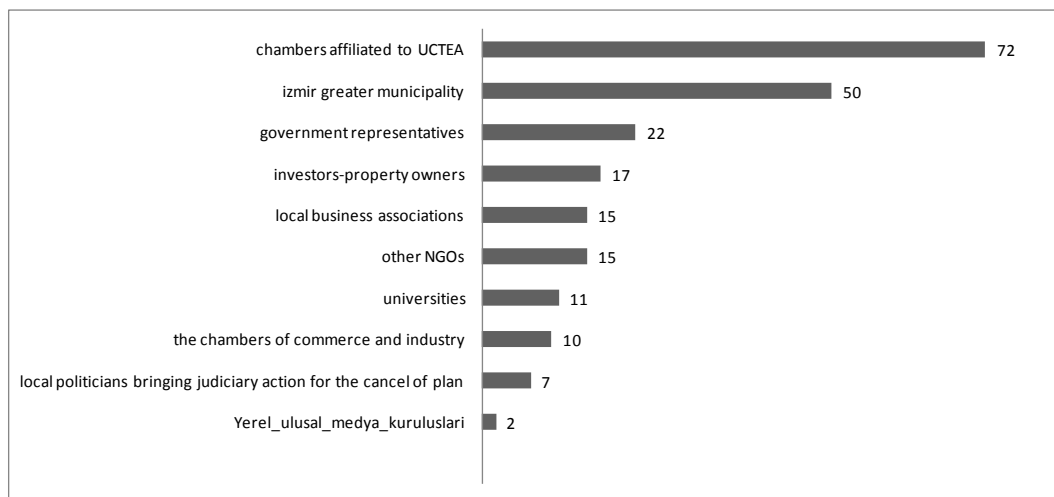


Figure 6.7 The institutions whose views are adopted in the formation of NCC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

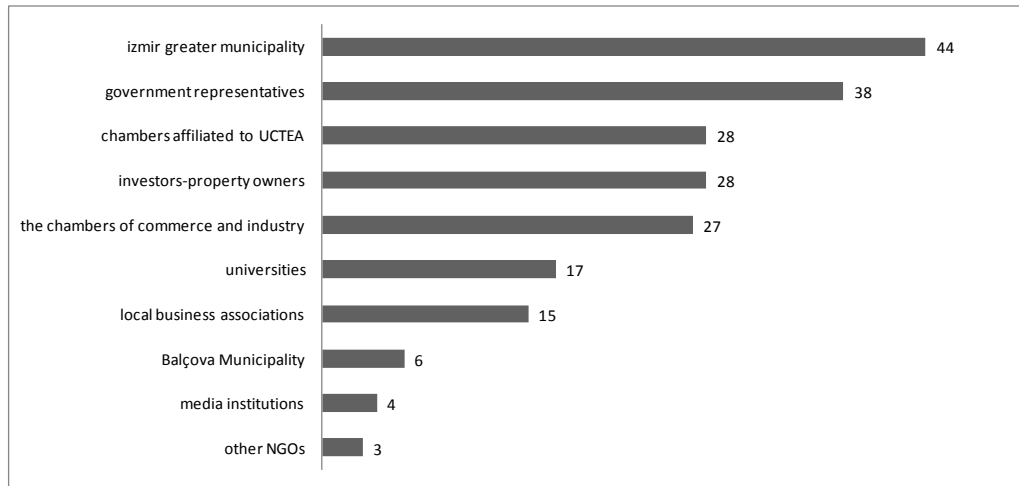


Figure 6.8 The institutions whose views are adopted in the formation of ITC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

The leading institutions in affecting the views of other institutions are different in each of the projects. Because İzmir Branch of the Chambers of Architecture played a leading and cooperative role in the preparation of NCC development plan, chambers (affiliated to UCTEA) are stated by most of the surveyed institutions as the leading institution in affecting the views and opinions in NCC project. Unlike NCC project, chambers do not cooperate with the MCT in the formation of ITC project. Rather, local government institutions collaborate and cooperate with the MCT and therefore they are stated as the leading institutions in affecting the views and opinions in ITC project. The figure mentioned below shows the major three ways of disseminating the views of institutions according to the categories of institutions.

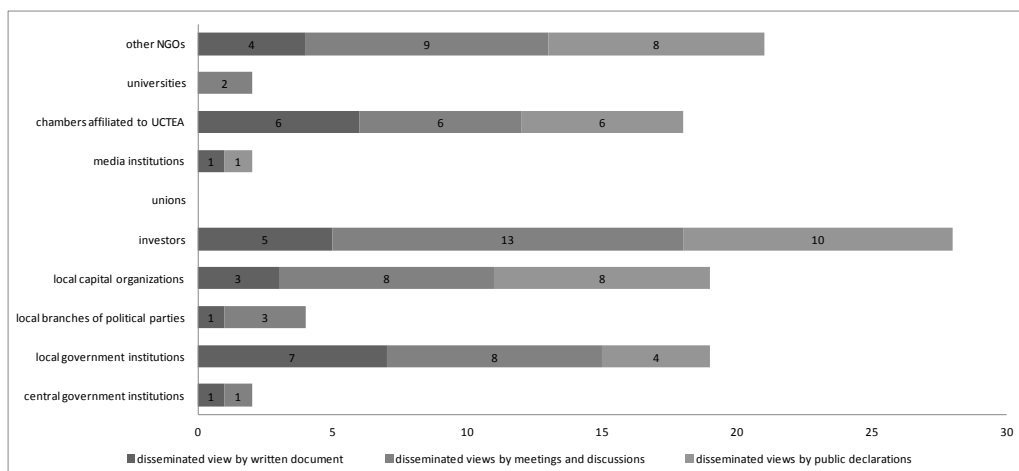


Figure 6.9 The ways of disseminating the views of institutions in NCC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

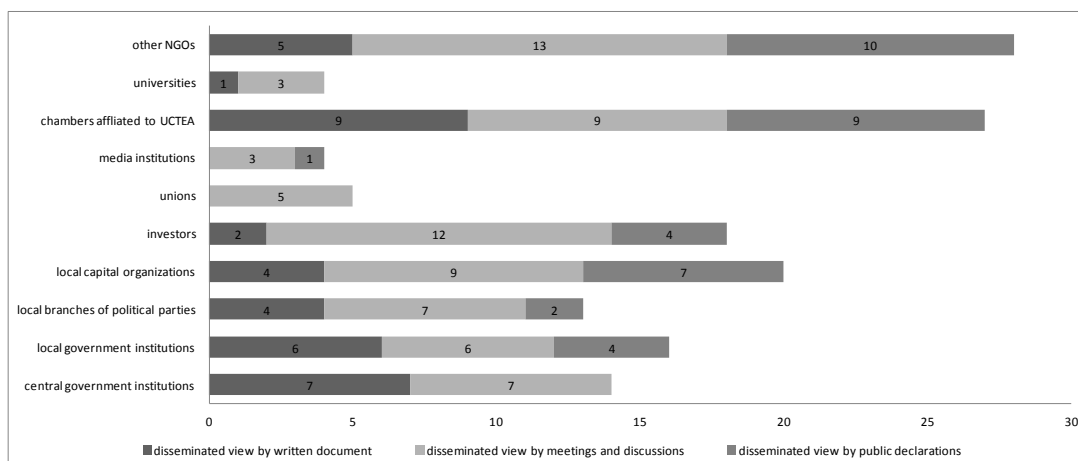


Figure 6.10 The ways of disseminating the views of institutions in ITC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

Because central government institutions have no authority in the planning of NCC, most of them do not state and disseminate any officially decided view for NCC. Moreover, institution questionnaire finds out that governmental decision-makers in both of the projects prefer to disseminate their views by written documents, meetings and discussions with key stakeholders. Investors and local capital organizations (include local business associations and the chambers of commerce and industry) disseminate their demands and views in the formation of the projects through different ways. They not only prefer to organize closed door meetings and discussions with the decision-makers; but they also make public declarations by using mass media tools. The main motivation behind the public declarations of local capital organizations is to dominate their ideas and priorities in the formation of the projects. Chambers affiliated to UCTEA use each ways to disseminate their views. Unions and NGOs disseminate their views for ITC project by making public declarations.

To summarize, the findings of institution questionnaire reveal that not a large majority of the institutions decide on official institutional views for the projects. Rather; authorized governmental institutions, investors, local capital organizations and chambers are informed and they constituted their views in the formation of the projects. ITC project attracts more interests and views of institutions than NCC project does. Lastly, there are also different ways of disseminating the views of institutions and these ways differ according to the categories of institutions.

6. 2. 1. 2 The Decisive Factors Behind the Mobilization of Support and Consent

During the field survey, it has been observed different tendencies and views supporting or opposing the formation of the projects. Which categories of institutions and which social classes support or oppose the formation of the projects and which decisive factors play roles in the formation of supportive or oppositional views of institutions and particular classes? This part aims to provide answers to these questions by manifesting the findings of institution and neighborhood questionnaires.

The findings of institution questionnaire shows that the views of institutions differ according to the categories of these institutions. The vast majority of local government institutions, investors-property owners and local capital organizations support to the formation of NCC project. Because central government institutions have no authority in the formation of NCC project, most of them do not state any idea for NCC project. On the other hand; local branches of political parties, chambers (affiliated to UCTEA), universities and other NGOs do not have a dominant view. These institutions of civil society represents contrasting opinions including both supportive and oppositional views for NCC project.

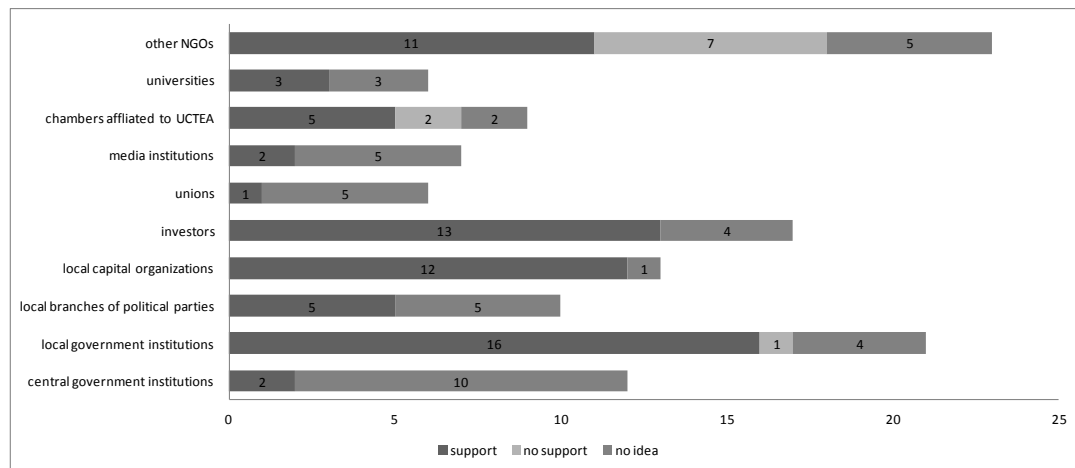


Figure 6.11 Existence of support to the NCC project from categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

Like NCC project, ITC project attracts the support of government institutions, investors-property owners and local capital organizations. However, unlike NCC project, a large majority of non-governmental organizations include chambers (affiliated to UCTEA), unions, environmentalist NGOs, and some universities and political parties declare their

oppositional views against the formation of ITC project. They produce counter arguments and obviously state their oppositional view on the basis of the preservations of the site.

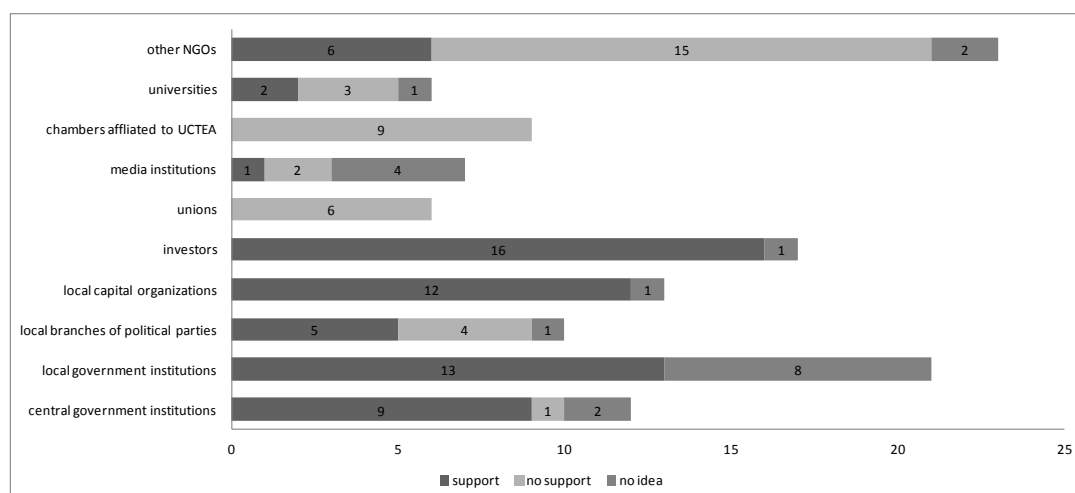


Figure 6.12 Existence of support to the ITC project from categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

Not only the findings of institution questionnaire but also the empirical evidence of neighborhood questionnaire reveals decisive factors behind the supportive or oppositional views of local residents living or working in the project site. Neighborhood questionnaire unveiled that geographical proximity matters in the mobilization of public support and consent. As figure mentioned below shows %70 of the local residents (living or working in NCC project site) express their support for the formation of NCC project. %55 of the people living or working in ITC project site state their support for NCC project. The reason behind the lower percentage of support from the people living in ITC project site is that most of them are not interested and do not have an idea for the formation of NCC project. The results of neighborhood questionnaire shows that being closer to NCC project site plays a decisive role in attracting interest and mobilizing the support and consent of the people in the formation of NCC project.

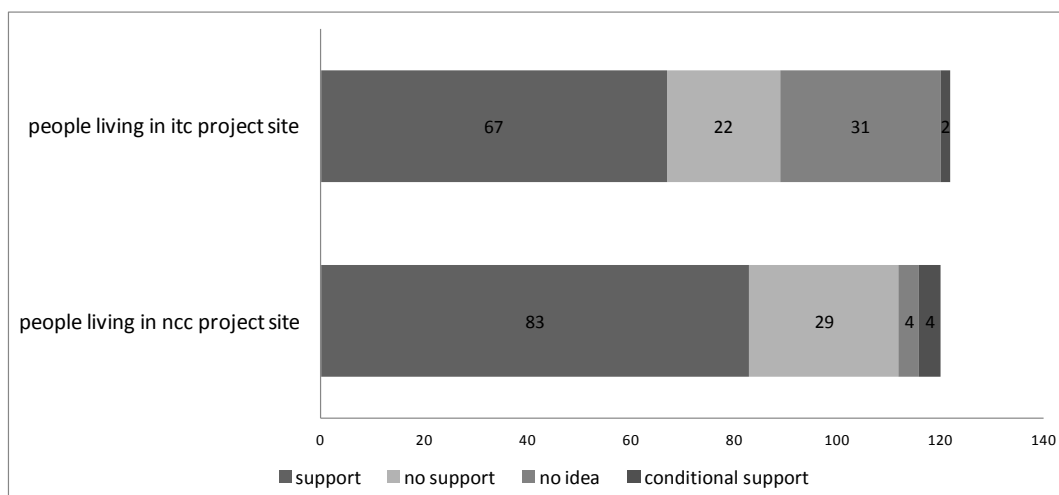


Figure 6.13 Existence of support to the NCC project from people living in different project sites (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

Geographical proximity also plays a crucial role in mobilizing the support of the people for ITC project. The findings of neighborhood questionnaire indicate that %80 of the people living in ITC project site express their support for ITC project. However, only %32 of surveyed population living in NCC project site stated their support for the formation of ITC project. Survey findings show as a general outcome that the vast majority of the people have awareness only for the project that will be implemented in the area where they live or work. People are informed and tended to express their support for the projects that are expected to transform their living or working space. Most of the people have no idea or not informed adequately to decide on a particular view (supportive or oppositional) for the projects distant from their spaces of live and work. To conclude, it could be argued that geographical proximity matters in the mobilization of public support and consent in the formation of the projects.

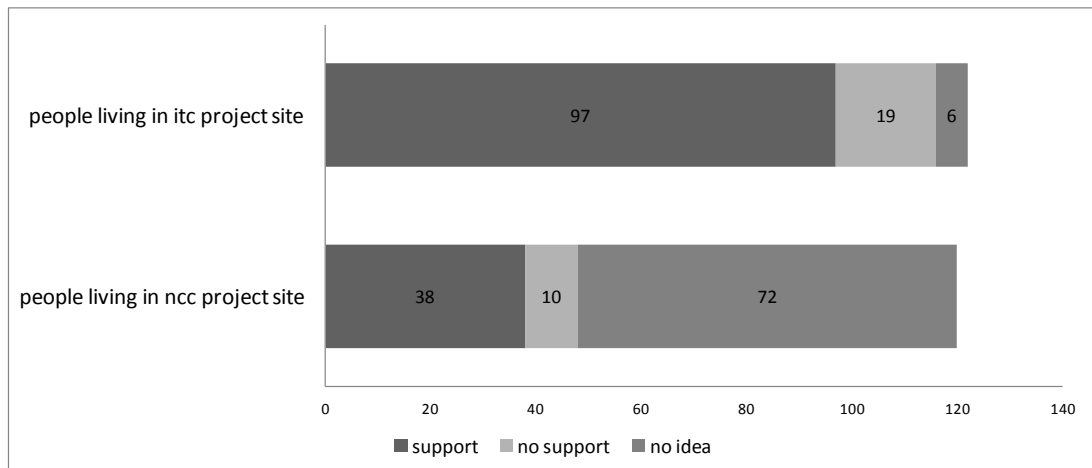


Figure 6.14 Existence of support to the ITC project from people living in different project sites (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

Another important decisive factor in the formation of supportive view for the projects is the ownership of property. The findings of neighborhood questionnaire reveal that the existence of supportive views for the projects depends on the ownership of the properties and the intended use of these properties. Property owners and workplaces are more tended to support to the projects. %59 of property owner households and %90 of property owner workplaces express their support for NCC project. The percentage of the support of both tenant households and tenant workplaces are relatively lower.

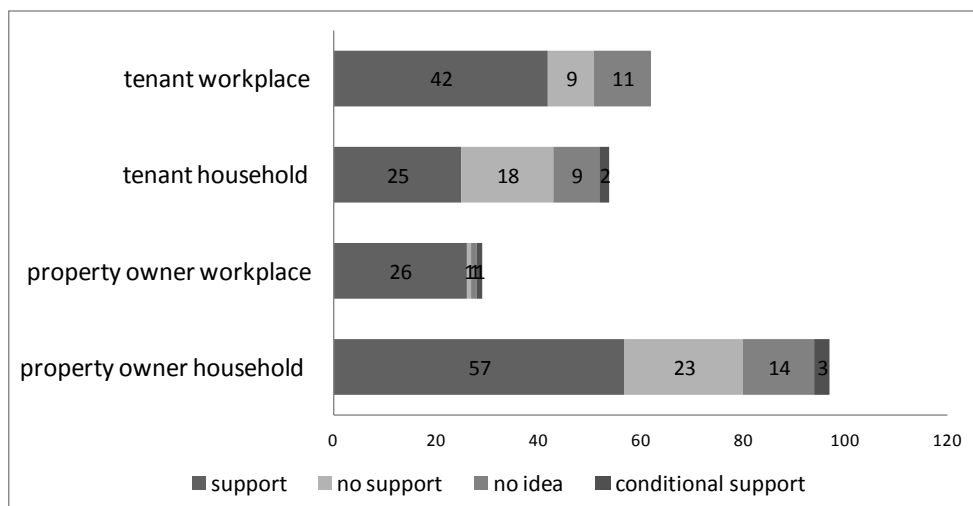


Figure 6.15 The existence of support to the NCC project from property owners, tenants, households and workplaces (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

Like NCC project, ITC project attracts mostly the support of property owners. Although, almost half of the tenant workplaces and tenant households express their support, the percentages of the supportive views of property owner workplaces and property owner households are higher than the tenants. Being a property owner in the project site constitutes a positive influence over the formation of supportive views for the projects. Most of the property owners in the project sites expect that these projects will serve to their interests through increasing the level of the prices of their property. Owing to this individual profit-oriented view of people, most of the property owners support these projects with a motivation of rent-based short-term profit-maximization.

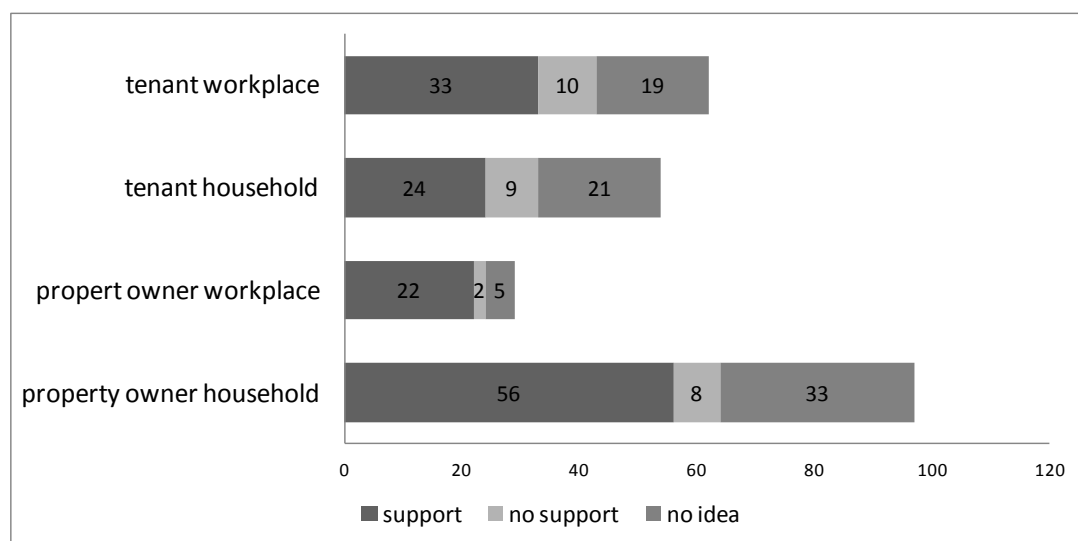


Figure 6.16 The existence of support to the ITC project from property owners, tenants, households and workplaces (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

In fact, the most important decisive factor behind the mobilization of public support and consent for the projects are class positions. Before urban field survey it was expected that capitalist class fractions tend to support to the projects more than the working classes. In the formulation of the initial arguments of thesis, it is stated that such profit-oriented and rent-seeking UDPs serve to the long-term interests of capitalist class fractions. Therefore powerful capitalist class fractions are expected to have a supportive view for the formation of the projects. This argument is validated by the findings of field survey. The empirical evidence of neighborhood questionnaire indicates that employers (includes both the upper and petty bourgeois) and the vast majority of white collar workers support both of the projects. A lower rate of blue collar workers, casual workers, unemployed, student and

retired people support to the formation of the projects. Oppositional views against the formation of the projects are more widespread amongst such fractions of working classes.

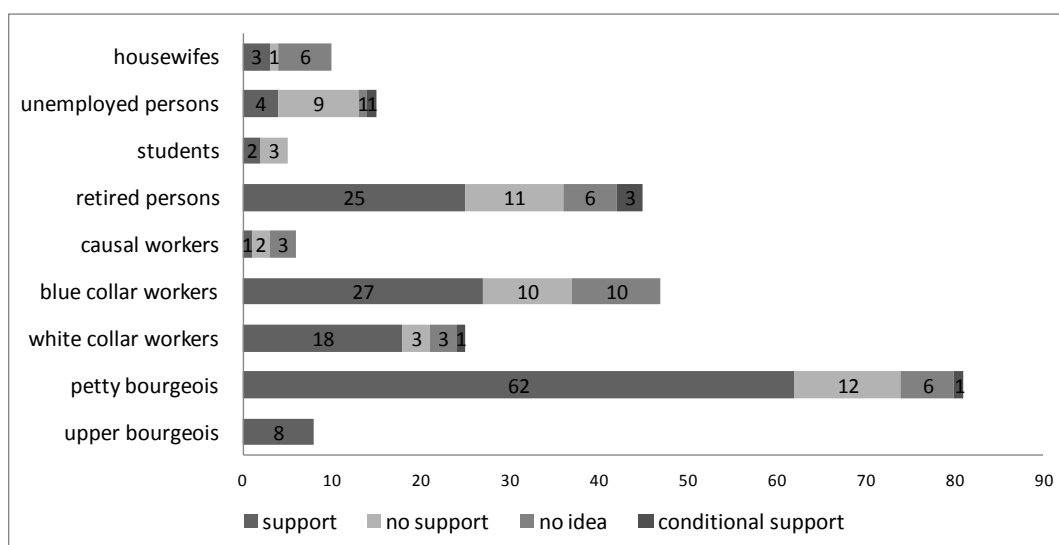


Figure 6.17 The existence of support to the NCC project from different class positions (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

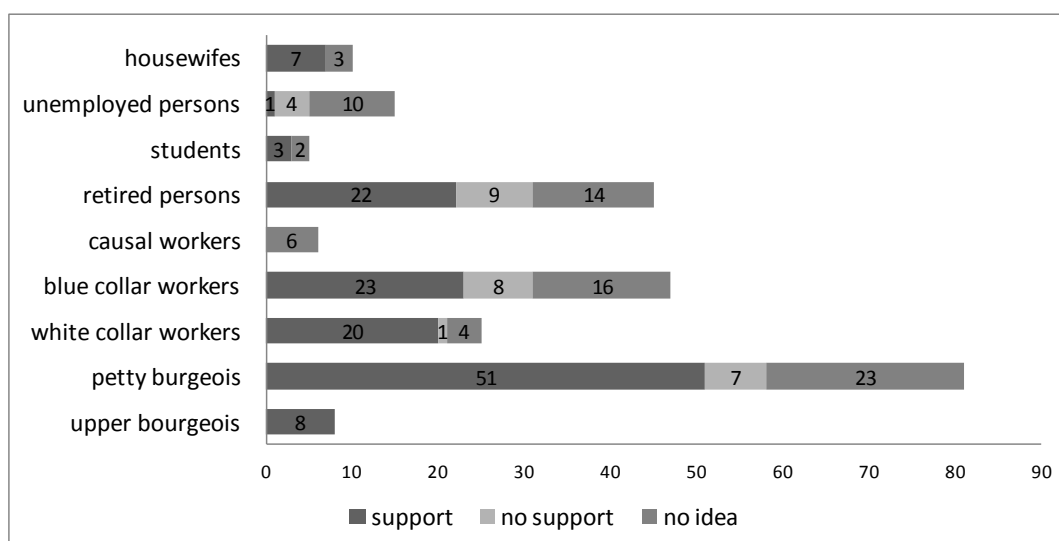


Figure 6.18 The existence of support to the ITC project from different class positions (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

For both of the projects, it could be argued that the tendency to support the formation of the projects differ according to the class positions of the people. Bourgeois classes tend to support the projects more than the working classes and this class-based formation of the views could be observed as a general tendency in the formation of both of the projects. In

addition to the role of class positions, different income levels also reflect different views for the project.

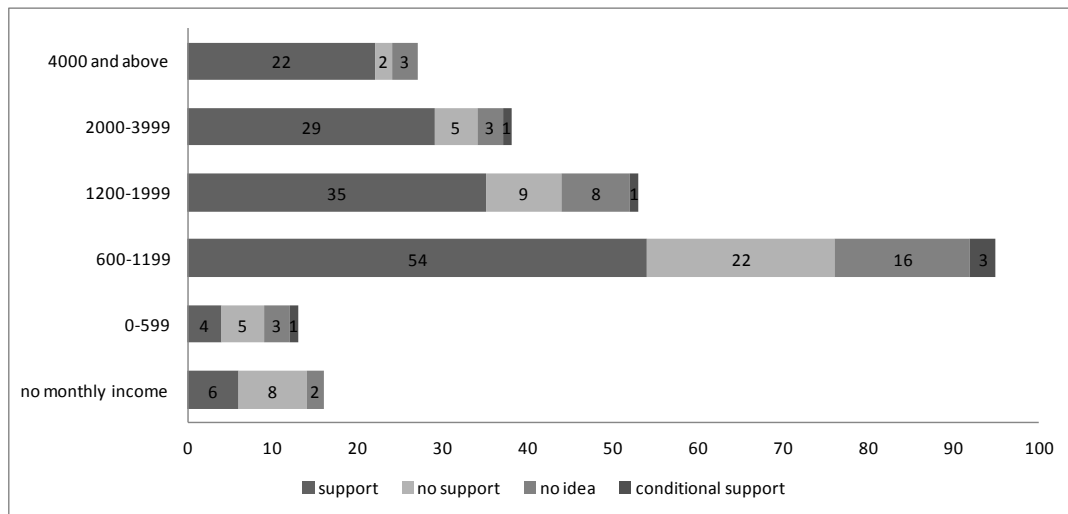


Figure 6.19 The existence of support to the NCC project from different income levels (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

As figures indicate people with higher income levels prone to state their support to the projects more than the lower income ones. The large majority of the people having more than 2000 TL monthly income support to the formation of the projects. However, as income level decreases the rates of supportive views diminish. In fact, this finding of the relation between income levels and the formation of (supportive or oppositional) views validate the relation between class positions and views. Powerful capitalist class fractions whose income levels are high have a higher rate of support for the projects. Unlike them, working classes (except white collar workers) having lower levels of income show a lower rate of support for the projects.

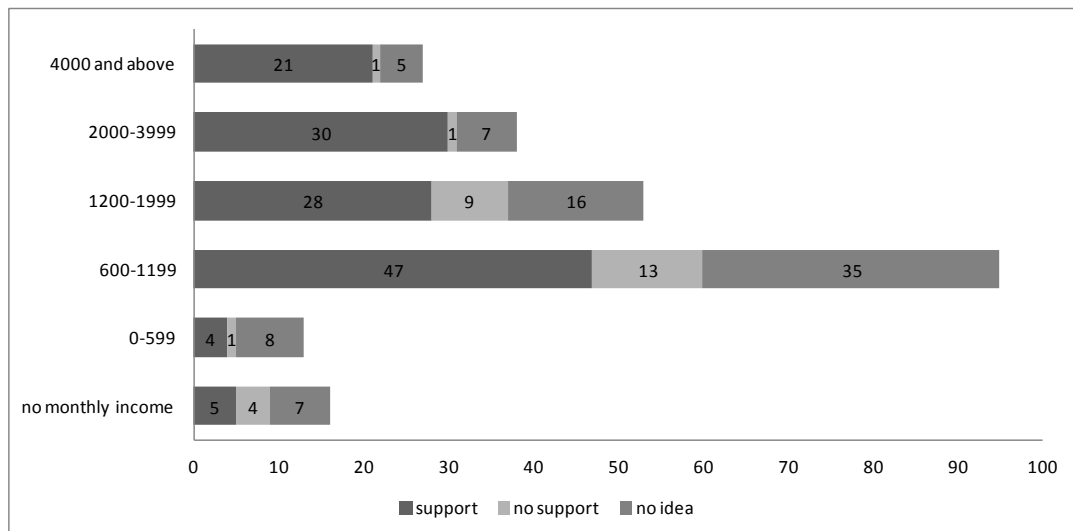


Figure 6.20 The existence of support to the ITC project from different income levels (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

The analysis of decisive factors behind the formation of supportive views shows that geographical proximity matters in the mobilization of public support and consent in the formation of the projects. Local residents living or working in the sites of the projects are more tended to support to the projects than the people living in distant districts of the city. Moreover it is also revealed that being a property owner in the project site constitutes a positive influence over the formation of supportive views for the projects. Because they think that these projects will serve to their interests, most of the property owners actively support to the formation of the project. There is not a problem from the perspective of governmental decision-makers in mobilizing the support and consent of property owners.

Lastly, class positions are pointed out as the political-ideological basis of different views and opinions concerning the formation of the projects. As a general tendency, powerful capitalist class fractions are more tended to support to the formation of the projects than the working classes. However, this general empirical evidence of neighborhood questionnaire should be critically investigated further to reveal how different classes internalizes and reacts to the domination of hegemonic discourses in the formation of the projects. To what extend the hegemonic discourses of the projects are adopted by different institutions and social classes and through which motivations, expectations and justifications these discourses are adopted or opposed by these actors of urban politics? The later part of case study focuses on the elucidation of the answers of these questions with a comprehensive, comparative and detailed analysis of empirical evidence.

6. 2. 1. 3 Hegemonic Discourses and the Building of Consent

As critical discourse analysis revealed, powerful and prevalent views of governmental and business actors in the formation of the projects produce, disseminate and dominate some particular discourses to mobilize public support and consent. Such “investment”, “employment”, “growth” and “regeneration” based predominant discourses have become hegemonic discursive practices since they have been adopted by different institutions and social classes as a widespread and common-sense opinion. This part presents and elaborates some remarkable findings of urban field survey to reveal to what extent such hegemonic discourses have been adopted by these institutions and social classes.

Thesis originated on the idea that the predominant definitions of the current situation of project sites are not objectively, scientifically and non-ideologically defined value-free and neutral realities. On the contrary, these definitions are politically-ideological constructed discourses to shape and manipulate a supportive common-sense opinion in the formation of the projects. Moreover, “growth” and “investment” based hegemonic discourses also aim to attract public support and consent. Therefore, such hegemonic definitions and discourses of the projects should be researched with a critical perspective in the investigation of the political construction of the projects. This part of case study uncovers both the leading hegemonic definitions, discourses and the adoption of them by different institutions and social classes.

6. 2. 1. 3. 1 Hegemonic Definitions to Construct the Problems of the Project Sites

Questionnaires and in-depth interviews both reveal through which discourses the “problems” of the project sites are constructed. Hegemonic definitions of the “problems” of NCC project site emphasize that “NCC project site was not transformed to a modern city center”. Such definitions also put emphasis on “economically unproductive”, “abandoned”, “deteriorated” and “declining” conditions of the site. Hegemonic definitions also stress that NCC project area is “an old warehouse site surrounded by unauthorized buildings”. Neighborhood questionnaire shows that most of the local residents living or working in NCC project site define the existing condition of the site through these discourses. Local residents who argue that “NCC Project site must not be develop owing to its geological risks” are less in numbers. This geological risk-based definition against

development of the site are mostly adopted and stated by the people having oppositional views against the formation of the NCC project.

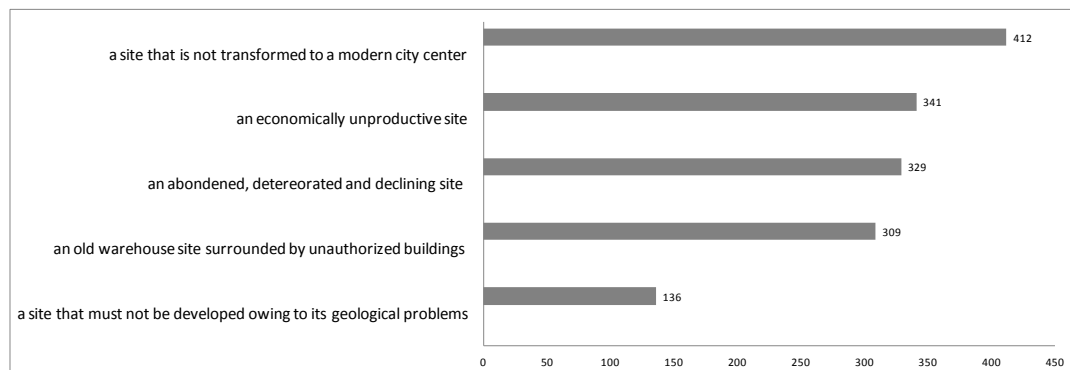


Figure 6.21 Hegemonic definitions in constructing the problems of NCC project site (neighborhood questionnaire, rating)

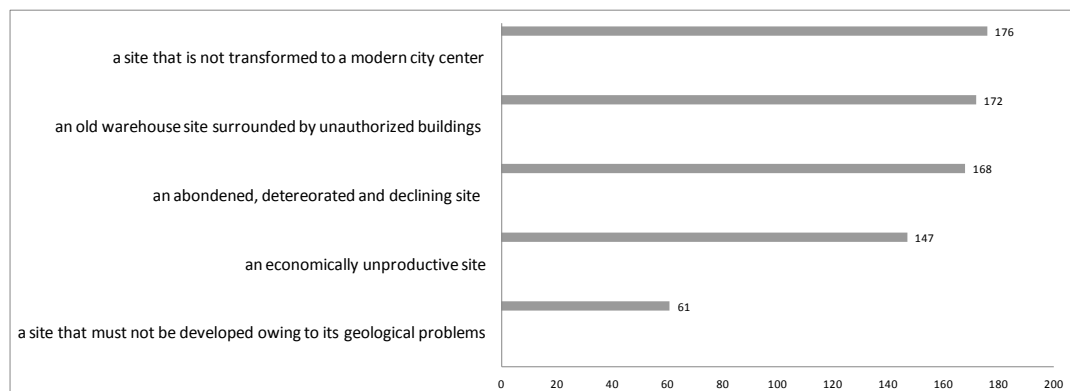


Figure 6.22 Hegemonic definitions in constructing the problems of NCC project site (institution questionnaire, rating)

As figures mentioned below demonstrate, the findings of neighborhood and institution questionnaires are almost same concerning the hegemonic definitions of NCC project site. These hegemonically defined problems and definitions of the problems of NCC project site also reflect certain planning problems to shape and dominate the construction of common-sense opinion in the formation of NCC project. Through these hegemonic definitions, NCC project site is portrayed as an “old, unproductive and declining urban area” that needs to be “regenerated” to “provide higher economic returns” for the “development of the city”. And correspondingly, NCC project is constructed as a certain solution to overcome such problems of this particular urban area. In fact, powerful and predominant governmental

and business actors effort to shape and manipulate the formation of common-sense view and public opinion on the basis of such hegemonic definitions.

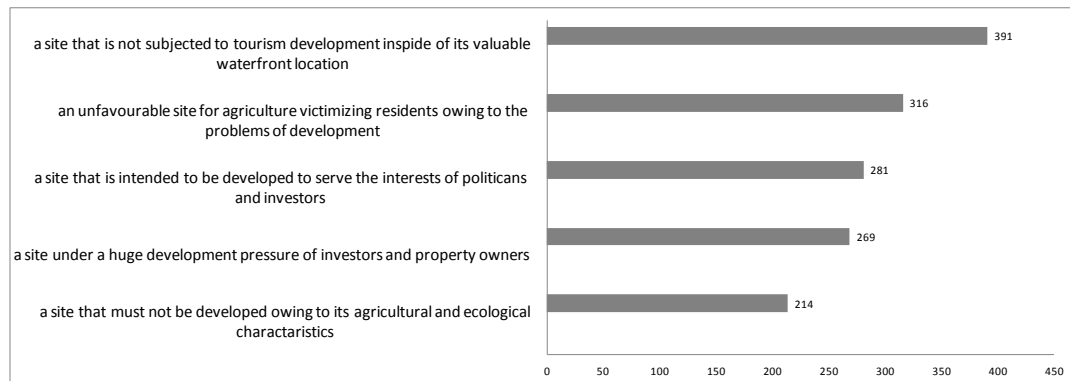


Figure 6.23 Hegemonic definitions in constructing the problems of ITC project site (neighborhood questionnaire, rating)

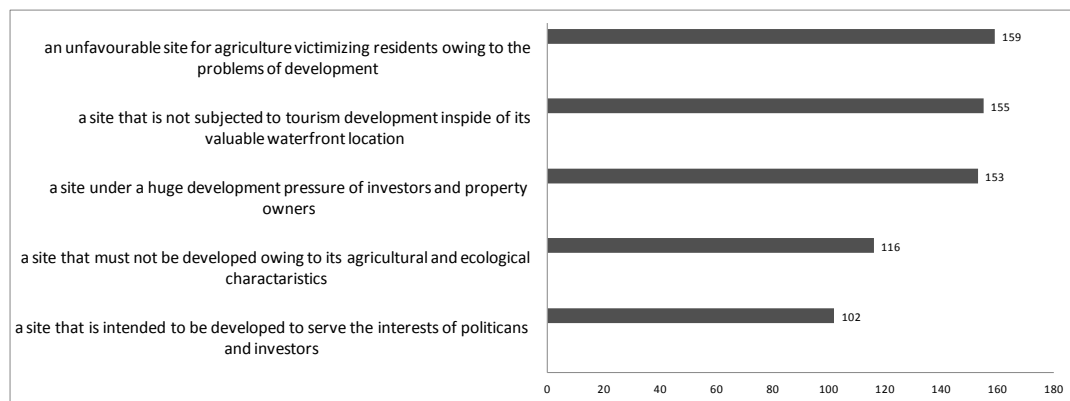


Figure 6.24 Hegemonic definitions in constructing the problems of ITC project site (institution questionnaire, rating)

Like NCC site, ITC project site is viewed by common definitions of institutions and local residents. The figures mentioned below show these common definitions. According to the findings of both of the questionnaires, ITC site is defined as “an unfavorable area for agriculture” which is “not subjected to tourism development in spite of its valuable waterfront location”. Such hegemonic definitions also put emphasis on the “victim position of local residents” through arguing that the most of the small landowner local residents (previously cultivated their lands) are negatively affected from both agricultural decline and development problem of this site. This “victim position of local residents” are presented to public as a basis of justification to initiate the development of this site. Moreover, there are also counter definitions and discourses arguing that “ITC project site is under a huge

development pressure of investors, property owners and politicians”. Such counter discourses point out that “investors and politicians cooperatively effort to initiate development in this site to enhance their economical and political power”. It should also be noted that such counter definitions and arguments reflect the oppositional views of particular actors in the formation of ITC project.

Another significant finding of the questionnaires is that the hegemonic definitions of NCC and ITC project sites differentiate according to the categories of institutions. In other words, different institutions define different problems for the project sites. For instance, a vast majority of central and local governments, investors and local capital organizations state “economic unproductivity” and “urban decline” based discourses in defining the problems of NCC project site. These governmental and business actors do not define project site as a “geologically risky area to attract development”. This geological risk dependent definition of the project site is made by some chambers and adopted by few universities and non-governmental institutions.

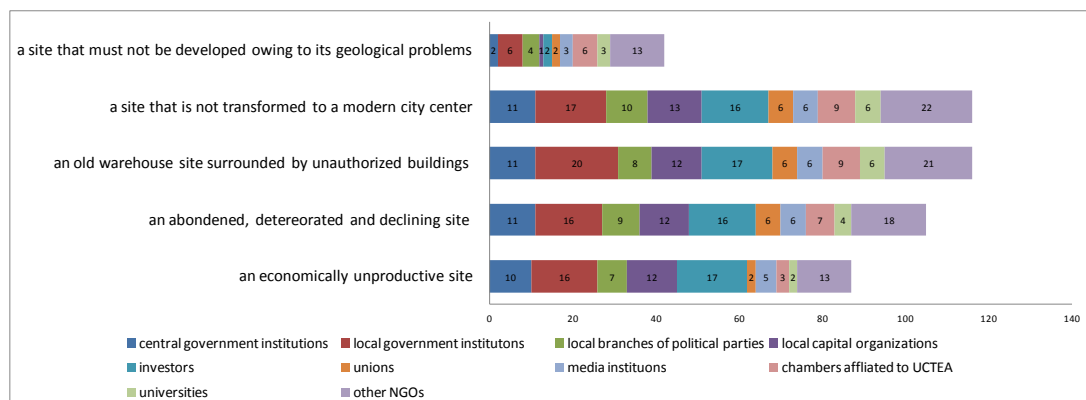


Figure 6.25 The hegemonic definitions of NCC project site according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

The differentiation of project site definitions according to the categories of institutions could be observed more obviously in ITC project. Most of the governmental institutions, investors and local capital organizations define ITC project site as “an area that is not developed with tourism” although “it has a valuable waterfront location”. Moreover, such actors also claims that ITC is “an unfavorable site for agriculture” and that “small land owner local residents of the site have become the victims of both agricultural decline and development problem of İnciraltı”. Chambers affiliated to UCTEA, academicians from

universities, left-wing political parties and environmentalist non-governmental organizations all reject such hegemonic definitions of ITC site and argue that “ITC is under a huge development pressure of investors, property owners and politicians” all of whom are “aiming to develop the site to enhance their economical and political power”. Such counter arguments and definitions reflect how an ideological base of opposition from some actors of civil society are organized against the formation of ITC project. There is an oblivious differentiation of ITC project site definitions amongst governmental and business actors and some non-governmental civil organizations.

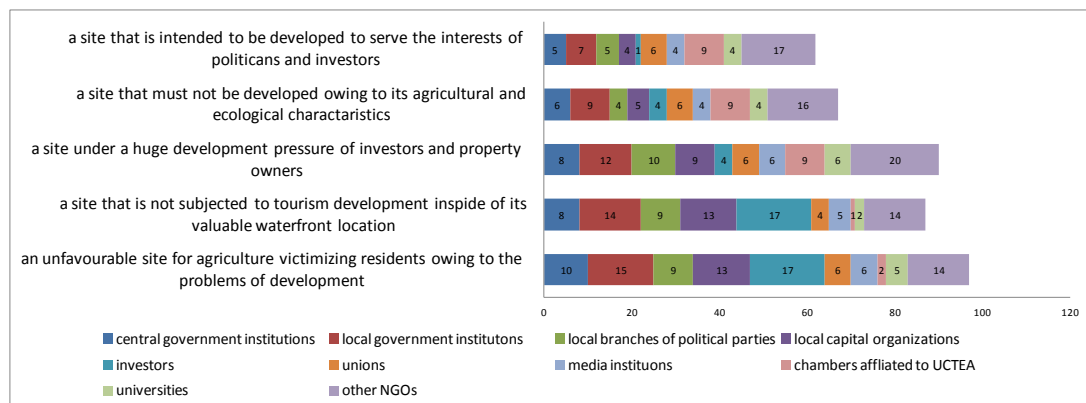


Figure 6.26 The hegemonic definitions of ITC project site according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

The institution and neighborhood questionnaires detected the leading and dominant definitions of the project sites. To support and advance the findings of questionnaires, in-depth interviews explored how such hegemonic definitions of project sites have been adopted by institutions and local residents. The findings of in-depth interviews reveal that different governmental and non-governmental actors share a regeneration-based common opinion for the planning of NCC site. Some interviewers, representing chambers and universities with their views, stress that “NCC project site is determined consciously by urban planners to overcome the problems of the growth of existing city center”. Such actors of civil society state that “NCC site provides an alternative zone for the development of existing city center”. Unlike such actors, investors and the leaders of local business associations put emphasis on “economical unproductivity of NCC site” and argue that “currently this site could not make any contribution for the growth of İzmir’s local economy”. Therefore they explicitly underline that any intervention to regenerate NCC site

should enhance the attractiveness of the site in terms of “investment” and “capital accumulation”.

Chamber of Architectures, The Head of İzmir Branch

“There are large public and private properties in NCC site. All of them have become functionless in the last two decades. Agricultural and industrial decline and changing dynamics of urban economy caused the main reasons behind the decline of economic functions of NCC site. NCC site is an obsolete and declining urban space of previous capital accumulation dynamics. And today, we need to regenerate it to make İzmir a competitive world city... On the other hand, as I emphasize before, in the first years of 2000s, there was a growth problem of existing city center. We decided that NCC site is the most appropriate location to direct the growth of existing city center.”

Dokuz Eylül University, Academic Staff 1

“For me, the main reason behind the NCC project is to save existing traditional and historical city center from development pressure. With NCC project, İzmir Greater Municipality says to investors that here is NCC, come and construct your towers, residences and malls whatever you want here. Through saying this, I think, they save historical center from urban plundering. This is good I mean ! They save Kemeraltı, they save historical parts of Alsancak and so on... I think that NCC project is İzmir’s most important urban regeneration project. Because if new city center locates here, it means existing center will be conserved as the historical cultural center of the city.”

Investor of NCC, Folkart Towers Project Officer

“The role of urban planning in NCC Project is to maximize the value of economically unproductive lands in this site. What these economically unproductive lands provide for the development of İzmir’s local economy. Totally nothing ! If NCC development plan provides me profitable land use and building density conditions, then I make investment under these conditions. This is the point. If this happens in NCC site, everybody living in İzmir will receive direct or indirect benefits from the development of NCC center... Local public of İzmir do not oppose the formation of the project. Because they think like me. Everybody in İzmir have opportunities to benefit from NCC project. This is a win-win project !”

Ege Foundation of Economic Development, Administrative Board Member

“Well, what we learn from such urban development projects is the change of planning approach. Rather than being long-term and comprehensive, the planning in the new age focuses on the regeneration of declining and deteriorated parts of the city. As you know, they call it urban regeneration. NCC is such a regeneration project... We don’t want to live in deteriorated, declining and obsolete urban spaces like NCC site which has also been occupied by unauthorized buildings. Such spaces ought to be regenerated for a higher quality of life in the city. We need urban regeneration projects to make these spaces attractive for working, living and shopping. That is the main task of state and planning.”

The existing condition of İTC project site is constructed by “agricultural decline” and “development problem” based definitions of governmental and business actors. Through these hegemonic definitions, it is argued that “İnciraltı started to decline as a result of the decreasing competitiveness of agriculture as an economic sector in Turkey for decades”. This argument (of property owners, governmental and business actors) emphasized that “İnciraltı should be developed as a tourism zone to stimulate local economic growth of the city”. Other leading definitions of İTC site stress that small land owner local residents have become the victims of both “agricultural decline” and “development problem” of İnciraltı. It is claimed that “the legitimate building demands of local residents should be met in the development of İTC site”.

Mayor of İzmir Greater Municipality

"There are academicians and board members of chambers saying that İnciraltı is agriculture land and it should be conserved. They tend to persist their ideas through arguing that we gave our conservation based decision twenty years before and don't want to change it today... World is changing, cities are changing and even İzmir is changing but your decision is not changing ! I am asking what was İnciraltı's population twenty years ago and what is today ? What was small farmers income twenty years ago and what is today in İnciraltı ?... Okay I agree to conserve open and green spaces. But not for here !... It is not true to insist that İnciraltı should stay like that. The only way for the development of İnciraltı is EXPO and tourism. We cannot ignore it ! Even academicians and chambers cannot ignore !... We gave all support to the Ministry for the planning of İTC site as an EXPO and health tourism center and we will continue to give."

Mayor of Balçova Municipality

"It is a shame. İnciraltı is now a rubbish place full of unused greenhouses and junks. Who can accept it. As the mayor of Balçova, I cannot accept... The soil is unproductive. The production of citrus fruits has finished. There is not a well functioning water system to irrigate the land. There is no agriculture I mean. How they propose to make agricultural production under these conditions. They are kidding with us !... It is not possible to make green house production and agriculture in İnciraltı. The only way for the development of İnciraltı is tourism and EXPO."

Property Owner Household at Bahçelerarası Neighborhood

"The sad thing is that we were making agricultural production here thirty years ago and make good money from this production. However in the last two decades, the level of boron in the soil has increased and the productivity has declined as a result of this. On the other side, agriculture has been finished step by step through state policies in Turkey. Currently, not only in İnciraltı but also in different rural areas of Turkey, agriculture is not an attractive income generating activity for farmers. What can we do under these conditions... My dad saw the future and said that the only way for us is to build an apartment here in our land. We have strived for it in last two decades but did not succeed yet... Since 2006, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism make the plans of here but there is no concrete development yet. We are waiting but angry because they forced us to a village life here even at the core of the city."

Words, meanings and discourses reflected in the interview texts show that hegemonic definitions of the project sites do not only provide a description on the existing condition of project sites; but they also target to constitute a hegemonic power over the definition of the roles and priorities of urban planning in these project sites. In other words; through producing, disseminating and dominating some particular definitions of project sites, it is intended to shape and manipulate a common public opinion supportive of the formation of the project. The major governmental and business actors behind this political-ideological construction of hegemonic definitions are the ones who effort to enhance their base of economical and political power with these project. In the following part, the findings of case study has shed some light on the hegemonic discourses which play crucial roles in mobilizing public support and consent in the formation of the projects.

6. 2. 1. 3. 2. Hegemonic Discourses to Mobilize Public Support Through the Construction of the Capacity of Producing Consent

Critical discourse analysis detected the hegemonic discourses on the formation of the projects. Urban field survey investigated further these detections of discourse analysis

through searching to what extent these discourses are adopted by different institutions and social classes. Moreover, field survey also provides an empirical basis to uncover the motivations and expectations of these different institutions and social classes in adopting hegemonic discourses.

Like hegemonic definitions of the project sites, there are also hegemonically produced and disseminated discourses aiming to acquire public support and consent in the formation of the projects. These hegemonic discourses are produced by powerful governmental and business actors, and disseminated to public through mass media tools. In fact, these hegemonic discourses are continuously restated, reemphasized and reiterated through the declarations of these powerful actors. By this way, it is intended to acquire the support of not only local residents but all local public as a whole. Therefore, it is needed to investigate to what extent these discourses are successful in acquiring the support of the people and institutions.

As figures mentioned below display, common hegemonic discourses are adopted by a large majority of local residents and institutions in the formation of NCC project. The findings of both neighborhood and institution questionnaires indicate four major discourses adopted commonly by a wide range of society. These are (1) “the provision of investment and employment”, (2) “the initiation of urban regeneration”, (3) “the increase of property prices” and lastly (4) “the construction of towers, residents and malls”. Most of the institutions and local residents state that “NCC project attracts investment and employment” and therefore “contributes to the growth of local economy”. Moreover they also emphasize “urban regeneration” based discourses and expect that “NCC project will transform the old warehouse site into an attractive space of business towers, luxury residents and shopping malls”.

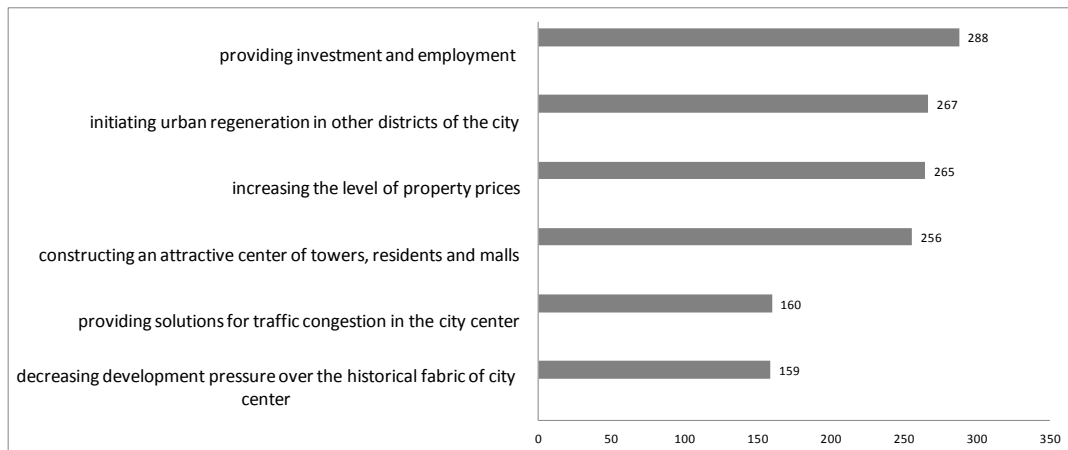


Figure 6.27 The hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent in the formation of NCC project (neighborhood questionnaire, rating)

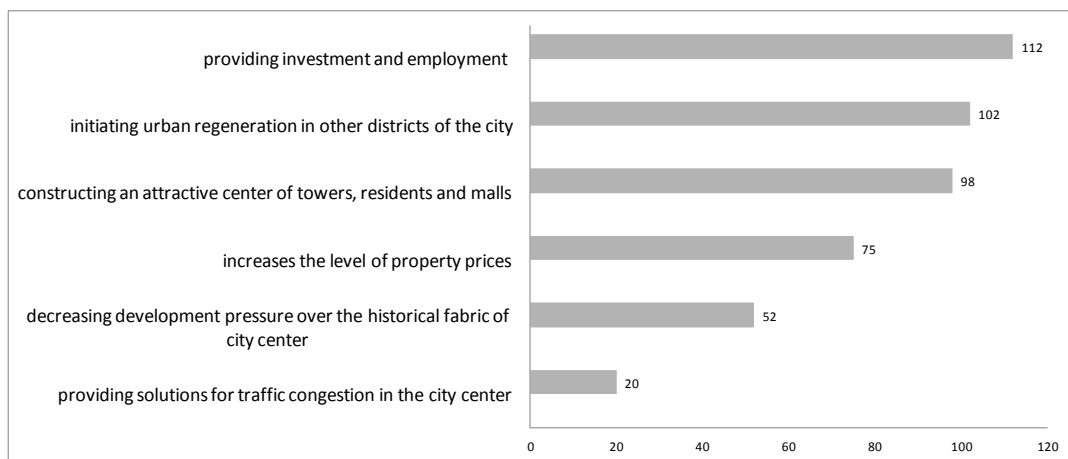


Figure 6.28 The hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent in the formation of NCC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

The figures mentioned above also show that “investment”, “employment”, “economic growth” and “urban regeneration” based predominant discourses have become hegemonic discourses since they have been shared commonly by most of the institutions and people as the discursive base of widespread public opinion. Like NCC project, İTC project is also politically-ideologically constructed by some hegemonic discourses of governmental decision-makers and local business leaders. The findings of neighborhood and institution questionnaires indicate that most of the institutions and local residents support to the formation of İTC project by arguing that “this tourism development project will transform agriculturally declining and economically valuable İnciraltı into an attractive site of investment and development”. Furthermore they also give an obvious support since they think and view İTC project “as a generator of new employment opportunities”. NCC and İTC

projects are both introduced and presented to public as “an opportunity to overcome the structural problems of local economy like low level of investment and unemployment”. Questionnaires, interviews and observations in the field survey uncovers that the production of space in the formation of the projects is subordinated to an “economic growth” based approach dominating and disseminating an abstract conception of space in Lefebvrian terms.

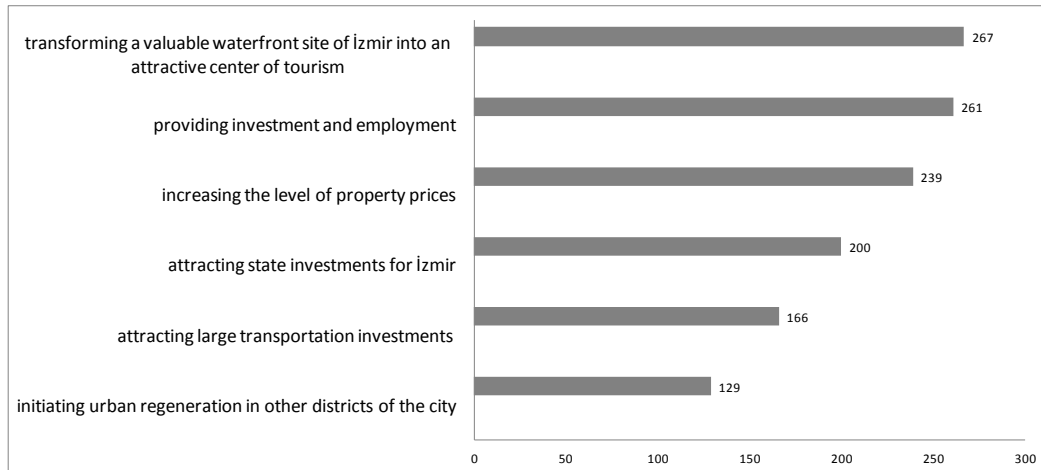


Figure 6.29 The hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent in the formation of ITC project (neighborhood questionnaire, rating)

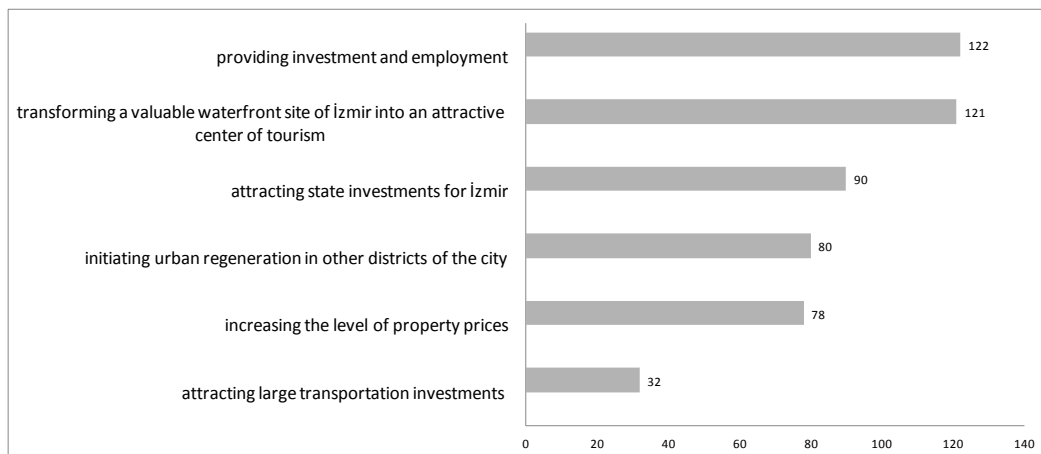


Figure 6.30 The hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support and consent in the formation of ITC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

Hegemonic discourses are also analyzed with reference to different class positions. The cross-tabulation of hegemonic discourses and class positions uncovers that the adoption of hegemonic discourses are not differentiated according to different class positions. As

figures mentioned below indicate, different people from different class positions may adopt different discourses. The class positions of the people do not play a decisive factor in the adoption of hegemonic discourses. Most of the people whatever their class positions state “investment”, “regeneration”, “economic growth” and “tourism development” based discourses to express their support for the projects. This shows that such hegemonic discourses have become common-sense in the formation of the projects and therefore they play a political-ideological superstructural role in dominating and manipulating the formation of public opinion concerning the formation of the projects. Furthermore, we should note that governmental and business actors are politically-ideologically “successful” in shaping and manipulating the formation of public opinion, since a vast majority of the people adopts the hegemonic discourses they produced and disseminated.

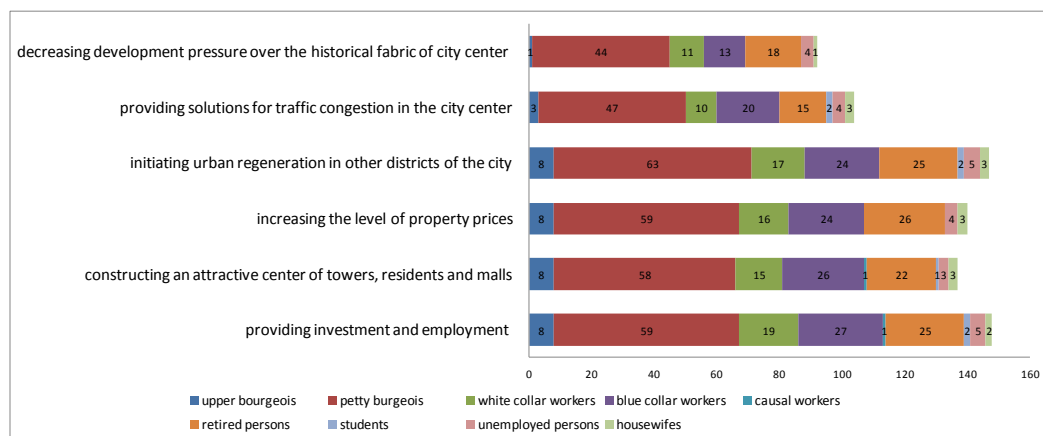


Figure 6.31 The hegemonic discourses in the mobilization of public support to NCC project according to class positions (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

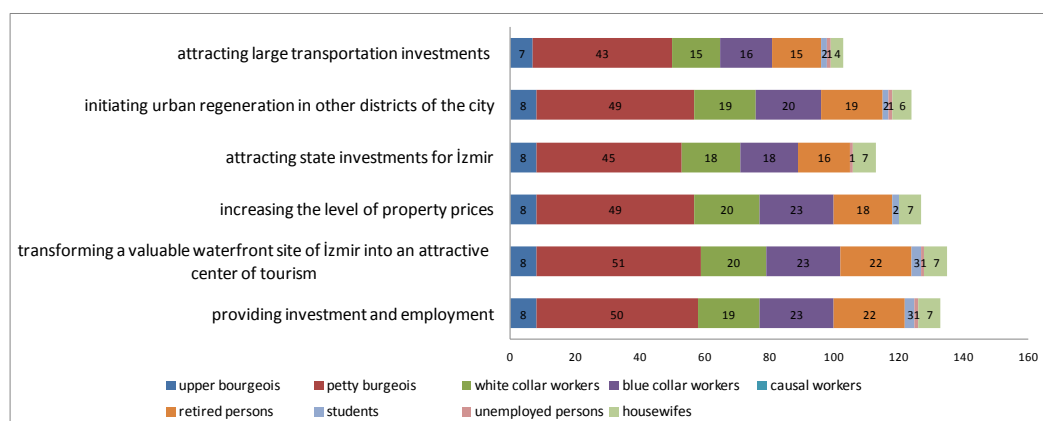


Figure 6.32 The hegemonic discourses in the mobilization of public support to ITC project according to class positions (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

The findings of questionnaires are supported by in-depth interviews. Interview texts mentioned below show that common “investment” and “economic growth” based discourses have constituted a base to mobilize public support in both of the project. For instance investors mention that “their mixed use projects in NCC site will attract million dollars of investment and thousands of new job opportunities for İzmir”. Investors also argue that “such mixed use projects in NCC site including huge office towers, malls and luxury residents will make İzmir a competitive world city at the global scale”. Through analyzing the statements of investors, it could be observed that investors justify their “growth” and “competitiveness” based arguments by emphasizing that “İzmir has lost its competitiveness in the last two decades and it needs to regain competitive power by promoting the development of commerce and service based economic sectors”. According to investors, “NCC project is the key flagship urban regeneration project to initiate and promote the development of commerce and service based economic sectors in the city”.

Not only investors but a variety of local actors produce and disseminate such “growth” and “competitiveness” based hegemonic discourses and arguments in the formation of NCC project. For instance; politicians and bureaucrats from local governments, academicians from universities, architectures and city planners from chambers all emphasize the key role of NCC project in promoting İzmir’s local economic development. Different local actors propounds different but supporting arguments in the formation of NCC project. For instance, chambers (affiliated to UCTEA) and universities supported NCC project through stating that “project overcomes the problems of the growth of existing city center”. However; governmental, business and other non-governmental actors (including chambers and universities) as a whole share a common-sense view supporting to the formation of NCC project. It could also be noted that through this politically-ideologically constructed supportive views investors in NCC site present and dominate their particular interests as the interests of whole local public.

İzmir Greater Municipality, City Planner 2

“Our aim in NCC project was to create a new urban center for İzmir. As the existing traditional center of the city, Konak and Alsancak districts are no more able to meet the demands of development. But, on the other hand, investors in commerce and service based sectors demand new sites for development. By the project, we directed these demands to NCC site. By this way, we save traditional historical center from development pressure and initiated the creation of a new city center for all the people living in İzmir.”

Investor of NCC site, İŞ GYO Investment Partnership, İzmir Project Officer

“NCC project is a very important project to make İzmir a competitive and entrepreneurial world city. This project is important for not today but for future of the city, because İzmir should be

able to compete with other metropolitan cities of the world... İzmir needs to attract huge investment and to provide new employment opportunities by these urban projects. This is what local development is ! This is how a city become globally competitive."

Investor of NCC site, Tekfen Holding Executive Board Member

"Our project is one of the glamorous ones that will be constructed in NCC site. It provides 250 million dollars investment and 5000 new employment opportunities. We will create a new concept of living and working for the people of İzmir. Projects includes a huge shopping mall, residences with sea view, office blocks and multi functional and smart office blocks... Our projects will be the symbol of modern urban life in İzmir through enriching business and social life in the city. All people living in İzmir will find every facility of urban life including shopping, working, residence, cinema and all sorts of cultural and art facilities within our mixed use project."

İzmir Economy University, Academic Staff

"NCC project is the most important urban development agenda of İzmir. This project will provide İzmir million dollars of investment, new job opportunities, a new and attractive city center... As you know, globalization has brought to the agenda of cities new issues like competitiveness, brand cities and place marketing. İzmir was lacking an attractive urban space to respond such new issues of globalization. But here is NCC project ! This project would provide İzmir new attractive spaces of global competitiveness."

Like NCC project, common "investment", "growth" and "competitiveness" based hegemonic discourses are widespreadly emphasized in the formation of İTC Project. The expressions of the Mayors of İzmir Greater Municipality and Balçova Municipality underline that "İzmir has serious economic problems in terms of investment, employment and trade deficit and these problems could be solved by attracting investments in tourism and service based sectors". For most of the local and central government decision-makers İTC project is the best alternative and opportunity for İzmir to boost the development of tourism in the city. As key decision-makers from local and central governments and local business representatives state "the undeveloped position of İzmir in tourism sector could be changed by implementing such tourism-oriented large projects like İTC" which is expected to construct five star hotels, cure centers, spas and luxury residents.

In analyzing the statements of key decision-makers, it is possible to observe that local and central government decision-makers share a common view and state their similar discourses on the basis of this view. Firstly, they view İzmir as "an uncompetitive and declining local economy lacking the development of tourism potentials" and disseminating this view through public and media declarations. Then, they propose İTC project as "a possible solution to overcome the economy-based problems of all the people living in İzmir". In fact, through such a way of discourse production and dissemination, they make their view predominant in order to mobilize public support and consent in the formation of İTC project. This is an obvious attempt to construct a supportive public opinion for İTC project and it is also observable in the formation of NCC project. Another crucial point that

needs to be underlined for İTC project is EXPO. Governmental and business actors emphasize EXPO as “an essential mega event to attract investments and develop tourism in İnciraltı”. They introduce and present EXPO to local public of İzmir as an “irrefusable opportunity to provide local economic development”.

Mayor of İzmir Greater Municipality

“İzmir cannot use its potentials for growth. I am asking you why? Investment, employment, export all of them are decreasing. Economic indicators clearly show it... Neither industry nor agriculture provide employment. We could not find jobs to our children. Could we !... Okay I ask you then, which sectors under such declining economic conditions provide employment. The answer is clear. It is tourism, commerce and service based sectors. We should develop with such sectors. We can provide new employment by promoting the development of such sectors. This is the only way to generate attractive job opportunities for our young people in İzmir... İTC project is such a project enables İzmir to develop with tourism and service based sectors. It is an irrefusable project for the people of İzmir who want a better future for their city. If it is like that why are there oppositional people struggling against this project? I cannot find any answer... We are planning İTC not for interest groups but for the future generations of İzmir. We want to develop İzmir and make it a competitive world city. Because of this, İTC project is the most crucial one amongst İzmir’s urban development projects.”

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Top Level Bureaucrat 2

“İzmir has not become a leading brand name city in tourism. It could not get high levels of tourism revenue and this has negatively affected its local economy. As Ministry of Culture and Tourism what we want is to provide investment and employment for İzmir though promoting the development of tourism. We care for İzmir and its people !... İTC project is in a key position for the development of tourism in İzmir. We should succeed to implement this project. When it is implemented, you will see how health and congress tourism facilitates would contribute to the development of the city. Only by this way, İzmir would reach its deserved place in tourism.”

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Expert

“With İTC Project five star hotels, cure centers, spas, shopping malls and even residences will be constructed in İnciraltı. These all attract investment and provide employment in tourism and construction sectors. This project I believe has a considerable influence over the local economic development of İzmir... Today look at İzmir ! It has sea, a good sunny climate and beautiful beaches but tourism is not developed in this city. It has remarkable tourism potentials but they are not utilized for the purpose of local economic development... Compare how Antalya took the leading position in tourism while İzmir left behind. In addition, İzmir has serious employment problems. All the stakeholders in the city want employment and development. This development could only be provided by İTC project which mobilize huge tourism investment for the city.”

Mayor of Balçova Municipality

“Today there is little investment and employment and trade deficit is continuously increasing in İzmir. İTC project can solve such problems of local economy because everybody knows it will attract million dollars of investment and thousands of new employment opportunities. We expect also it will contribute to the decreasing of trade deficit by attracting foreign currency from tourists... Because this project promote investors, İzmir need it to solve its economic and social problems. It is very clear. Anybody cannot ignore !... But if you say we should make agriculture here, then you fall behind the leading developed economies of the world.”

İzmir Chamber of Commerce, Consultant of Urban Affairs

“As the leading chamber of İzmir, our expectation from İTC project is a visionary one. We want İzmir to develop as a leading center of commerce, tourism and culture within the eastern Mediterranean. But we could not realize this development vision because the city does not have attractive spaces for large tourism investments. İnciraltı should be used for this purpose of large tourism investments ! It may play a very crucial role in realizing this vision of the city... Some civil society organizations and their members claim that İnciraltı is an agriculture site. How they claim it I cannot believe ! There is not any agriculture site just eight kilometer away from the center of any city in developed countries of the world. Their claim is bullshit !... İnciraltı is a potentially important area with which İzmir may enhance its attractiveness in terms of global competitiveness. EXPO fair site should be located in İnciraltı. Long ago we insisted that İnciraltı

should be planned with the purpose of EXPO because we know EXPO provides benefits for all of the people living in İzmir.”

Critical discourse analysis and the findings of questionnaires and in-depth interviews they all indicate the fact that predominant discourses of powerful governmental and business actors have constituted a hegemonic power over the definition of urban planning priorities in the project sites. As research findings show, “economic growth”, “investment” and “employment” are common discursive bases of hegemonic discourses in both of the projects. Through the production and dissemination of hegemonic discourses, these projects are presented to public as if they would provide benefits for all of the people living in İzmir. Urban rent based interests of investors in both of the projects are presented to public under the guise of “public interest” and this manipulation of public opinion constitutes the base of hegemony construction in the formation of the projects.

Within the light of the empirical evidence, this thesis asserts that powerful governmental and business actors intend to construct a **“capacity to produce consent” (CPC)** by producing, disseminating and dominating hegemonic discourses in the formation of the project. This politically-ideologically constructed capacity focuses on the mobilization of public support and consent in the formation of the projects and plays role in redefining the priorities of urban planning and policy. The construction of each capacities of producing consent (CsPC) for each project may vary according to different actors involved; but the common basis of each CsPC is that they are embodied by the hegemonic discourses of powerful capitalist actors in the formation of the projects. In addition, another important common base of CsPC is that they all aim to mobilize public support and consent through redefining the priorities of urban planning and policy. There are differences and common bases in the construction of CsPC.

Field survey provides a comparative and comprehensive investigation on the construction of the CsPC of both NCC and İTC projects. It is possible to draw one major conclusion from the findings of field survey that each CPC of each project attempts to construct a common-sense view concerning the formation of the project and it is aimed to make dominant this common-sense perception as the widespread public opinion in the formation of the project. By this politically-ideologically constructed way, capitalist actors acquire the support and consent of large segments of society and therefore constituted a hegemonic power over the definitions of urban political priorities. However, this general conclusion

still needs to be investigated further to reveal different types of giving support to the formation of the projects. Different local residents tend to declare their support for the projects through different motivations, expectations and behaviors. They do not show a common behavioral type of mobilizing their consent; but rather there are different behaviors motivating local residents differently in expressing their thoughts and views concerning the formation of the project.

The findings of in-depth interview uncover two major behavioral types of mobilizing consent in this respect. The first is “**active consent**”. Local residents obviously stating their support to the project without any hesitation and frequently using “investment” “employment” and growth” based discourses in their expressions could be categorized within the “active consent”. In-depth interviews indicate that these local residents, who actively support to the formation of the project, are embracing hegemonic discourses and reproducing them by expressing their views. Most of the active supporters of the projects are property owners and living in the project sites and they think that “projects provide benefits for all of the people living in İzmir”. Moreover, they tend to become organized through establishing associations and pursue all the news from media sources concerning the formation of the projects. In addition, observations in the field survey also show that people living in İTC project site are more tended to have “active consent” than the people living in NCC site. Some typical expressions of stating active consent are reflected with the interview texts mentioned below.

Property Owner Household at Ege Neighborhood

“I read from newspapers. There are large investors and they are planning to construct shopping malls, office towers and luxury residences with NCC project... Please remember previous periods in 1960s and 1970s, İzmir had attracted a huge migration from rural areas. Because there was employment opportunities in these times. When people migrated to İzmir they were able to find jobs. There was bread to eat for everyone... Today there are no new job opportunities, no bread for young people of İzmir. My son is unemployed... But we believe that NCC project will provide new job opportunities for people. It will also attract investment. In the construction and operation of these investments, labor will be demanded, thus new jobs will be available... All the people living in İzmir should support to the formation of NCC project because directly or indirectly everybody will benefit from this project.”

Property Owner Household at Bahçeleraşısı Neighborhood

“Administrators of this city declared that İnciraltı should be planned with EXPO. We did not oppose this view. If İzmir will economically develop with EXPO based development of İnciraltı, why we say no to this... We think that with this project an attractive tourism space will be produced... İTC project should be thought not only as a local issue but also as a national tourism project like Antalya Belek to obtain million dollars of tourism revenue.”

“Now we see that İTC Project will mobilize the resources for the development of tourism. Through the implementation of the project, new employment opportunities are provided in construction sector. After the completion of constructions, touristic facilities will demand further labor power. I mean the project will continuously generate new employment... on the other

side, when consumption increases with touristic facilities and malls here, this will enhance the capital accumulation of investors. Increased accumulation means higher level of investment in other spaces and sectors. In brief, economy will be revitalized with this projects... The most important thing for us is that we will be get rid of living in this rubbish environment in İnciraltı. İnciraltı will become a beautiful and attractive space to live with this project. We comprehend in the planning process that we need to organized our power by establishing an association with which we aim to defend our interests in the negotiations with the Ministry”

The second behavioral type of mobilizing consent is “**passive consent**” which means low level of awareness and passive support of the people concerning the formation of the project. People having a passive consent for the project do not embrace and reproduce hegemonic discourses and they have a very low level of information for the project. These uninformed people do not tend to become organized to defend their interests in the formation of the project. In the field survey, it is observed that most of the people having passive consent for the project are tenants and low-educated, low-income people. Furthermore, in expressing their views for the projects these people emphasize their daily lives and survival strategies as reactions to project. However, although they do not actively support to the project, their tendency to cooperate with active supporters is high and therefore it could be expected that people having active and passive consent may act and decide together under any condition of decision-taking in the implementation of the project. Some typical expressions of “passive consent” are cited by the interview texts mentioned below.

Tenant Household at Ege Neighborhood

“I know NCC Project from a few declarations of Mayor. Indeed I have very limited information on the formation of the project. I just saw some newspaper news and articles concerning the NCC project. But mukhtar and the head of our association have more information. Go and speak with them ! To be honest, I do not even mind how the project has been formed. We just want to learn how it affects our daily life here. Just that ! But as I said, leading people of neighborhood community paid particular attention to this project and they tell us some possible outcomes of the project. They say that we will not be disadvantaged from the implementation of the project. We used to believe them and we also respect to our Greater Municipality.”

“What does it matter if NCC project attracts investments and provides employment. I am not interested because I will neither work nor live in these new spaces of NCC site. So I don’t mind it !... If you want to learn our neighborhood’s view, I recommend you to talk with mukhtar and association. They consider and defend the interests of our neighborhood and we trust them. But we also respect to İzmir Greater Municipality. Until know they do not make anything wrong to us... There is no need to learn extra information on NCC project since mukhtars and our association provide us the necessary information”

Tenant Workplace at Korutürk Neighborhood

“İnciraltı is not a place that I used to go frequently. I heard something from my friends and read a few news from newspapers. It is said that there will be EXPO in İnciraltı and this will provide investment, employment and tourism development. Of course we want such things for the development of İzmir... But I have very limited information on İTC project. I did not actively involved to public meetings... I just made some daily talks with the people living in our neighborhood and saw two or three news. These are the only sources of my very limited base of information. Therefore, I could not say you that I support or oppose İTC project. Because I do not have adequate and detailed information to make such an assessment.”

This part of case study chapter underlines three major findings of urban field survey. Firstly, governmental decision-makers do not have any problem in mobilizing the support of local residents. Most of the people living in the project site actively or passively consent to the formation of the project. Secondly, these local residents adopt and reproduce “investment”, “regeneration”, “economic growth” and “tourism development” based hegemonic discourses in expressing their support to the projects. These hegemonic discourses have become common-sense in the formation of the projects and therefore they play a political-ideological superstructural role in dominating and manipulating the formation of public opinion concerning the formation of the projects. Lastly, all findings of empirical evidence until this part indicate that a **“capacity to produce consent”** (CPC) is politically-ideological constructed by producing, disseminating and dominating hegemonic discourses in the formation of the project. Powerful governmental and business actors play crucial roles in the constructing of CPC which attempt to construct a hegemonic power over the definition of urban political priorities. The following part will comparatively elaborate through which mechanisms the CsPC are constructed in both of the projects.

6. 2. 1. 4 The Dissemination of Hegemonic Discourses and the Construction of Public Opinion

Hegemonic discourses are produced and reproduced by powerful governmental and investor-business actors in the formation of the project and they are successful in acquiring public support and consent. However one question still needs to be answered. Through which mechanisms these hegemonic discourses are disseminated ? This part elaborates on the answering of this major research question by reflecting the evidences of questionnaire and interviews.

The findings of neighborhood questionnaire indicate that there are two common sources of disseminating hegemonic discourses. As the first and most important source, news and articles in mass media tools are stated by most of the people as common and influential mechanism in realizing and perceiving hegemonically produced discourses of the projects. Secondly, the declarations of powerful governmental and business actors reflected in these news constitute another crucial source in the dissemination of hegemonic discourses. The declarations of İzmir Greater Municipality and large construction companies have become prominent mechanisms in dominating and manipulating the views of the people in the

formation of NCC project. On the other side; the declarations of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and İzmir Greater Municipality together have leading roles in shaping and manipulating the formation of public opinion in the formation of ITC project.

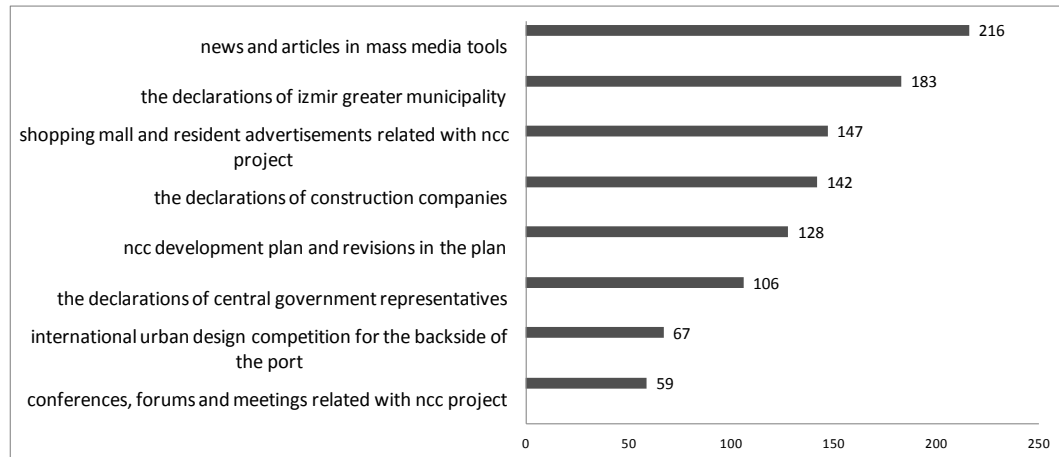


Figure 6.33 Influential mechanisms in the dissemination of hegemonic discourses (neighborhood questionnaire, rating)

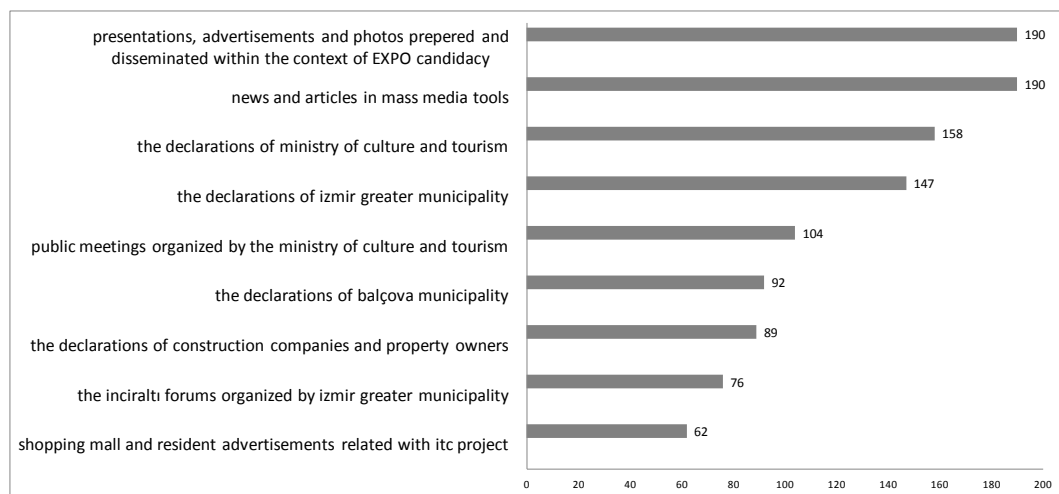


Figure 6.34 Influential mechanisms in the dissemination of hegemonic discourses (neighborhood questionnaire, rating)

Critical discourse analysis and in-depth interviews also reveal that the number and the intensity of such declarations of governmental decision-makers and business leaders increase after the preparation of related development plans and also after any judiciary actions against these plans. In other words; mayors, ministries, some top level bureaucrats and leading investors and business leaders prefer to manipulate public opinion after the preparation of development plans. If any oppositional actor against the project bring

judiciary action for the cancel of the plan, such leading actors again start to dominate mass media tools through disseminating their declarations and discourses. When they declare their views, such actors concentrate to constitute and shape a supportive public opinion for the projects. Interviews texts mentioned below show how governmental and business actors use mass media tools to express and disseminate their declarations and discourses in the formation of NCC project. Interview texts also reveal that media institutions have become the key mechanism of dominating and manipulating public opinion through constructing the CPC (capacity of producing consent).

Aegean Economic Development Foundation, Administrative Board Member

What we did with the new city center project was as follows: there was a fury once the court case on the development plan was cancelled. Investors uproared and they were right. Some say they had already started implementing their investments, some say they gave up on investing in Izmir. We are making press releases in order to build a consensus over the project and to inform the public on how much the court case has damaged Izmir. A group of bodies including non-governmental organizations like us, local administrators, investors, local businessmen are all together making press releases along a common framework. We are stating that investments should not be cut-out of Izmir with court cases like these, and that this does harm to the city by blocking thousand of new jobs. We're trying to inform our citizens with press releases, which appear in newspapers, local tv channels. And I think it makes an impact. The public opinion is unified around a view and support to the project increases.

Yeni Asır Newspaper, News Chief

As I have said, the new city center project is important for some groups who declare themselves as the investors of the city. They have always make such declarations to our newspaper. We have set-up a platform to reflect their ideas... We interviewed the heads of Izmir Greater Municipality and Izmir Chamber of Commerce, as the project started and the plans were going through approval and court cases were being brought against plans. They stated the benefits of the project to Izmir and its development. These interviews increased the level of awareness of the public for the new city center project, which is our duty as a media institution. We are responsible with enlightening the public and to show them what is right.

Besides common influential mechanisms, there are also different influential mechanisms of disseminating hegemonic discourses specific to each project. For instance; the findings of neighborhood questionnaire and interviews reveal that some advertisements of shopping malls, office towers and luxury residents, which are expected to be constructed in NCC site, have become a very influential mechanism in dominating hegemonic discourses like "investment", "employment", "regeneration" and "quality of life". During the interviews in field survey, most of the people state that "they realized NCC project after seeing such advertisements". Furthermore they also state that "they decide to support to the formation of NCC project after noticing these advertisements" and furthermore it is also understood that their perception on the formation of NCC project have been manipulated through the images, themes and messages these advertisements disseminate. One of the most advertised resident tower project, located in the NCC site and named Folkart Towers, is mentioned below.



Figure 6.35 An imaginative view of Folkart towers project being constructed in NCC site

(Source: <http://www.folkarttowers.com/>)

Interview texts unveil that the vast majority of local residents become aware of NCC project after noticing the advertisements of Folkart Towers. This advertisement of huge office and resident towers take place almost in all media sources and gives rises to the shaping of supportive public opinion for NCC project. Hegemonic discourses that decision-makers and business leaders produce and reproduce are disseminated by such advertisements through dominating and manipulating themes and concepts like “investment”, “quality of life” and “an attractive center of shopping, working and living”. It could also be underlined that such advertisements disseminate an ideologically-constructed message claiming that “all of the people living in İzmir have opportunity to benefit from these residences and malls that are constructed in NCC site”.

Mukhtar of Bayraklı Neighborhood

“There are five or six big investors that have acquired licenses and started construction at the new city center site. One of them is the Folkart towers, which airs commercials on every tv channel, you may have seen. Bayraklı, which has been unknown for 50 years has come to be known due to Folkart. People say, “great, our houses and land will gain economic value”, they say “Folkart is going to create a prestigious, elite living environment”. This is the general opinion. The fact that the Folkart towers project is widely covered by the media also increases awareness of and support to the new city center project.”

Investor of NCC, Folkart Towers Project Officer

“Folkart Towers have profound effects on the city-wide and nation-wide recognition of the new city center project. We have advertisements in newspaper, local televisions and billboards. Everybody in İzmir see these advertisements and know us very well. With Folkart Tower project, we provide a sporty, healthy lifestyle, a landscape, a sea-side living and working opportunity all together in the new city center site of İzmir. What more could there be... and with our project, the awareness of and support to the NCC project has raised significantly. People say that we increase the quality of life in the city, we bring value to it and we help it develop. Such comments of the people make us happy.”

Yeni Asır Newspaper, News Chief

“There is huge interest in the new shopping mall and residence commercials. When a court case has been brought against the new city center project, people are generally of the opinion “who would object to the building of these beautiful, modern buildings?”. I could say that in building the supportive public opinion towards the NCC project, the Folkart’s, Megapol’s and İŞ-GYO’s advertisements of shopping malls, offices and residences have an effect as much as the statements of Mayor of İzmir Greater Municipality.”

The other project specific influential mechanism of disseminating hegemonic discourses is EXPO. The large part of İTC project site is determined two times as EXPO fair site in the process of İzmir’s EXPO 2015 and 2020 candidacies. Although İzmir lost the competition to host EXPO 2015 event, it is declared as EXPO 2020 candidacy of Turkey again by the central government. Central and local government actors, local business associations and EXPO İzmir Steering Committee (established as a public-private partnership) all presented EXPO as “an irrefusable mega event to attract investment and tourism development”. It is mostly declared by such powerful governmental and investor-business actors that “EXPO will boost the development of local economy” and provide “spill-over effects” for different people through “creating new employment opportunities in tourism-based sectors”. Such EXPO-based hegemonic discourses and some presentations, advertisements and imaginative views prepared within the EXPO candidacy process have all shaped a supportive public opinion for İTC project. One of the imaginative view of EXPO fair site is mentioned below.



Figure 6.36 An imaginative view of EXPO Fair Site planned to be located in Inciraltı Waterfront

(Source: <http://www.expoizmir.org.tr/>)

The critical analysis of discourses and interview texts point out that EXPO is utilized as a strategy to facilitate and accelerate the implementation of İTC project. Since 2007, designing EXPO fair site in Inciraltı waterfront have become the main target of İTC project and through presenting this target as the common base of “public interest”, it is intended

to mobilize public support and consent for İTC project. As interviewees expressed, governmental decision-makers and local business leaders intend to mobilize public support for İTC project through forming the project with an EXPO-based strategy.

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Assistant Expert

"It was claimed that EXPO would bring İzmir millions dollars of investment, tourism income and thousands of new job opportunities. These claims were made in order to increase public support towards İTC project. This was achieved jointly by the İzmir Greater Municipality, the ministry and local capital owners, via using the media power. It was an important strategy to mention EXPO together with the İTC project in any mass communication platform. It was an important strategy in order to gain support of different social groups."

Chamber of City Planners, The Head of Central Office

"In fact, property owners in İnciraltı do not care about EXPO today. But then, why is EXPO in the agenda of İTC project. The reason is as follows: EXPO was put forward so that the İTC project receives support from different social groups. EXPO has been used as an opportunity to initiate development in İnciraltı and it is still being used so... They aimed to promote EXPO as an activity in favor of the public and by this way they want to eliminate the opposition of chambers. This is the reason behind the efforts that determined İnciraltı as EXPO fair site.

Interviews texts also reveal that media institutions plays a very influential role in constructing a supportive public opinion for the projects. Powerful capitalist actors behind the formation of the projects utilize mass media tools of media institutions to dominate a political-ideological power over the formation of common-sense opinion. This public opinion building role of media institutions could be observed more in the formation of İTC project. The domination-manipulation of public opinion in İTC project is constituted through putting a pressure over the formation of oppositional-counter views against the project. Some newspaper clippings reflecting this pressure is mentioned below.



Figure 6.37 Newspaper clippings reflecting the pressure over the formation of oppositional-counter views against İTC project (Source: TMMOB, ŞPO İzmir Şubesi Arşivi)

In this process of public opinion building; the supportive views of governmental and business actors are frequently reflected in the news, however the oppositional views of chambers and environmentalist NGOs against the formation of İTC project are restricted in these news. As the head of local branch of the Chambers of City Planners properly states “the coalition of governmental and business actors behind the İTC project actively utilizes media to shape, dominate and manipulate a supportive public opinion for the project”. Mainstream media institutions and most of the local newspapers make news by restricting and manipulating the views of oppositional actors. For instance, it is observed that most of the media institutions conceal the scientific and occupational justifications behind the judiciary action against the İTC plans. There are ecological and urban planning based reasons behind the opposition of chambers against İTC project, but most of the media institutions do not adequately and correctly mention them in the news. Through making such a manipulation, the scientific basis of oppositional actions against İTC project is concealed from the local public of İzmir. According to oppositional actors, “powerful state and capital forces behind the İTC project aims to persuade us by manipulating public opinion and applying a pressure over our oppositional-counter thoughts and views concerning the formation of İTC project”. Some interview texts, taken from the deciphered voice records, reflect how media institutions play a key role in the domination and manipulation of public opinion in the formation of İTC Project.

Chamber of City Planners, The Head of İzmir Branch

“The media power is important. Coalitions behind these project actively use the media to shape the public opinion. And in this way, they build up support for projects. For instance, they ask chamber for opinion on the İTC project, and they barely publish twenty percent of the opinions that I have expressed. On the other hand, the statements from the minister, mayor and local business leaders are published word-by-word. They would like to shape the public opinion with the statements of these powerful stakeholders, meanwhile, they pick and choose our statements into news that mislead the public opinion.”

Chamber of Architectures, The Head of İzmir Branch

“It is of critical importance to have hold of media power. In the İTC Project the ministry and some local business associations are aiming to mobilize the consent of different social groups. And they use the media power to target and pressure disapproving groups like us. They channel public reaction towards us with the news that they make. They would like us to give up on the court case we have brought against İTC project. They are trying to build public pressure on us.”

Yeni Asır Newspaper, News Chief

“When İTC environmental plan has been cancelled as a result of the court case, the important political and business figures in İzmir would like to express their opinion on this issue. They call us and we interview them, which helps to build a public opinion... People react when our interviews inform them that the accusers in the case have blocked investment and employment. They see the truth. We are the media, our job is to show the truth. If there are groups that cause İzmir millions of dollars loss, groups that block the city from becoming a world-leader in tourism or a brand city, then we will make news out of reaction to these groups. This is not unobjective journalism, everything is clear and objective... We will tell the public how much cost the opponents of the İTC project have caused.”

Cumhuriyet Newspaper, The Journalist of İzmir Bureau

“They make news claiming “the chamber of city planners is against EXPO”. But they do not give the scientific justification of their opposition in the news. So they target the chamber. Is this objective journalism?... This is an obvious theatre act on stage. Groups that are in political and economic expectation out of the ITC project have joined forces to make news publishing along their opinions. They are trying to build a public opinion in support of the ITC project... Most of the mainstream media and local newspapers in Izmir make such kind of news, with which the opponents of the ITC project are targeted... The supporters of the project have media power.”

As the previous part of the case study chapter asserted, the capacity of producing consent (CPC) is constructed by powerful governmental and business actors who develop cooperative-collaborative relations in the formation of each project. It is intended to use this politically-ideologically constructed capacities to mobilize public support and consent for the projects. The core of each CsPC (capacities of producing consent) is constituted by the hegemonic discourses, definitions and declarations of powerful governmental and business actors. However, actually existing mechanisms behind the construction of these CsPC were undiscovered until this part.

This part of case study chapter investigated the mechanisms behind the dissemination of hegemonic discourses. It is revealed that the mechanisms of mass media play a crucial role in both disseminating hegemonic discourses and constructing a supportive public opinion for the projects. In other words, the CsPC have been constructed by the mechanisms of mass media. Particularly in the formation of ITC project, mass media tools have become the platform of political-ideological struggle between the predominant-supporter view (of governmental and business actors) and oppositional-counters view (of chambers affiliated to UCTEA and some other NGOs). However, it could be stated that predominant-supporter views have more advantages in manipulating the shaping of public opinion since they dominate and command most of the mass media institutions. The following part concentrates on the question which social groups the CsPC target to persuade in the formation of the projects.

6. 2. 1. 5 The Targeted Actors in the Mobilization of Consent

Hegemonic discourses, their producers and disseminators and the level their adoption by local residents are revealed by the findings of field survey. However, another crucial research question still needs to be answered. Hegemonic discourses of powerful governmental and business actors target to mobilize the consent of which social groups in the formation of the project? In other words, the CsPC (capacities of producing consent) essentially concentrate to mobilize the consent of which actors in the formation of the

projects. It is an obvious fact that the general target of hegemonic discourses (produced, reproduced and disseminated with NCC and ITC projects) is local public of İzmir as a whole. However, the findings of field survey reveal that there are particularly targeted actors in the acquiring of consent for the projects.

The findings of institution questionnaire show that CsPC of NCC and ITC projects primarily target to take active support of oppositional actors who declared their oppositional-counter views against the projects. Most of the representatives of the institutions think that it is needed to cooperate-collaborate with oppositional actors in the formation of the projects since they may constitute a powerful base of opposition through obstructing the implementation of the projects. As figures mentioned below indicate, actors who declared their oppositional views and brought judiciary action for the cancel of projects are stated mostly by the representatives of institutions to cooperate for the formation of projects. For instance, a group of local politicians (consisted of ex-Mayor of Greater Municipality and a few city councilors) are stated by the majority of the institutions as the most important actor to cooperate for the formation of NCC project.

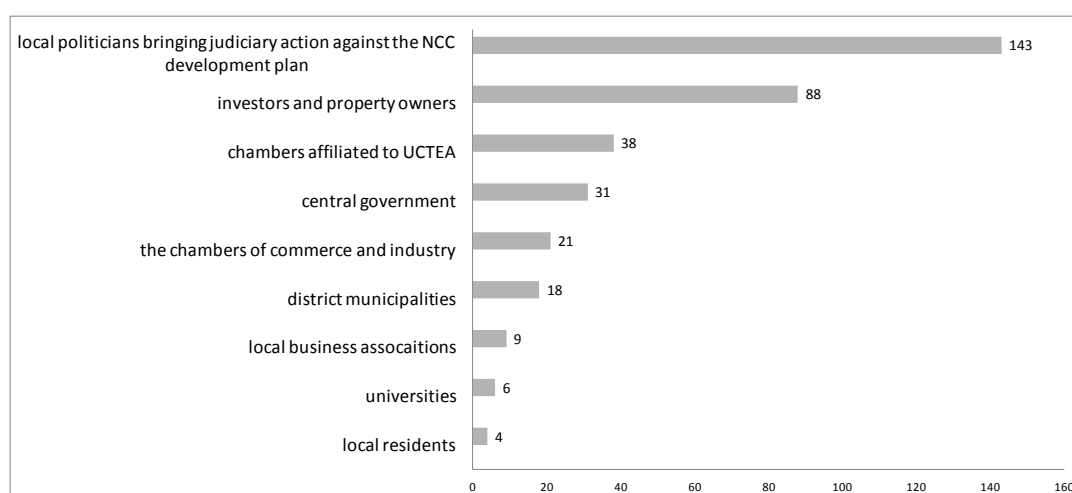


Figure 6.38 The targeted actors to cooperate for the formation of NCC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

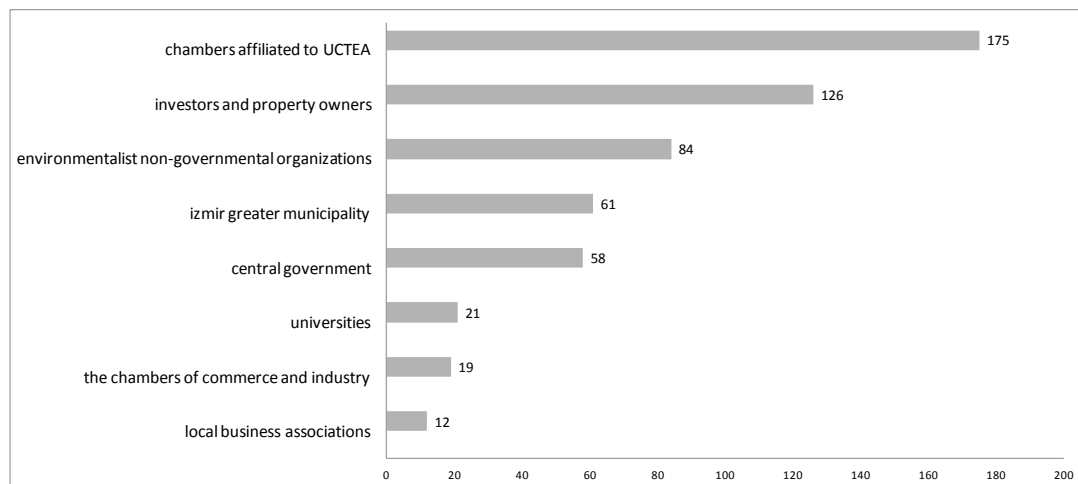


Figure 6.39 The targeted actors to cooperate for the formation of ITC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

Similar with the findings on NCC project, institution questionnaire shows that most of the institutions specify chambers (affiliated to UCTEA) as the primary target with which governmental decision-makers should cooperate in the formation of ITC project. This finding of questionnaire is more significant when we think that chambers constitute a powerful base of struggle against the ITC project through bringing judiciary action for the cancel of ITC development plans. Most of the institutions think that oppositional actors against the project should be incorporated as a partner of governmental decision-makers in the preparation of ITC development plans. However, this cooperation based strategy with oppositional actors could also be viewed as a hegemonically-constructed strategy to absorb and pacify the oppositional power and activity of these counter-oppositional actors.

Parallel with the findings of institution questionnaire, in-depth interview texts provide a rich base of empirical evidence to identify two particularly emphasized major targets in the mobilization of consent. These are (1) “occupational professions” like city planning and architecture and (2) “chambers affiliated to UCTEA”. These actors of civil society are also mostly emphasized targets with which governmental and business actors should cooperate in the preparation of the projects.

Firstly, the efforts and discourses to mobilize the consent of occupational professions are elaborated. In the formation of the projects, decision-makers aims to get the active consent of some occupational professions like city planning and architecture. This target could be

critically reinterpreted, within the framework of thesis, as a serious attempt to extend and strengthen the capacity of producing consent (CPC) for the formation of projects. Through strengthening the CPC, powerful governmental and business actors exert a certain dominance over the priorities and roles of such occupational professions in the formation of the projects. The findings of discourse analysis and interviews indicate that hegemonically-constructed efforts to mobilize active support of such occupational professions could be observed more clearly in the formation of NCC project. For instance, decision-makers in İzmir Greater Municipality agreed to organize an international urban design competition to benefit from the activities of architectures and planners. Furthermore; they also state that “by organizing such a competition in the beginning of NCC project, they also aim to attract and mobilize the active support of city planners and architectures”. In addition to this, there are large investors defining the role of urban planning in NCC project by stating that “city planners should contribute to the project by only finding transportation and traffic solutions for NCC site”. Parallel with such discourses, some academicians emphasize that “the scope, priorities and activities of occupational professions should be determined according to the demands of markets”. All these discourses reflect how powerful governmental and non-governmental actors behind the formation of NCC project exert dominance over the role and the priorities of urban planning. Thesis argues that this politically-ideologically constructed domination is exerted by restricting and redefining the role of urban planning in the formation of NCC project. Thus, activities and discourses to mobilize the consent of such occupational professions (like city planning and architecture) could be understood, from a neo-Gramscian perspective, as a politically-ideologically constructed domination over the role of these occupations in the production of urban space.

İzmir Greater Municipality, Ex-head of the Department of Urban Development

“We organized an urban design competition for NCC Project in order to bring together occupational groups of architects and city planners and to create a discussion environment for such groups. By this way, we have created a channel through which different occupational experts can contribute to the project. This was very good for the future of NCC project... The competition jury was composed of academicians from architecture and city planning departments of universities. Several architects and planners from within and from outside of İzmir have participated. We benefited from their projects, they gave us ideas... People from the occupational fields of architecture and planning supported the project and participated in it. We wanted to give such a message to the public. It was well achieved... People thought that the İzmir Greater Municipality is opening up the NCC project to different ideas from the occupational fields of city planning and architecture”

Investor of NCC site, Megapol Construction Company Executive Board Member

“I would like to see the city planners stating that they agree to the NCC project in principal, but it may create traffic problems, which could be solved in such and such ways. I would like them to make a suggestion... The architect should describe how to design an energy efficient building in

a city center. The civil engineer should bring the technology of earthquake-proof high-rise building... This is how I would like to see science and occupational groups, with me, not against me... I would like to see the occupations of architecture and city planning with me, I would like to work with them in the New City Center project not against me... This should be the role of educated man-power. This is consensus.”

İzmir Economy University, Academic Staff

“The market should be open to the new occupational information and the advancements. Meanwhile occupational training should be responsive to the requirements and dynamics of the market. In the İzmir Economic University we are designing and executing a curriculum along these lines... It is an important and positive development that the New City Center project is being initiated with an international urban design project. I give great importance to the cooperation of decision-makers with occupational groups in architecture and planning. We as architects should be ready to provide our input to the project such as New City Center project, which of important to İzmir’s future.”

Secondly, the evidence of field survey uncovers that governmental decision-makers target to mobilize the consent of chambers in the preparation of related development plans for the projects. In the urban planning system of Turkey, chambers affiliated to UCTEA (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) have certain roles in regulating the scope and the activity of occupational professions like city planning, architecture and engineering. They have also legislatively defined authorities to bring judiciary action for the cancel of the plans which violates the principles of urbanism and planning.

Therefore, chambers have a potential power against any urban development plan and project. Decision-makers in the formation of NCC and İTC projects have tended to cooperate-collaborate with chambers which have important authorities over the regulation of urban development and planning processes. As interview texts identified, İzmir Greater Municipality in NCC project and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in İTC project both aimed to cooperate-collaborate with chambers of city planners and architectures in the preparation of NCC and İTC development plans. İzmir Greater Municipality (İGM) succeeded in constituting such a collaborative relation and worked with the İzmir Branch of the Chambers of Architectures as a key stakeholder in the formation of NCC project. As the interviewees state, “this collaborative relation was a strategically taken decision by the Greater Municipality of İzmir to mobilize the active support and consent of the chambers in İzmir”. In the process of preparing NCC development plan, İGM collaborated not only with chambers but also with city planner academicians from universities. İGM, as the governmental decision-maker of NCC project, attracted and mobilized the support and consent of a key part of civil society in the formation of the project.

İzmir Greater Municipality, Ex-head of the Department of Urban Development

"I originated the idea of collaborating with the Izmir branch of the Chamber of Architectures. I stated to the Mayor that we should build consensus with chambers and local business associations during the development of the plan. I stated that we should call-in all stakeholders of the city. Piriştina approved this proposal. This way we have prevented any court cases from these social groups... If during the development of the plan one can manage to take decisions in consensus with all the stakeholders, then it is much easier to implement that plan... We organized advisory board meetings with these stakeholders. This way we have created an atmosphere of consensus and cooperation at the beginning of the New City Center project. Most important of all, we have prevented chambers to bring judiciary action against the plan."

Bayraklı Municipality, City Planner

"Piriştina took strategic decisions. He appointed an ex-chamber executive as a department chief in the municipality. He recruited the head of Izmir's chamber of architects as a consultant. He always made efforts to act together with chambers of architectures and city planners... He organized an international urban design competition at the beginning of NCC project. This competition was lead by academics in architecture and city planning departments, which enabled their support to the project."

Unlike İGM, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) failed to cooperate-collaborate with chambers in the preparation of İTC development plans. As interview texts mentioned below show, although key decision-makers from central and local governments emphasize that they are ready to collaborate with chambers and universities in the preparation of İTC development plans, this attempt to provide a consensus with these actors has failed. The Mayors of İGM and Balçova Municipality, the Minister and top level bureaucrats from the MCT all emphasize cooperation and collaboration based discourses to construct a consensus with chambers in the formation of İTC project. However, as the empirical evidence show, chambers and universities do not tend to involve any collaborative relation with the MCT in the preparation of İTC development plans. As the head of İzmir Branch of the Chambers of Architectures state "chambers are against EXPO based tourism development approach behind the planning of İTC" and "under these conditions we never participate to the planning of İTC owing to our priorities of public interest and ecological preservation". It could be argued that there is a politically-ideologically motivated struggle between the discourses of governmental decision-makers and chambers in the formation of İTC project.

Mayor of İzmir Greater Municipality

"Mayors have a responsibility of reading into the future of the city. I have a request from academicians, chambers and NGOs. During my term I have proved that I am an environmentalist and a nature protectionist as much as anybody else. I have not distributed rent to anybody. İnciraltı is not planning for rent. In order for Izmir to develop, it is required that İnciraltı is developed through tourism. Do not say that a decision made twenty years ago of conserving İnciraltı as an agricultural site should stay the same. The conditions of twenty years ago and now are different. Academicians, planners and chambers are obliged to reassess İTC plans. Let us build consensus on the planning of İnciraltı, do make a contribution to İnciraltı's development through tourism."

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Top Level Bureaucrat 1

"The representative of the chamber of city planners states that they do not oppose to the planning of this place. We ask for their wider participation in the planning of this area. We invite

them to make a draft plan and bring it to the ministry so that we can discuss it. But do make a contribution, do not just criticize... Let's gather round a table and convince each other, collaborate and let us not block the process. These are the requests we have made to the chambers. We are ready to work with chambers in the preparation of İTC plans. We are ready for their contribution, their solution and their collaboration... But they have never agreed to collaborate. They have criticized from a distance. This is the same as saying: let there be no plan for İnciraltı, let it stay like this, and let tourism halt rather than develop in İzmir."

"In fact, we as the ministry have asked for the universities support in preparation of the İTC plans. We engaged in official correspondence with Dokuz Eylül University and we stated that we would like their input on the planning of İTC. But the academics at DEU reject our call for collaboration... They stated that stand by their years-old opinion on İnciraltı as an agricultural area that needs protection as it is. This was a disappointment for me. The world is changing, Turkey is changing, İzmir is changing, but according to them İnciraltı should not change and stay the same as it is now !"

Chamber of Architectures, The Head of İzmir Branch

"The ministry calls for collaboration on the İTC project. They say that we should contribute to the decisions of building density and land use. But this is not planning. We opposed to the approach of planning in there. For us, a tourism-centered strategy, and EXPO are wrong planning decisions. Hence there can be no consensus in the İTC project... In fact their call for consensus is an approach to prevent us from bringing a court case... We have collaborated in the New City Center project, but that was different. We were involved at the beginning of the process and we shaped the overall planning approach behind the project, we were not forced to adhere to a planning approach that we disapprove, which is exactly what is asked of us in İnciraltı. Hence a consensus is not possible."

Thesis argues that governmental decision-makers target to acquire the active support and consent of chambers in İTC Project since chambers have oppositional views and bring judiciary action against the İTC plans. As a result of these judiciary actions, İTC plans were canceled two times. This power of chambers against İTC project make them potential target for governmental actors to cooperate-collaborate in the preparation of the plans. In one sense, it could be claimed that governmental actors aims to persuade chambers in order to dissuade them from bringing judiciary action against the İTC plans. In other words, governmental actors aim to absorb and pacify the opposition of chambers under the guise of "cooperative-collaborative relations". However, since the opposition of chambers against İTC project has a political-ideological basis, they do not respond positively any consensus based discourse and reject cooperation-collaboration with the MCT in the preparation of İTC development plans.

This part of case study identified "city planners" and "chambers affiliated to UCTEA" as the two major target of governmental decision-makers in the formation of the project. However there is still one important question that still needs to be answered. Through which ways and strategies, these collaborative-cooperative relations are constructed amongst governmental and non-governmental actors in the formation of the projects? The empirical findings on NCC project reveal that international urban design competition and

incorporating chambers as the key stakeholder in the beginning of NCC project provide a successful strategy for İGM to mobilize active consent of city planners and chambers. By this way, İGM succeeded in extending and strengthening the CPC of NCC project, which in the long run facilitated the implementation of NCC project.

On the other side, the MCT has pursued a different and unsuccessful strategy in attempting to collaborate with chambers. As a central government institution, the MCT intended to utilize local government institutions (İGM and Balçova Municipality) as a meditative platform to construct collaborative relations with chambers. As interview texts reveal, since local governments and chambers have common political tendencies, it is viewed by the key officials in the MCT that local governments have the power to persuade chambers in the formation of İTC project. However this strategy to strengthen the CPC of İTC project has also failed since chambers opposed to collaborate with governmental actors in the preparation of İTC development plans.

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Expert

"As I said I believe that chambers need to be convinced regarding the Inciraltı Tourism Center project. The approval of chambers need to be taken, which is mainly a responsibility of the Greater Municipality of Izmir. We have communicated these to them. We have held meetings in Izmir during different phases of İTC project. The municipality also invited chambers to the meetings. They participated. But these acquaintances never turned into a consensus on the preparation of İTC plans."

İzmir Greater Municipality, City Planner 2

"While they were preparing İTC plans at the municipality they called chamber for meetings. All these were efforts to convince the chambers. They saw local governments, which were ruled by the Republican People's Party, as the medium of convincing chambers. They thought that because local governments were dominated by Republican People's Party, they could help in convincing chambers into the İTC plans, but these efforts failed. Because the chambers are opposing the plan on scientific and occupational grounds."

Chamber of City Planners, The Head of Izmir Branch

"Recently the ministry has adopted a different approach. As they see the local governments politically close to the chambers they assign the task of convincing the chamber to local governments... What is aimed here, however, is not a real consensus. What is aimed is to give an impression of collaboration, and to prevent any court-case toward the plans from us. Izmir Greater Municipality and Balçova Municipality are in full consensus with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on the İTC project... But our opposing position is clear and unchanging... Their rhetoric of consensus is not intended for true consensus. The objective is to prevent court cases."

To sum up, there are two particularly targeted actors in the mobilization of consent which are "occupational professions" like city planning and "chambers affiliated to UCTEA". Governmental decision-maker actors intended to strengthen the CsPC of each project through "collaborating-cooperating" with such actors of civil society in the formation of the project. Thesis argues that under the guise of such "collaboration-cooperation" based

relations, powerful governmental actors may exert dominance over the role and priorities of urban planning in the formation of the projects. Furthermore this “cooperation-collaboration” discourses and strategies could also be viewed as a hegemonically-constructed strategy to absorb and pacify the oppositional power of counter-oppositional actors. The findings of field survey reveal the ways, mechanisms, strategies and targets of constructing a CPC in the formation of the projects. One critical question left unanswered. Which kind of coercive mechanisms are used if the CPC have become unsuccessful in mobilizing public support and consent behind the formation of the project? The following part will provide some empirical evidence to discuss the answers of this question.

6. 2. 1. 6 The Views of Different Actors on the Formation of Project-Based Legislative Interventions

The literature review on the politics of UDPs from World and Turkey show that not only hegemonically-constructed discourses and activities but also coercively-dominated state mechanisms like project-based laws play strategic roles in formation and implementation of UDPs. Within the light of theoretical framework and literature review, the initial argument of thesis claimed that coercive-legislative mechanisms of the capitalist state plays a constitutive role in the political construction of UDPs. Therefore; in the urban field survey different views, discourses and tendencies of different institutions and local residents on the formation of project-based legislative interventions are investigated.

Through literature review and critical discourse analysis, it is observed that project-based legislative interventions (new laws, change in the existing laws, decree laws ...etc.) have entered into the agenda of urban politics when the CsPC of the projects have failed to mobilize public support and consent for the projects. In other words, coercive legislative mechanisms are frequently defined and discussed as a solution to implement the projects when political-ideological oppositional views against the projects are powerful and obstruct the implementation of the projects.

In fact, project-based legislative interventions were first used in Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project. To facilitate the formation and implementation of this regeneration project, a project-based law was enacted by the state. After Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project, in the formation of Tarlabası and Haydarpaşa Urban Regeneration Projects several project-based laws were enacted to reorganize the powers of urban

planning and to facilitate the transferring of properties. Moreover, it is also revealed that such project-based legislative interventions provide a legal base to overcome oppositional decisions of different actors against the projects including conservation councils, district municipalities and state councils.

In İzmir, powerful governmental and business actors started to argue and propose project-based legislations as possible mechanisms to facilitate the implementation of NCC and İTC projects in the year 2010. Owing to the several judiciary actions, both of the projects have not been implemented for a long time. Although NCC project was started to be implemented in 2011, there are still judiciary actions of chambers against İTC plans, which preventing the implementation İTC project since 2007. It could also be noted that İTC project has attracted discourses of decision-makers more than NCC project, since NCC project was started to be implemented. In 2011, for instance, just two month before the local elections, a central government representative state that “central government may prepare project-based laws to facilitate the implementation of some urban development projects like EXPO”. Such a declaration uncovers that although governmental and business actors have failed to mobilize the consent of certain oppositional groups, they tend to overcome their opposition through imposing a project-based legislative intervention for İTC project.

The roles of project based legislative interventions in the political construction of NCC and İTC projects are investigated through questionnaires and in-depth interviews with different institutions. As figure mentioned below indicates, a considerable part of surveyed institutions agree that “project-based laws promote investors, bypass judiciary actions and facilitate the implementation of the projects”. Moreover it is also widely agreed that “project-based laws enhance local political power of central government in İzmir and attract more reaction and struggle from oppositional groups against the formation of the projects”. The findings of institution questionnaire show that discourses and attempts to enact project-based legislative interventions in İzmir will probably attract further contrasting and opposing views of different institutional actors.

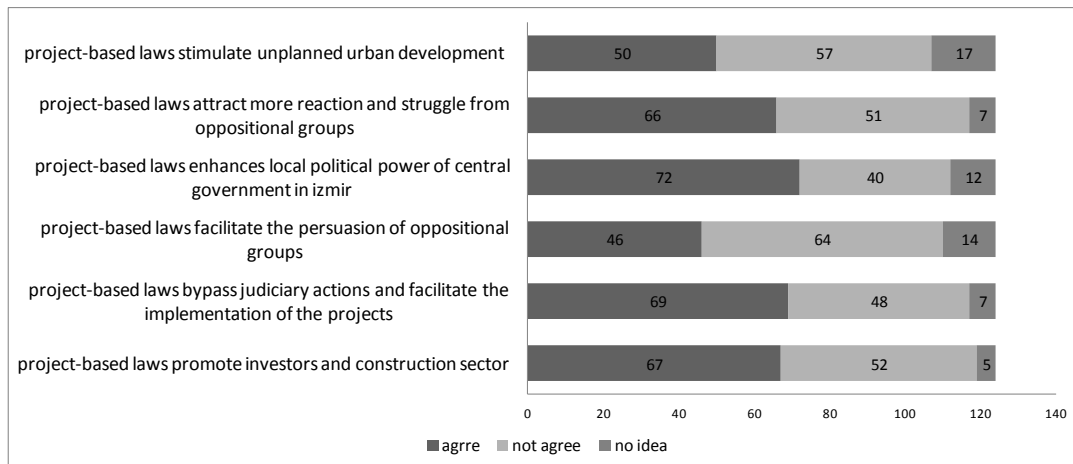


Figure 6.40 The views of institutions on the formation of project-based legislative interventions (institution questionnaire, frequencies)

Furthermore, the views of institutions on project-based legislative interventions differentiate according to the categories of these institutions. As the findings of institution question reveal, almost %80 of local and central governments, investors and local capital organizations have supportive views on the formation of project-based laws. Such governmental and business actors support to the enactment of project-based laws through arguing that “such legislative interventions promote investors, facilitate both the persuasion of oppositional groups and the implementation of the projects”. On the other hand, as figure displays, almost %60 of oppositional views on the project-based laws is consisted of chambers, universities, unions and other non-governmental organizations most of whom also declared their opposition against the formation of ITC project.

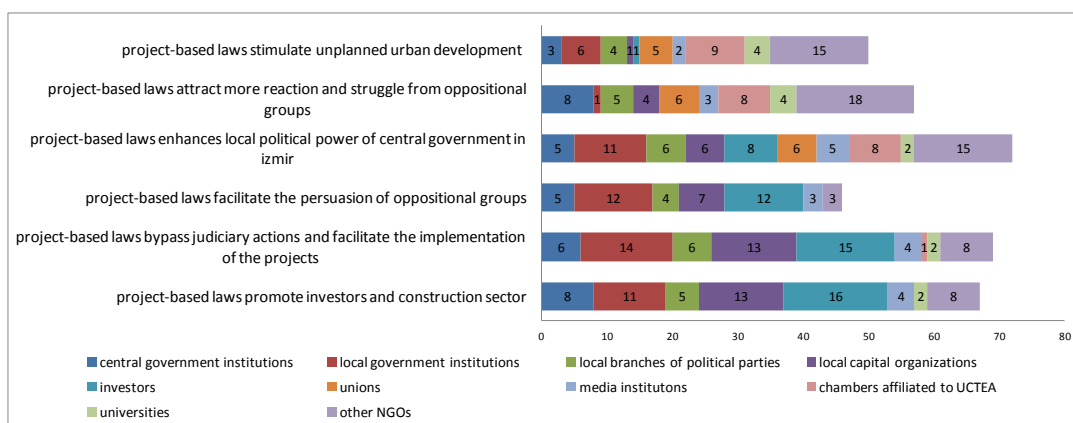


Figure 6.41 The views of institutions on project-based legislative interventions according to the categories of institutions (neighborhood questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

It could also be noted that the findings of institution questionnaire provided very similar findings with neighborhood questionnaire in terms of the relative weight of different views of institutions on the formation of project-based legislative interventions. Moreover, neighborhood questionnaire also reveal that most of the people perceive project-based legislative interventions as an issue specific to the formation of İTC project. Most of the surveyed people from NCC project site having no idea on project-based laws. People living or working in İTC site are more informed and aware of the discussions and discourses on the formation of project-based laws.

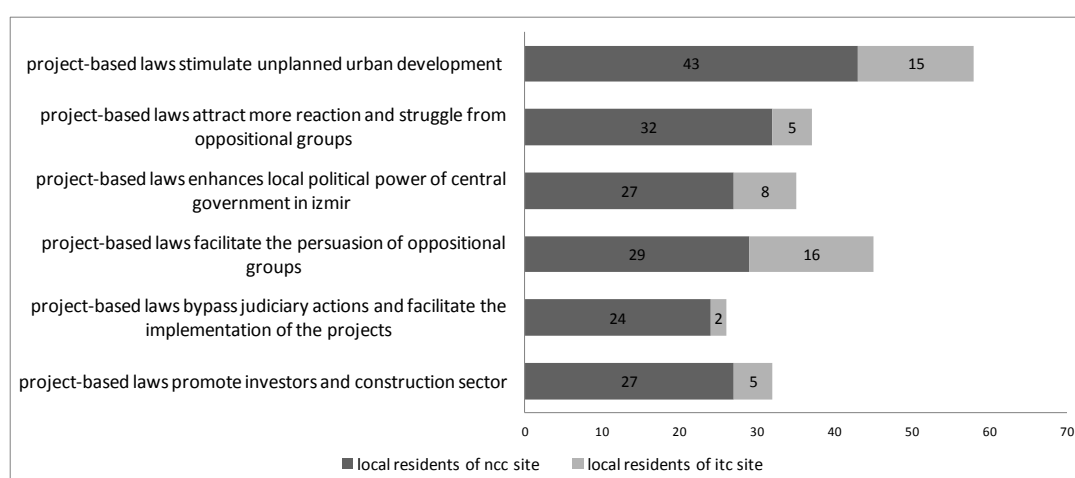


Figure 6.42 The number of local residents having no idea on the formation of project-based legislative interventions (neighborhood questionnaire, frequencies)

The findings of questionnaires are supported and advanced by in-depth interviews. As interview texts show, representatives of different institutions conceive project-based laws as a specific issue for the formation of İTC project in İzmir. There is no evidence of interviews indicating that project-based laws are expected to be enacted for NCC project. The majority of institutions and local residents are of the opinion that central government tends to prepare a project-based law to facilitate the implementation of İTC project. Moreover, in-depth interviews also uncovered that local and central governments, investors and local capital organization all support to the enactment of such an EXPO-project based legislative intervention for the implementation of İTC project. The supporters of EXPO-based legislative intervention argue that “chambers are obstructing the formation of İTC projects through judiciary action” and “because there is no consensus over the formation of İTC Project, a project-based law could provide a coercive base of power for the formation and implementation of İTC Project”.

Mayor of Balçova Municipality

The problems of İTC project could only be overcome by a project-based special law... The ruling political party is very powerful and constitutes the majority of the assembly. Thus, they have power to enact such a special law for İTC project... I don't mention about a consensus but a special law because even if the opponents and proponents of projects fail to achieve a consensus, the İTC project should be realized. That is my belief.

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Expert

"Project-based special law is thought for EXPO. We already have the law for planning of tourism centers thus there is no need a special law for the planning of these centers. But, if İnciraltı is declared as EXPO area then a special law including EXPO can be enacted... Here the aim is to facilitate the planning process of İnciraltı with EXPO."

Investor of İTC site, Nazmi Kürüm Construction Company Executive Board Member

"A special law should be enacted for İTC project. Chambers bring judiciary action against the plans and court decides cancel the plans. As a result the projects are interrupted. The only solution is to enact a special law. For North Ankara and Tarlabası Urban Regeneration Projects they enact such special laws. Then it can be also possible for İTC Project, why not? We support the special law for İTC project. We share this idea to the representatives of central government also. What we expect from an İTC project-based special law is to facilitate the implementation of the project."

There are also oppositional actors against the enactment of ant project-based legislative intervention. As in-depth interviews reveal some non-governmental actors, which are also against the formation of İTC project, argue that "central government aims to enact an EXPO-based law for İTC project in order to bypass judiciary actions of chambers". Oppositional actors state that "project-based laws are utilized to provide exceptional building decisions for the project sites". Furthermore, it is also stated in the interviews that "central government decision-makers tend to use project-based laws to enhance their political power through producing and distributing a huge amount of rent".

Chamber of City Planners, The Head of İzmir Branch

"Whatever thing that is happened to us is the result of special laws. What is a project-based special law? It is an exceptional law for interest groups of the project. They provided exceptionality to some urban regeneration projects like Haydarpaşa, Tarlabası and Northern Ankara with the enactment of such project-based special laws... Such laws undermines the sense of equity and justice in the society. The special law, thought to be enacted for İTC Project, will serve the interest of particular groups supporting to the project. So, they desire and follow this issue. By enacting a special law, they can bring arrangements to do chambers, NGOs out of judiciary action. By doing so, they can remove the authority to bring judiciary action against İTC project. So that they come with a lot of undemocratic privileges. I am exactly against to all special laws since they are used for political issues."

Bar of İzmir, The Member of Urban and Environment Commission

"By enacting a special law, they desire to do chamber and the body of lawyers out of judiciary action. With the use of special laws, projects are exempt from upper scale spatial plans and they provide privileged right of building. In other words, such a situation can bring lawlessness and they use laws as an instrument to distribute rent and increase political power. Do they have the right to do that simply because they form the majority of the assembly?... This is just to cover up urban raid under the name of special law. That is why they want to enact the special law. Expo and tourism are all the camouflages... All the things are obvious. They produce lawlessness, act against public interest and intervene to the operation of legal system. They make all these with special laws."

Counter-oppositional actors against the formation of İTC project underline that “as the evidences on Haydarpaşa and Tarlabası urban regeneration projects show, the main motivation behind enacting a project-based law is to bypass the oppositional activities of counter-oppositional actors”. It is understood that since governmental decision-makers do not provide consensus with oppositional non-governmental actors (like chambers and environmentalist NGOs) in the formation of İTC project, they tend to enact a project-based law to impose a coercive and legally legitimate base of power for the formation of İTC project. In other words, the CPC of İTC project is not strength because there is a powerful and ideologically-motivated opposition of chambers and some NGOs whose active consent could not be acquired by the governmental decision-makers. Since powerful governmental and business actors could not acquire the consent of oppositional actors, the CPC of İTC project have not become strength, rather it remains weak. This thesis argues that owing to the weakness of CPC, powerful actors tend to dominate and impose a coercive and legally legitimate mechanism with a project-based law. However, such a project-based law still remain socially illegitimate since it is not a product of a consensus between different actors of İTC project.

To sum up, this part of case study reveal that the project-based law is conceived as an İTC project-based issue to impose a coercive-legislative mechanism in the absence of consensus and collaboration-cooperation with chambers. In the formation of İTC, although governmental decision makers target to collaborate with chambers, they fail to mobilize the consent of such oppositional groups and do not succeed in collaboration. Therefore, the CPC of İTC project could not be strengthened. In order to overcome the weakness of CPC of İTC project, central government decision-makers tend to prepare an EXPO-based law for İTC project to pacify and bypass the oppositional views and activities of counter-oppositional non-governmental actors. The next part will elaborate the oppositional views and actors against the formation of the projects and shed some light to their motivations, tendencies, discourses and organizations.

6. 2. 2 Counter Discourses, Oppositional Views and Actors

The main focus of empirical research is devoted to the investigation of how public support and consent have been mobilized for the projects. However, the case study of thesis revealed not only supportive views but also oppositional views and counter discourses against the formation of the projects. Urban field survey investigated the motivations,

discourses and organizations of counter-oppositional actors against the formation of the projects and uncovered that most of the local residents living in the project sites support to the formation of the projects. According to the findings of neighborhood questionnaire, only %24 of local residents living in NCC site are opposed to the formation of NCC project. Like NCC project, ITC project attracted very little oppositional view from local residents living in ITC site. Only %15 of local residents declared that they are against the formation of ITC project. Field survey results indicate that governmental and business actors do not have problems in mobilizing active or passive consent of local residents. As questionnaire and interviews show, local residents of project sites do not adopt counter-oppositional discourses, rather their thoughts and opinions have been shaped and manipulated under the political-ideological dominance of hegemonic discourses. In other words, the capacities of producing consent (CsPC) of each project are successfully extended by mobilizing the support of local residents.

Critical discourse analysis revealed the major oppositional discourses against the formation of the projects. Questionnaires investigated to what extent local residents and institutions adopt such oppositional discourses. The findings of institution questionnaire show that ITC project attracted more oppositional views from institutions including chambers (affiliated to UCTEA), universities, environmentalist NGOs and some left-wing political parties. As figures mentioned below display, oppositional discourses against the formation of ITC project have higher ratings than the oppositional discourses against NCC project.

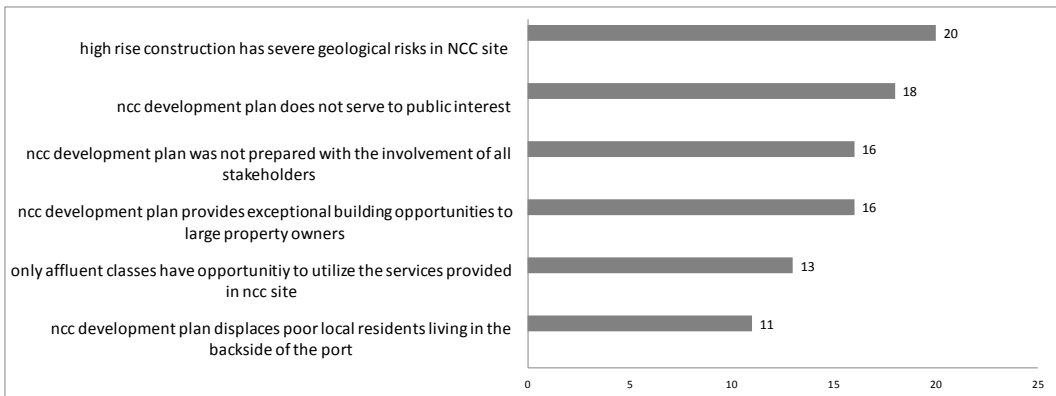


Figure 6.43 The oppositional discourses against the formation of ITC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

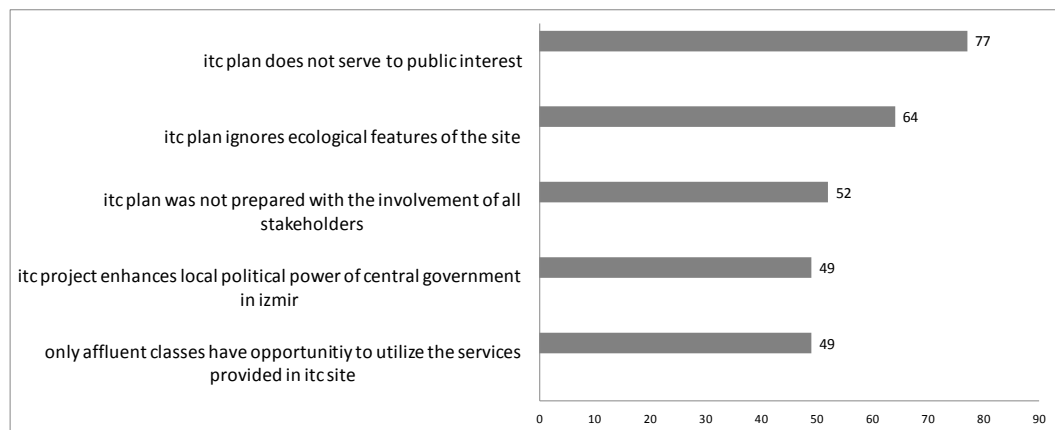


Figure 6.44: The oppositional discourses against the formation of İTC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

There is a small group of oppositional actors making counter arguments against the formation of NCC project. This group is consisted of ex-Mayor of İzmir Greater Municipality and a few city councilors and they argue that “NCC project site has severe geological risks in terms of high rise construction”. Furthermore, they also insisted that “NCC development plan distributes exceptional building opportunities to property owners” and therefore “it does not serve to public interest”. On the basis of these counter arguments, this small oppositional group have brought judiciary action for the cancel of the plan. Although NCC development plan was canceled two times in 2000s, the last revision of the plan was started to be implemented in 2011. It is also observed that this small group of local politicians did not extend and strengthen the base of their opposition through incorporating chambers, universities and NGOs against the formation of NCC project.

On the other hand, unlike NCC project, İTC project attracted a powerful and ideologically-motivated opposition of non-governmental institutions. As figure mentioned below indicate, chambers affiliated to UCTEA play a leading role in the formation of oppositional views against İTC project. This oppositional group against İTC project is consisted of chambers, academicians from universities and some left-wing political parties and environmentalist NGOs. This politically-ideologically motivated oppositional group criticizes İTC development plans on the basis of “public interest”, “planning principles” and “ecological characteristics of the project site”. They argue that “owing to the ecological characteristics of İnciraltı, İTC is not an appropriate location for EXPO fair site”.

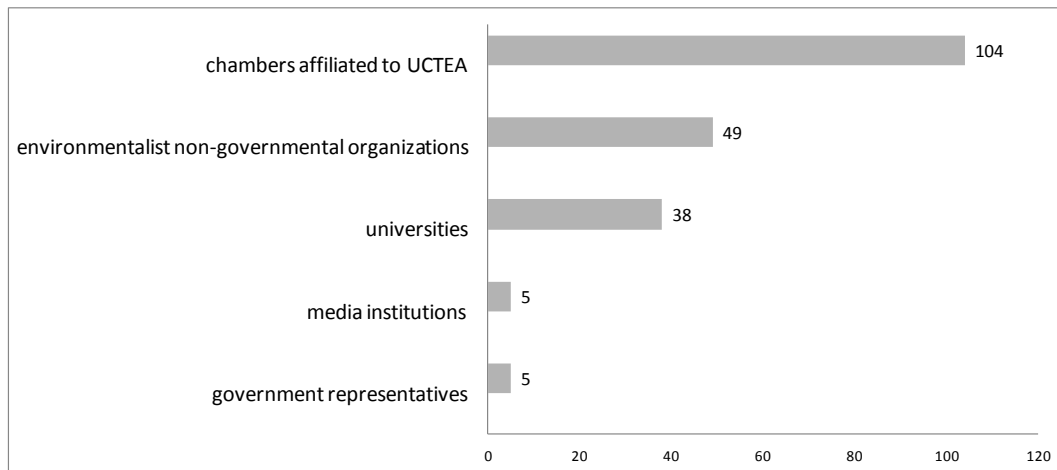


Figure 6.45 The leading actors in formation of oppositional views against İTC project (institution questionnaire, rating)

Oppositional actors make counter arguments against the formation of İTC project. They claim that predominant discourses utilize “local economic development” based discourses like “EXPO”, “health tourism” and “the potential of geothermal resources”. However; such predominant discourses, according to oppositional actors, are not propounded to provide a socially just and spatially sustainable form of local economic development, but rather to stimulate the massive construction of İTC site. Oppositional views emphasize that “tourism and economic development based discourses are declared by powerful governmental and business actors to constitute a socially legitimate basis through which the public support and consent have been mobilized”.

Oppositional actors against the formation of İTC project brought judiciary action to cancel İTC development plans. They won all the cases and İTC development plans were canceled two times in 2000s. As interview texts mentioned below indicate, they express the main reason behind their judiciary actions through arguing that “İTC development plans violate the principles of urbanism and planning and ignore ecological features of the site”. Furthermore, they also underline that “the determination of İnciraltı as a Tourism Center and designing the site as an EXPO location are not decided through considering any scientific criteria”. There are not also any scientific survey on the geothermal potentials of İTC site. This lack of scientific considerations and the violation of the principles of urbanism and planning have constituted the main motivations of politically-ideologically oriented opposition against the formation of İTC project.

Chamber of Architectures, The Head of İzmir Branch

"The ecological quality of İnciraltı has been destroyed consciously. Large tourism investors are directed to this area and small property owners are provoked. All these are performed by state and they constitute a development pressure on İnciraltı... Crown Plaza was constructed through partial plans, the agricultural lands are open to development through public interest decisions and lastly İnciraltı has been declared as EXPO site since 2007. All these are performed under the leadership of central government... Whom are they asking to in performing all these actions? According to which scientific criterion İnciraltı was declared as Tourism Center? And according to which city planning principles İnciraltı was determined as EXPO area? Where is city planning principles? where is public interest?... Political power imposes its own plan and it acts as the single planning authority. This is an undemocratic way of planning !"

"You say we are against the plan. I want to ask you are planning and development the same thing ? What Ministry of Culture and Tourism understand from planning of İTC is to open İnciraltı to development... Planning cannot be reduced to development ! We are not against planning itself; we are against the tourism development oriented planning of İTC site.

Chamber of Geological Engineers, Administrative Board Member

"Every geothermal water is not good for disease so the chemical analysis of the water should be made. İTC plan is based on geothermal tourism but such a chemical analysis was not made. Is the geothermal potential sufficient for bed capacity proposed for İnciraltı? They even did not calculate this... We think that the concepts such as geothermal tourism, health tourism and EXPO are used to develop İnciraltı. All these concepts come to the fore in order to provide public support nothing else."

Dokuz Eylül University, Academic Staff 2

"They want to open İnciraltı to development under the name of investment, employment, EXPO and tourism. Investors and state collaboratively bypassed the decisions of agriculture and conservation for the İTC site... Now, the Ministry says that İTC project provides economic development thus the stakeholders should reach a consensus. This is not a real consensus building. It is just an effort to persuade opponents... Planning should have a role that is not only meet the demands of investors but also preserve long term sources of society. So the plan should preserve long term public resources... I am asking you why there is not an eco-park or an urban agriculture site in İTC project? Such land use decisions could be and all these land uses could also provide local economic development."

Interview texts also unveiled that the oppositional struggle against the formation of İTC project has been formed through the collective, collaborated and coordinated opposition of different actors of civil society including chambers, universities, some political parties and NGOs. Such different actors organize their power and collectively oppose against the formation of İTC project. Chambers affiliated to UCTEA coordinate the formation of oppositional views and lead to the mobilization of counter-oppositional views and activities. Chambers of city planners and architectures have played leading roles in increasing the awareness of different actors of civil society and even in the mobilization of counter-oppositional views and practices of these actors.

Aegean Environment and Culture Platform Association, Member of Association

"Chambers, other environmentalist NGOs, some academicians and representatives from left-wing parties and we all together form oppositional opinions against İTC Project. I told of ecological destruction, shrinking agricultural land to NGOs. Chambers told of lawsuit and give some information about planning. And soon we have become something like a collective body in terms of oppositional opinion... Today, only chambers bring judiciary action against the plan but we support their all oppositional activity. We are against the rent oriented project of the Ministry !"

Bar of İzmir, The Member of Urban and Environment Commission

“When the plans were approved, we hold two or three meetings with chambers, some environmentalist NGOs and left-wing parties. Chamber decided to bring judiciary action against the plan and share their decision with us and we agreed to support their decision because we are against İTC project.”

Freedom and Solidarity Party, Administrative Board Member of İzmir Branch

“Ministry of Culture and Tourism says that İTC plans serve public interest and distribute benefits for all the people living in İzmir... The Mayors of both İzmir Greater Municipality and Balçova Municipality also support the Ministry’s dominant view on İTC project . We certainly oppose this view !. İTC plans do not serve public interest but rather, they serve the interests of landowners, large tourism investors and local business groups and lastly local politicians who aim to get political rent of this development. We see this situation like this. And we form our oppositional opinion in coordination with chambers, İzmir Bar and environmentalist NGOs and inform each other in order to raise awareness. Chambers told us and we declare our support to them. Then we went other left-wing parties and told them. A chain of oppositional view has been organized in this way, it has been expanded and coordinated.”

Oppositional views and actors could also be critically reinterpreted from the perspective of constructing the capacities of producing consent (CsPC) of the projects. Since there is not a powerful political-ideological opposition against the NCC plan, its CPC is relatively more powerful than the CPC of İTC project. On the other side, different actors of civil society, led by the chambers affiliated to UCTEA, declare their counter views and oppose to the formation of İTC project; therefore the CPC of İTC project is not powerful. In other words, governmental decision-maker actors have cooperated-collaborated with chambers in the formation of NCC project, but they fail to provide consensus-based relations with chambers in the formation of İTC project. Thus, the CPC of İTC project is weak when compared to relatively powerful-strength CPC of NCC project, which has been constructed through the consensus amongst governmental and business actors, investors and chambers.

In brief, the counter activities of political-ideological opposition against İTC project undermines a powerful construction of CPC for this project. Governmental decision-makers fail to absorb and pacify the opposition of non-governmental social forces and therefore, the CPC of İTC project is restricted by the politically-ideologically motivated activities of chambers, environmentalist NGOs, some universities and political parties. Unlike the governmental actors of İTC project, the key decision-makers in İzmir Greater Municipality has “successfully” cooperated-collaborated with chambers in the formation of NCC project. This “strategically taken consensus based decision” enable them to strengthen the base of the CPC of NCC project, since they mobilize the support and active consent of the chambers with consensus-based relations. As a result, case study provide the empirical evidence to argue that the existence and the mobilization of counter-oppositional views and activities directly influence the construction of CsPC of each projects.

6. 2. 3 The Construction of Intra-Institutional Consent

In the urban field survey, it is presumed that the persons to whom the institution questionnaire is applied are accepted as reflecting the official view of their institutions. In other words, these persons having particular administrative or occupational duties in their institutions are considered as the representative of the views of their institutions. However, in the application of institution questionnaire, it is asked some questions to these persons in order to reveal to what extent they adopt the official view of their institutions. Before field survey, it is detected that while a large majority of the people (working in different institutions) actively consent to the official view of their institutions, there are still few people that oppose to the official view of their institutions. Although they are not many in numbers, the motivations and views behind their oppositional position against the official view of their institutions are investigated with a critical manner in the urban field survey.

This tendency of consenting or non-consenting to the official view of institution is defined as “intra-institutional consent”. Institutions, particularly governmental and business institutions, need to mobilize a certain level of consent of not only local residents and some NGOs, but also the consent and active support of their personnel/employees who have particular administrative or occupational duties in these institutions. Intra-institutional consent plays a very important role in constructing a certain unity and coherence in the formation of the officials views of institutions.

According to the findings of institution questionnaire, only %1 of the persons stated that they do not adopt the views of their institution concerning the NCC project. Besides, %7 of them stated that they do not embrace the views of their institutions concerning the ITC project. As these low rates show, the level of intra-institutional consent is high and governmental and business actors do not face with serious “problems” in mobilizing the consent of their own personnel for the projects. However we need to investigate further this general tendency of intra-institutional consent with a deeper analysis.

An in-depth analysis of empirical evidence show that intra-institutional consent differentiates according to the categories of institutions. This means that people working in central and local governmental institutions are more tended to oppose the view of their institution than the people working in investor companies and local capital organizations. Questionnaire results also indicate that since universities, media institutions and some

other NGOs do not decide on an official institutional view for the projects, people working in these institutions are not in a position to state that they adopt or not adopt the views of their institutions. In such circumstances; the people whose institution do not decide on a view give no answer to this question of intra-institutional consent. Furthermore, the figures mentioned below also show that the level of intra-institutional consent for ITC project is relatively low since there are people working in state institutions and declared that they opposed the official views of their institution for ITC project. These people adopt counter-oppositional discourses against the formation of ITC project and explicitly utter their oppositional views. Lastly, the most important evidence that questionnaire provides is that almost all of the people working or having particular administrative roles in investor companies and local capital organizations actively consent to the formation of both of the projects. Therefore, investor-business actors are “successful” in constructing hegemony over the formation of thoughts and opinions of the people having particular occupational or administrative roles in these investor-business institutions.

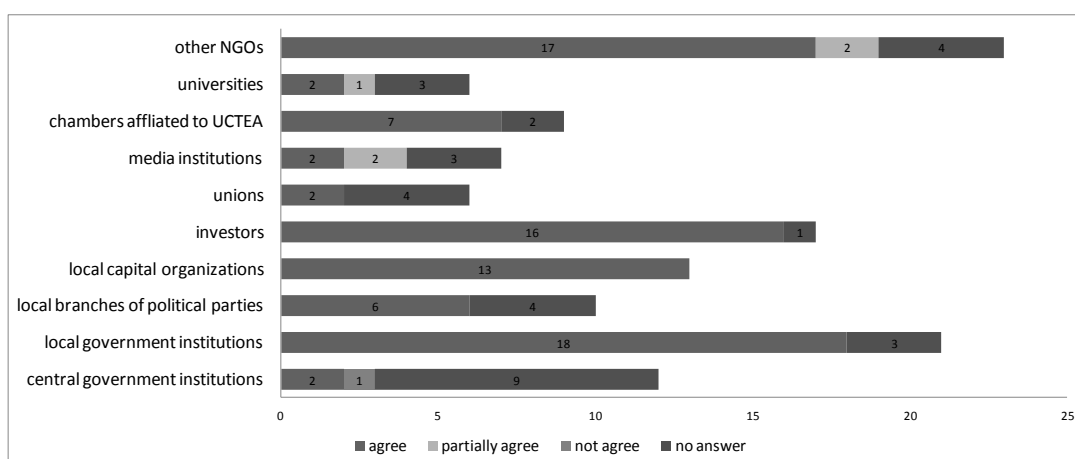


Figure 6.46 The level of intra-institutional consent in NCC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

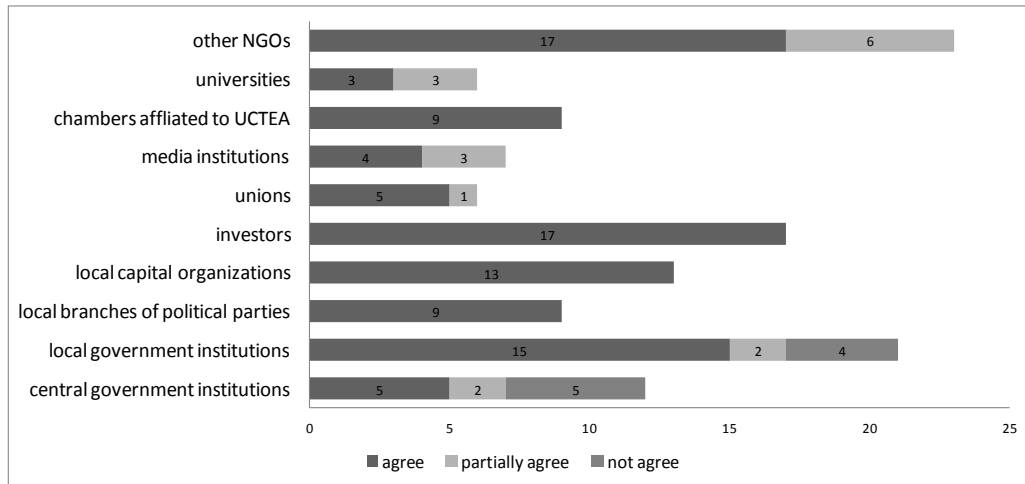


Figure 6.47 The level of intra-institutional consent in ITC project according to the categories of institutions (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

In addition to these findings, institution questionnaire also investigated whether or not the intra-institutional consent differentiate according to different duties of the people performing particular administrative or occupational roles in these institutions. The findings reflected with the figures mentioned below indicate that the people having administrative roles in their institutions are more tended to adopt the official view of their institution than the personnel/employees having particular occupational roles in the institutions. In other words, administrative officials and the members of administrative boards have a higher level of intra-institutional consent than the personnel/employee having occupational duties in the institutions. Particularly, some city planners and architectures working in İzmir Greater Municipality and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism are more tended to oppose the views of their institution in the formation of ITC project.

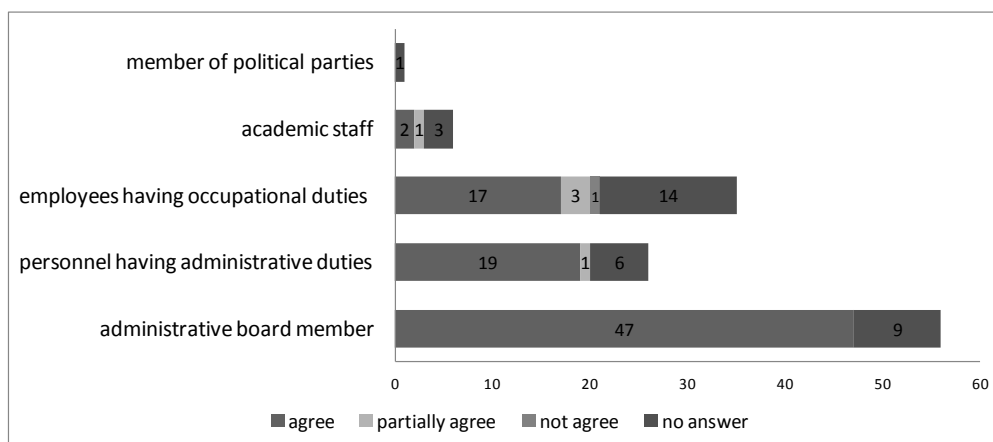


Figure 6.48 The level of intra-institutional consent in NCC project according to the duties of the people (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

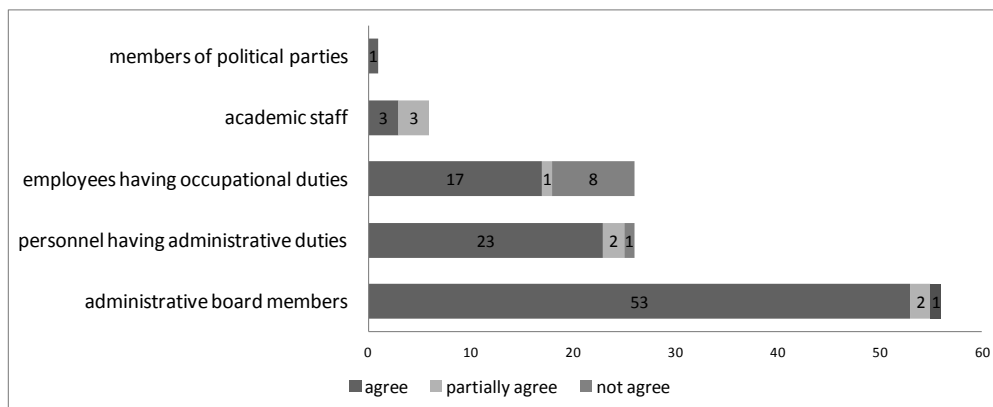


Figure 6.49 The level of intra-institutional consent in ITC project according to the duties of the people (institution questionnaire, cross-tabulation)

Urban field survey uncovers that administrative board members from investor companies and local business associations and officials having administrative duties in state institutions are all more tended to adopt the views of their institutions. Therefore, the level of intra-institutional consent is relatively high amongst the people having administrative duties in their institutions. Employees and officials performing particular occupational tasks in their institutions (architectures, engineers, city planners, journalists ...etc.) approach the view of their institution critically and they may tend to oppose the views of their institutions. Survey also revealed that employees and officials working in local or central government institutions are more tended to declare their oppositional view against the formation of ITC project. Although they work in the governmental decision-maker institutions, preparing and approving development plans and managing the formation of the projects, they do not hesitate to express their counter-oppositional views against ITC project.

In depth interviews support and advance the findings of institution questionnaire. As interview texts mentioned below demonstrate, in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT), there are contrasting views supporting and opposing the formation of ITC project. In fact, the formation of ITC project has become a controversial issue and there are planners and architectures not less in numbers from İGM and MCT clearly state that “ITC project is a mechanism to produce and distribute a huge amount of rent for particular interest groups”. Such officials having occupational duties in their institutions also underline that “they do not want to work in the preparation of ITC development plans since they do not believe

that this planning activity would produce an even, accessible and just public space". However, there are also officials in the MCT agree with the view of Ministry and supporting to the formation of İTC project. Field survey revealed that these people working in governmental decision-maker institutions and supporting to the formation of İTC project have adopted "growth" and "investment" based hegemonic arguments of İTC project and reproduce and disseminate such hegemonic discourses consciously with their expressions and statements.

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Expert

"I am of course adopting the view of the Ministry why not? I am adopting because İTC project attracts investment, employment and local economic development in İzmir. I am supporting İTC project because the Ministry received the opinion of all stakeholders about the project. The Ministry wanted to reach a consensus with governorship, local governments, local business communities and chambers. In order to develop tourism in İzmir, the Ministry accomplished all the responsibility related with the project."

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Assistant Expert

"Although I work in the Ministry, I disagree with its view concerning the formation of İTC project. I think that the Ministry ignored ecological quality and public interest in İnciraltı. Under the name of public interest, they cause to be produced a space for not all social groups of people living İzmir. My objection is to this!... So, just because touristic facilities will be opened, foreign earnings and consumption at shopping center will increase and employment in construction, commerce and tourism sectors will be provided, anticipated developments related to the project is gonna be for the sake of public interest? Well then what is gonna be happen if the produced space is close to public but just meet the consumption demands of high income groups? Then large segments of the society will be excluded from this space, won't they? Or what we are going to do for disappeared bird spaces, giant eucalyptus trees to be cut and losing ecological values. All these lost are not public values?"

Powerful governmental and investor-business institutions aim to acquire the consent of not only local residents and some non-governmental organizations. But they also need to mobilize the active consent of their own members/officials/employees. Therefore, the capacity of producing consent (CPC) of the projects is constructed to dominate the views of these insider people who performs particular administrative or occupational duties. The level of intra-institutional consent is related directly and positively with the construction of CPC and high level of intra-institutional consent provided in a particular project means the more powerful CPC in the formation of this project. In other words, high level of intra-institutional consent facilitates the construction of hegemony over the definition of urban political priorities in the formation of the projects. The most important empirical evidence in this part remarks that NCC project has a higher level of intra-institutional consent when compare with İTC project. Lastly, survey results indicate that the level of intra-institutional consent also changes according to the duties of the people and the political-ideological tendencies of these people in performing their particular occupations.

6. 2. 4 Coherences and Conflicts in the Opinions of Institutional Categories

In analyzing the findings of field survey, it is considered that the same institutional categories reflect the same tendencies and views concerning the formation of the projects. There are seven major institutional categories identified in the case study, which are state institutions, investors, local capital organizations, chambers affiliated to UCTEA, universities, media institutions and local branches of political parties. Although each institutional category has been consisted of coherent views in itself, there are also contrasting and conflictual views. For instance, although the majority of state institutions support to the formation of İTC project, there are also other state institutions opposing to the formation of this project. Therefore, it is not possible to classify and reflect the views of state institutions under one title of opinion. There are coherences and conflicts in the opinions of institutional categories concerning the formation of the projects.

The findings of field survey show that there are five institutional categories composed of contrasting and conflictual views and do not reflect one unified coherent view. These are “state institutions”, “universities”, “political parties”, “chambers” and “media institutions”. In-depth interviews with the representatives of such institutions provide significant empirical evidence to reveal contrasting and conflictual views in each of these institutional categories.

State institutions have contrasting views concerning the formation of İTC project. For instance, although the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) started the planning of İTC in the first years of 2000s, İzmir Provincial Directorate of Agriculture determined İnciraltı as an “agricultural protection zone” in 2005. This protection decision has “hindered” the MCT to plan İnciraltı as a tourism development zone. Two years later, through taking the decision of “public interest”, the MCT eliminated “agricultural protection zone” status of İnciraltı and it started to prepare İTC development plans to promote tourism oriented development in İnciraltı. In addition to this, there were protection based decisions for İTC site, previously taken by Conservation Councils and abolished in the later stages of the planning process. These contrasting decisions of state institutions in the planning of İTC site show that “state institutions” could not be categorized as a unified whole consisted of entirely coherent views and opinions. There are contrasting and conflictual views and opinions concerning the formation of İTC project.

Universities also reflect contrasting opinions for İTC project. Most of the academicians from City Planning and Architecture departments of state universities criticize the formation of İTC project and explicitly state their oppositional views against the project. As interview texts display, such academicians explicitly state their counter-oppositional views on the basis of “public interest”, “sustainability of ecological resources” and “the principles of urbanism and planning”. However there are also few academicians most of whom from private universities and supporting to the formation of İTC project through arguing that “chambers and universities should collaborate with the MCT in the formation of İTC project”. According to their view, the role of universities is to provide applicable solutions for the problems of urban development and therefore, all academicians from city planning and architecture departments should cooperate with the governmental decision-makers in the preparation of İTC development plans. As interview texts mentioned below illustrate, such contrasting views of universities reveal that the opinions of different academicians from different universities do not reflect one common political-ideological point of view. While some part of the academicians oppose to the İTC project with political-ideological based arguments and views, some other ones support to the formation of the project with their politically-ideologically motivated thoughts.

Dokuz Eylül University, Academic Staff 2

“İnciraltı should be protected. When I was the member of conservation council as an academician, I fought for this and continue to do that if necessary. Don't we have another option except from EXPO, hotels, residences and shopping centers for inciraltı? I am against to be insisted on EXPO and tourism with İTC project. There should be another planning alternative for inciraltı... For inciraltı, an ecologically friendly and conservationist planning approach based on urban agriculture and sustainability is necessary. But neither the Ministry nor business communities care to develop such an alternative planning approach. They prioritize the short term economic returns from the project.”

İzmir Economy University, Academic Staff

“Of course anybody cannot ignore that inciraltı has an ecological value. But just because it has such a value, we cannot neglect tourism oriented development of İTC site... I support to İTC project of Ministry and I also found the support of local authorities as significant. We, as İzmir Economy University, also do our best in supporting of the Ministry for the İTC Project. We arranged two large public meetings here in our university. In these meetings, our call was for Dokuz Eylül University and Chambers in order to collaborate with the Ministry... As an academician, I support to this project and find it important for İzmir. And as university we do our best for the successful formation and implementation of the project”

Another important institutional category having contrasting and conflictual views is political parties. As the findings of in-depth interviews uncover, different political parties have different views concerning the formation of İTC project. Although local branches of ruling and main opposition parties, namely Justice and Democracy Party and Republican People's

Party, support to the formation of İTC project, there are left-wing and socialist parties opposing against this project through arguing that “EXPO and tourism based development in İnciraltı would provide benefits not for all local public but rather for investors and business groups”. This is not a surprising result since there are political-ideological divergences amongst such political parties. Owing to their contrasting political-ideological views, different political parties have contrasting views and opinions for the formation of İTC project.

Justice and Development Party, Administrative Board Member of İzmir Branch

“Every investment made for EXPO will be the publicly owned property of İzmir. Expo will finish six months later but the investments of hotels, shopping centers and residences around the project area continue to boost consumption and serve people of İzmir. Within this way, the city will develop. İTC project is very important in these aspects. İzmir will have an employment and investment opportunity with İTC Project. We lived all these Universiad experiences. There was an increase in investments, number of tourists and all these revitalized the local economy.”

Republican People’s Party, Administrative Board Member of İzmir Branch

“EXPO, tourism investments, new employment opportunities are all in the context of İTC project and they serve to the interest of all local public in İzmir. This should be perceived like that. It should not be thought that certain economic and political interest groups are behind the İTC project. If this was the case, then local authorities would not support to the project. All the social groups in İzmir should be collaboratively support to the formation of İTC project, because we think this project serves to public interest.”

Freedom and Solidarity Party, Administrative Board Member of İzmir Branch

“We are against İTC project. As a socialist political party, we formed our counter arguments and oppositional views. We formed them by joining the meetings arranged by chambers and the bar of İzmir. In these meetings, all socialist parties like us decide to be in opposing position against the project... We are against this project because they used the area which is accessible, open and public space as a tool for the benefits of huge investment under the name of tourism and EXPO. State and capital in collaboration will produce a space which is close to wide segment of the society and low income groups. We think that İTC project is such an exclusionary project.”

Chambers affiliated to UCTEA reflect more coherent views concerning the formation of İTC project. However, this does not mean that there is not any contrasting insider views against the activities of chambers. As interview texts mentioned below uncover, the former head of the chamber of city planners (now a member of an environmentalist NGO) criticizes the collaboration of İzmir Greater Municipality and İzmir Branch of the Chamber of Architectures in the preparation of NCC development plan. According to this critical insider view, such a collaboration in the preparation of NCC plan has restricted the autonomy of the chamber of architectures against governmental decision-makers. It is critically argued by this view that under such collaborative working practices with decision-makers, chambers lose their autonomy in terms of occupational principles and public roles. Therefore, administrative boards of chambers affiliated to UCTEA should not collaborate with any governmental institution in the preparation of development plans. This critical insider view shows that although chambers affiliated to UCTEA supported to the formation

of NCC project by collaborating with the Greater Municipality, there are also members of these chambers having critical views against such a collaboration. Thus chambers are consisted of members' conflictual views over the formation of collaborative relations with decision-makers in planning processes.

Aegean Environment and Culture Platform Association, The Member of Association

"I believed the consensus in large scale urban development projects like NCC project. But this does not mean that the administrative board members of chambers should be the consultant of decision-makers... The head İzmir Branch of Chamber of Architectures was the consultant of the Mayor of İzmir Greater Municipality... If administrative board members of chambers have such an organic relationships with decision-makers of municipalities then we cannot talk about any autonomy of the chamber. You cannot bring judiciary action against the plan prepared by the institution you worked for. Then the autonomy of chambers in terms of public roles has been damaged as a result of such relations. You become unable to do your public roles !... While I was the head of the İzmir Branch of Chamber of City Planners, there were mayors who wanted to work with me. But I did not accept this, owing to the reasons I explained you."

Media institutions employ mass communication tolls that reflect may be the highest level of conflictual and contrasting views. There are different media institutions reflecting and embodying very different approaches and views concerning the formation of the projects. For instance, most of the national mainstream media institutions and the most powerful local media institutions all aggressively support to the formation of ITC project. Their obvious support could be observed by the news, headings and articles in their newspapers. Such media institutions disseminate hegemonic discourses of ITC project and play role to mobilize public support and consent for the project. In contrast to them, there are few less powerful local media sources adopting objective principles of journalism and reflecting the voices of not only governmental and business actors but also oppositional NGOs including chambers, universities and environmentalist civil society organizations. Thus, media institution could be understood as a complex institutional category having and reflecting contrasting and conflictual views for the formation of ITC project.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper, The Journalist of İzmir Bureau

"Most of the media and leading local newspapers make news to support to the ITC project. Open and look the pages !... There are news claiming that "the project will provide employment and therefore, anybody should not bring judiciary action against the project... Well, have a look; are there any scientific reasons of court case published in newspaper? Are there any news on how they constructed Crown Plaza by bypassing conservation decisions. Of course not!... All work they have done, to manipulate public opinion with the headlines and news in order to increase the support to the project. Of course, the boss of all these newspapers have large properties in different parts of the city. They may plan to make investment even in İnciraltı. So such news directly servet o their interests. They are in an organic relationships with investors, businessman and even the Ministry and they reflect the economic and political interest of these groups. Is this objective journalism!... There is no newspaper like us which have preserve objective and ethical values. Especially, all make bias and unobjective news about urban projects."

This part concluded that institutional categories such as “state institutions”, “universities”, “political parties”, “chambers” and “media institutions” do not reflect one single coherent view; rather there are conflictual and contrasting views in these institutional categories concerning the formation of the projects. Such contrasting views are more observable for ITC project since there is a significant level of opposition against this project. With reference theoretical approach of thesis, such institutional categories could be identified as a site of political-ideological struggle upon which “a war of position” (in Gramscian terms) occur amongst the social forces of urban politics. As field survey results unfold, not NCC project but ITC project reflects such a site of political-ideological struggle.

6.3 The Overall Summary and the Critical Interpretation of Empirical Evidence

In the concluding part of case study chapter, an overall summary and critical interpretation of empirical evidence is presented. The findings of case study research are discussed with reference to research questions of thesis.

Critical discourse analysis provided an initial step and preliminary findings to investigate the political construction of NCC and ITC projects. Discourses of key actors in the formation of the projects are critically analyzed and this analysis oriented urban field research through playing an important role in designing the questions of questionnaire and interview. Discourse analysis detected the predominant and oppositional discourses concerning the formation of the projects. Field survey investigated to what extent and how these discourses are adopted and (re)produced by particular institutions and local residents in the formation of the projects.

Critical discourses analysis of media texts and key documents reveal that governmental decision-maker and business actors in both of the projects use common economic development oriented words like “investment”, “local economic development” and “employment”. In addition to them, there are also different words specific to each project. For instance in the formation of NCC project; IGM, investors and local business associations use “urban regeneration” based words and themes extensively. Such actors, on the other hand, use “tourism” and “EXPO” based words and themes in the formation of ITC project. Moreover, there are coalition-based words like “cooperation” and “collaboration” of

“different stakeholders”. Such hegemonic discourses are ideologically constructed to mobilize and consolidate public support in the formation of the projects.

The findings of critical discourse analysis show that news, articles and advertisements in mass media tools play an important role in disseminating and dominating hegemonic discourses in the formation of both of the projects. It is observed that the declarations of governmental and business actors dominate the formation of news and articles in most the media sources. Hegemonic discourses stated in these declarations play a facilitative role in the dissemination of predominant view in the formation of the projects. However there are also oppositional discourses against the formation of the projects, therefore, discourses could be seen and studied as a political-ideological site of power, struggle and opposition of different social forces in the formation of the projects. Powerful state and capital actors (re)produce and disseminate hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support for the formation of the projects. However, on the other side, oppositional actors confront against these discourses through putting forward their counter/oppositional discourses. There is a struggle at the level of discursive practice in the formation of the projects. This struggle could be observed obviously in the formation of ITC project.

Discourse analysis, questionnaire and in-depth interviews all revealed the positions and relations of actors in the formation of the projects. It is uncovered that İzmir Greater Municipality, District Municipalities, investors, local capital organizations and chambers affiliated to UCTEA are predominant actors in the formation of NCC projects. These governmental, business and social actors have played the main constitutive role in constructing the capacity of producing consent (CPC) of NCC project. İzmir Greater Municipality has planning power and it is the focus of any hegemonic discourses and practices. Investors and local business associations (re)produce hegemonic discourses by stating and disseminating them continuously and they also have power over the planning process of NCC. Chambers affiliated to UCTEA provide occupational support and mobilize the consent of organized city planners and architectures for the NCC project. Furthermore, central government indirectly support to the project. Lastly, media institutions play an important role in shaping and dominating a common-sense view by disseminating hegemonic discourses in the formation of NCC project.

There is an obvious of central and local government collaboration in the formation of İTC project, which could be observed by the cooperative relations amongst the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, İzmir Greater and Balçova Municipalities in the preparation of İTC development plans. These powerful governmental decision-makers also produce and disseminate “tourism”, “economic development” and “EXPO” based hegemonic discourses in İTC project. Local business associations and EXPO İzmir Steering Committee as a public-private partnership (re)produce and disseminate these hegemonic discourses. Most of the mainstream media institutions utilize mass communication tools to mobilize public support and shape a supportive common-sense opinion for İTC project.

There are two remarkable findings on the role of predominant actors in the political-ideological construction of the projects. Firstly, although governmental and business actors are predominant and make collaboration-cooperation in the formation of the projects, they do not constitute a long-term and progrowth coalition. Rather, these predominant actors constitute a short-term, project-based and profit-oriented coalition like formations dominating hegemonic discourses and by this way aiming to construct the capacities of producing consent (CsPC) of the projects. This project-based coalition like formations of governmental and non-governmental actors succeeded in NCC project, but failed to implement İTC project owing to the struggle of particular oppositional actors in the formation of İTC project. Secondly, it is uncovered that the role of governmental and business actors in the political-ideological construction of the projects could not be investigated through neglecting the relations amongst the state, capital and society. In other words, these two UDPs could not be conceptualized simply as the projects of capitalist state or capital, rather they are politically-ideologically constructed through the organic relations, cooperative interrelations, struggles and conflicts of a series of actors including not only governmental and business actors but also some other agents of civil society like chambers affiliated to UCTEA, universities and media institutions. To sum up, the configuration of predominant actors in the formation of the projects could be conceptualized with reference to Gramsci as “political society + civil society”.

The change in the property relations is another crucial dynamic of decision-making in the planning of İTC site. NCC project site has a mixed property pattern consisted of both large and small, private and public properties which do not change hand considerably in the last ten years. However, property pattern and relations have changed in İTC site and this

change have influences over the planning decisions in İTC project. In İnciraltı, investors have bought small lands of citrus fruits producers since 2006, the year when İTC planning process began. As result of this transformation of property pattern in İTC site, large investors acquired the power to negotiate over land use and building density decisions of İTC development plans.

Which hegemonic discourses have played role in mobilizing public support and consent for the projects? This major research question is answered by the findings of critical discourse analysis and urban field survey. The findings reveal that NCC project is defined and presented to public as “an opportunity attract investment” and “to provide employment”. Such hegemonically constructed discourses are also supported with “urban regeneration” based discourses defining the problems of the project site as “urban decline”. İTC project, on the other hand, has become a site of “tourism” and “EXPO” based discourses. Most of the governmental and business actors state that with İTC project “an economically unproductive” and “agriculturally declining” area will be transformed to “an attractive space of tourism development”. In both of the projects, through (re)producing and dominating “economic growth”, “investment” and “employment” based hegemonic discourses, a notion of “abstract space” (with reference to Lefebvre) is politically-ideologically constructed.

The categories of institutions and class positions of local residents are decisive factors behind the mobilization of support and consent. Government institutions, investors, property owners and local capital organizations support to the formation of both of the projects. Chambers affiliated to UCTEA, some universities and left-wing parties, environmentalist NGOs declare their oppositional views against İTC project. For both of the projects, it could be argued that the tendency to support to the formation of the projects differ according to the class positions of local residents. Bourgeois classes tend to support to the formation of the projects more than the working classes and this class-based formation of the views could be observed as a general tendency. Moreover, geographical proximity to project site also plays a crucial role in mobilizing the support of the people. Local residents living or working in the sites of the projects are more tended to support to the projects than the people living in distant districts of the city. In addition to this, being a property owner in the project site constitutes a positive influence over the formation of supportive views for the projects. Although the tendency to support to the projects

differentiate according to class positions, geographical proximity to project site and property ownership, there is no problem from the perspective of governmental decision-makers in mobilizing the support and consent of local residents. A vast majority of local residents support to the formation of the projects.

However local residents tend to declare their support for the projects through different motivations, expectations and behaviors. They do not show a common behavioral type of mobilizing their consent; but rather there are different behaviors motivating local residents differently in expressing their thoughts and views concerning the formation of the project. In this respect, there are two major behavioral types of mobilizing consent. The first is “**active consent**”. Local residents obviously stating their support to the project without any hesitation and frequently using “investment” “employment” and growth” based discourses in their expressions could be categorized within the “active consent”. Most of the actively consenting local residents are property owners and living in the project sites and they think that “projects provide benefits for all of the people living in İzmir”. Moreover, they tend to become organized through establishing associations and pursue all the news from media sources concerning the formation of the projects. In addition, observations in the field survey also show that people living in ITC project site are more tended to have “active consent” than the people living in NCC site.

The second behavioral type of mobilizing consent is “**passive consent**” which means low level of awareness and passive support of the people concerning the formation of the project. People having a passive consent for the project do not embrace and reproduce hegemonic discourses and they have a very low level of information for the project. These uninformed people do not tend to become organized to defend their interests in the formation of the project. In the field survey, it is observed that most of the people having passive consent for the project are tenants and low-educated, low-income people. Furthermore, in expressing their views for the projects these people emphasize their daily lives and survival strategies as reactions to project. However, although they do not actively support to the project, their tendency to cooperate with active supporters is high and therefore it could be expected that people having active and passive consent may act and decide together under any condition of decision-taking in the implementation of the project.

The findings of field survey show that the vast majority of the people and institutions, who support to the formation of the projects, adopt hegemonic discourses. Most of the people whatever their class positions state “investment”, “economic growth” and “employment” based hegemonic discourses while they are expressing their support to the projects. This widespread tendency shows that hegemonic discourses have become common sense in the formation of the projects and therefore they play a political-ideological superstructural role in dominating and manipulating the formation of public opinion.

One of the main argument of thesis is that governmental and business actors aim to construct a **“capacity to produce consent” (CPC)** through the domination of hegemonic discourses and the collaboration with key agents of civil society like local business associations, chambers, universities, media institutions. The main target of CPC is to mobilize public support and consent for the project. This politically-ideologically constructed hegemonic capacity focuses on the mobilization of public support and consent in the formation of the projects and plays role in redefining the priorities of urban planning and policy. The construction of each capacities of producing consent (CsPC) for each project may vary according to different actors involved; but the common basis of each CsPC is that they are embodied by the hegemonic discourses of powerful capitalist actors in the formation of the projects.

Through which mechanisms hegemonic discourses of the projects have been disseminated and dominated as common sense over the formation of public opinion? There are two common and influential mechanism in both of the projects namely (1) mass media tools and (2) the declarations of powerful governmental and business actors in these tools. Besides these common mechanisms, there are project-specific mechanisms. For instance, the advertisements of shopping malls, office towers and luxury residences have become influential in dominating hegemonic discourses, therefore they have played a constitutive role in constructing the CPC of NCC project. The other project specific influential mechanism of disseminating hegemonic discourses is EXPO. As field survey uncovered, the governmental decision-makers and local business leaders intend to mobilize public support for ITC project through forming the project with an EXPO-based strategy. To sum up, the CsPC of the projects have been constructed by the utilization of mass media tools. Particularly in the formation of ITC project, mass media tools have become the platform of political-ideological struggle between the predominant-supporter view (of governmental

and business actors) and oppositional-counters view (of chambers affiliated to UCTEA and some other NGOs). However, it could be stated that predominant-supporter views have more advantages in manipulating the shaping of public opinion since they dominate and command most of the mass media institutions.

Although hegemonic discourses target to mobilize the consent of local public of İzmir as a whole, it could be identified particular targets. There are two particularly targeted actors in the mobilization of consent which are “occupational professions” like city planning and “chambers affiliated to UCTEA”. Governmental decision-maker actors intended to strengthen the CsPC of each project through “collaborating-cooperating” with such actors of civil society in the formation of the project. In the formation of NCC project, such efforts to collaborate with key actors of civil society have become successful since İGM, chambers and some academicians from universities have collaborated in the preparation of NCC development plan. However, since the opposition of chambers against İTC project has a political-ideological basis, they do not respond positively any consensus based discourse and reject cooperation-collaboration with the MCT in the preparation of İTC development plans. As a result, the CPC of İTC project has not become powerful owing to the failed attempts of MCT to collaborate with oppositional actors of civil society.

Thesis argues that under the guise of such “collaboration-cooperation” based relations, powerful governmental actors may exert dominance over the role and priorities of urban planning in the formation of the projects. Furthermore this “cooperation-collaboration” discourses and strategies could also be viewed as a hegemonically-constructed strategy to absorb and pacify the oppositional power of counter-oppositional actors. Governmental decision-makers fail to absorb and pacify the opposition of non-governmental social forces and therefore, the CPC of İTC project is restricted by the politically-ideologically motivated activities of chambers, environmentalist NGOs, some universities and political parties. Unlike the governmental actors of İTC project, the key decision-makers in İzmir Greater Municipality has “successfully” cooperated-collaborated with chambers in the formation of NCC project. This “strategically taken consensus based decision” enable them to strengthen the base of the CPC of NCC project, since they mobilize the support and active consent of the chambers with consensus-based relations. As a result, case study provides the empirical evidence to argue that the existence and the mobilization of counter-oppositional views and activities directly influence the construction of CsPC of each projects.

Since governmental decision-makers do not provide collaboration with oppositional non-governmental actors (like chambers, environmentalist NGOs) in the formation of ITC project, they tend to enact a project-based law to impose a coercive and legally legitimate base of power for the formation of ITC project. In other words, the CPC of ITC project is not strength because there is a powerful and ideologically-motivated opposition of chambers and some NGOs whose active consent could not be acquired by the governmental decision-makers. Thesis argues that owing to the weakness of CPC, powerful actors tend to dominate and impose a coercive and legally legitimate mechanism with a project-based law. However, such a project-based law still remain socially illegitimate since it is not a product of a consensus between different actors of ITC project.

Urban field survey also reveled that powerful governmental and investor-business institutions aim to acquire the consent of not only local residents and some non-governmental organizations, but they also need to mobilize the active consent of their own members/officials/employees. Therefore, the capacity of producing consent (CPC) of the projects is constructed to dominate the views of these insider people who performs particular administrative or occupational duties. The level of intra-institutional consent is related directly and positively with the construction of CPC and high level of intra-institutional consent provided in a particular project means the more powerful CPC in the formation of this project. In other words, high level of intra-institutional consent facilitates the construction of hegemony over the definition of urban political priorities in the formation of the projects. The most important empirical evidence in this part remarks that NCC project has a higher level of intra-institutional consent when compare with ITC project. Lastly, survey results indicate that the level of intra-institutional consent also changes according to the duties of the people and the political-ideological tendencies of these people in performing their particular occupations.

Institution questionnaire revealed that institutional categories such as “state institutions”, “universities”, “political parties”, “chambers” and “media institutions” do not reflect one single coherent view; rather there are conflictual and contrasting views in these institutional categories concerning the formation of the projects. Such contrasting views are more observable for ITC project since there is a significant level of political-ideological opposition against this project. With reference to theoretical approach of thesis, such

institutional categories could be identified as a site of political-ideological struggle upon which “a war of position” (in Gramscian terms) occur amongst the social forces of urban politics. As field survey results unfold, not NCC project but İTC project reflects such a site of political-ideological struggle.

All the findings of case study research are summarized and presented in the table mentioned below. As a general conclusion of case study research, it could be argued that governmental and investor-business actors have constructed a powerful CPC succeed to mobilize public support and consent in the formation of NCC project. However, the CPC of İTC project has not become powerful and failed to mobilize the consent of oppositional actors of civil society, therefore it could not have a hegemonic power over the definition of urban political priorities. The CsPC of the projects have also affected the implementation of the projects. Since NCC project is politically-ideologically constructed with a powerful CPC, it is started to be implemented. Unlike NCC project, İTC project is not implemented yet owing to the judiciary actions against İTC development plans, which also reflect the powerlessness of the CPC of İTC project.

Table 6.5 Comparative Analysis of Case Study Research Findings

	NCC Project	İTC Project
Predominant actors and their collaborative-cooperative relations and roles	<p>İGM (governmental decision-maker having planning authority and the focus of hegemonic discourses and practices)</p> <p>District Municipalities (governmental decision makers having planning authority)</p> <p>Investors (Investor actors having negotiation power over planning decisions and producing hegemonic discourses)</p> <p>Local Capital Organizations (Business actors producing and disseminating hegemonic discourses)</p> <p>Central Government Representatives (governmental actors passively supporting to the project and reproducing and disseminating hegemonic discourses)</p> <p>Chambers Affiliated to UCTEA (chambers providing occupational support, reproducing and disseminating hegemonic discourses, mobilizing the consent of organized city planners and architectures)</p> <p>Media Institutions (Mass media tools disseminating hegemonic discourses and constructing common-sense opinion)</p>	<p>MCT(governmental decision-maker having planning authority and the focus of hegemonic discourses and practices)</p> <p>Investors and Property owners (Investors having negotiation power over planning decisions and producing hegemonic discourses)</p> <p>İGM and Balçova Municipality (Governmental actors collaborating with MCT in planning process, reproducing and disseminating hegemonic discourses and playing a mediator role to acquire the consent of chambers)</p> <p>EXPO İzmir Steering Committee (Public-Private partnership producing and disseminating hegemonic discourses)</p> <p>Local Capital Organizations (Business actors producing and disseminating hegemonic discourses)</p> <p>Media Institutions (Mass media tools disseminating hegemonic discourses and constructing common-sense opinion)</p>
Property pattern and the transformation of property relations	Project site has a mixed property pattern consisted of both large and small, private and public properties, which do not change hand.	Project site has a small private property pattern. Properties change hands and large investors buy small lands of local residents

Table 6.5 (Continued)

Political construction of the projects	Hegemonic discourses	"attracting investment", "providing employment", "the regeneration of a declining and economically unproductive urban area into a high quality consumption, working and living space", "a new and modern city center for all the people of İzmir"	"Attracting tourism investment", "providing employment" with "EXPO" and "tourism development", "developing an agriculturally declining and economically unproductive site to an attractive tourism center for all of the people of İzmir"
	The targeted actors of hegemonic discourses	The focused target: City planners, architectures and their chambers, Chambers affiliated to UCTEA, other organized social groups The general target: Public of İzmir	The focused target: City planners, architectures and their chambers, Chambers affiliated to UCTEA, universities and other organized social groups The general target: Public of İzmir
	The Dissemination of hegemonic discourses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ News and articles in mass media tools (declarations of predominant actors) ▪ Advertisements of shopping malls and residences that are constructed in NCC site ▪ Everyday life relations and communications of local residents ▪ International urban design competition for the project site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ News and articles in mass media tools (declarations of predominant actors) ▪ Presentations and advertisements prepared within the EXPO candidacy ▪ Symposium, forums and meetings organized for ITC project ▪ Everyday life relations and communications of local residents
	The Capacity of producing consent (CPC)	Strength and relatively powerful CPC has become powerful through (1) the operation of politically powerful governmental decision-maker actor (IGM), (2) the support of central government, (3) collaborating-cooperating with investors, local capital organizations, chambers and universities and (4) the use of mass media tools.	Not strength and powerless CPC has not become powerful owing to the (1) operation of politically powerless governmental decision-maker actor (MCT) and (2) failed attempts to collaborate-cooperate with chambers and other oppositional NGOs .
	The tendency to enforce project-based legislative interventions	No tendency	The tendency exists. There are discourses and efforts to enforce a project-based law within the context of EXPO
	Ideological contradiction of counter/oppositional discourses	No ideologically contradicted opposition against the project. A small group of local politicians (not become a powerful and broad base of ideological opposition against the formation of the project)	Ideologically contradicted opposition against the project Collective opposition of chambers affiliated to UCTEA, some academicians from universities, left-wing political parties and environmentalist NGOs. Opposition has been led and coordinated by chambers
The Level of Intra-Institutional Consent		High	Low. Low level of intra-institutional consent of state institutions
Coherences and conflicts in the views of institutional categories		Coherent	Conflictual Institutional categories each of which have conflictual views are state institutions, universities, political parties, chambers and media institutions
The results of the projects		Despite the slowness of implementation, project has been implemented since 2011 NCC development plans are prepared and approved, it took ten years to implement plans. Construction process has started in Salhane district.	Project is not implemented yet. Owing to the judiciary actions against ITC development plans, the MCT is not able to successfully finish ITC planning process. The oppositional struggle against the project continues.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Conclusion chapter emphasizes and discusses the finding of research and reconsiders theoretical perspectives of urban development politics within the context of these findings. This chapter consists of three parts. Firstly an overall summary of chapters and the findings of literature review and the case study research are specified. In the second part, theoretical perspective of the thesis are reconsidered in the light of the findings and results of research. In this part of conclusion chapter, it is elucidated how neo-Marxian theoretical perspective of the thesis contributes to the analysis of the politics of urban development processes. In the final part of conclusion chapter, some policy implications and further remarks are proposed to organize political power of urban planning against the hegemony of capitalist urban development visions.

This thesis formulated a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective to investigate the political construction of urban development projects (UDPs). The politics of UDPs in the world and Turkey are comparatively investigated and critically reviewed within the context of this perspective. Four Initial arguments are derived from this political analysis of UDPs and they set up the framework of case study research through providing a path for critical discourse analysis and urban field survey, which includes both quantitative and qualitative methods. The empirical evidence of discourse analysis, questionnaires and in-depth interviews of case study provided key inductions to reconsider theories of urban development politics. Thus it could be stated that Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian critical realist methodology of the thesis combined deductive and inductive research strategies and qualitative and quantitative research methods to reveal how UDPs are political constructed. These initial arguments are stated below and they are reconsidered in the light of the empirical evidence of the case study. As a result, four concluding arguments are reached, which are mentioned in the following parts of conclusion chapter

Initial Argument 1: UDPs (Urban Development Projects) are attempts to form “hegemonic projects of the production of space”, therefore UDPs have become the mechanisms of constructing hegemony over the definition of urban political priorities.

Initial Argument 2: UDPs are constructed through the hegemonic arguments, discourses and narratives of key decision-makers and these discursive practices have been used to mobilize public support and consent of different social forces.

Initial Argument 3: In the political construction of UDPS; not only discursive practices of hegemony construction, but also coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state (new laws, change in the existing laws, decree laws ...etc.) play a key role.

Initial Argument 4: UDPs are politically constructed through the complementary relation and differential articulation of the discursive practices of hegemony construction and coercive-legislative mechanisms of the capitalist state.

7. 1 Summary and the Findings of the Research

In this part of conclusion chapter, the summary of chapters including the findings of literature review and case study are discussed with reference to research questions of the thesis. The politics of UDPs in the world and Turkey are critically and comparatively investigated through focusing on powerful governmental and investor-business actors, their hegemonic discourses and legislative interventions of the state in the political construction of these UDPs. This comparative analysis of the political construction of UDPs provide key deductions for case study research. Two leading UDPs from İzmir constituted the empirical focus of the case study of the thesis. A comparative and comprehensive analysis of the political construction of New City Center (NCC) and İnciraltı Tourism Center (İTC) Development Projects are investigated in detail with reference to initial arguments and related research questions of the thesis.

A critical and comparative analysis of the politics of six UDPs in the world revealed that “economic growth”, “investment” and “urban regeneration” based predominant discourses, arguments and narratives of powerful governmental and investor-business actors play a key hegemonic-ideological superstructural role in the political construction of UDPs. These hegemonic discursive practices mobilize public support and consent for UDPs and by this way, they redefine urban political priorities on the basis of “economic growth” oriented targets, which subordinate the production of space to the attraction of investments.

However, the analysis of the politics of UDPs point out that not only hegemonic discourses of governmental and investor-business actors, but also coercive-legislative mechanisms of the capitalist state play a crucial role in the political construction of UDPs. As the coercive mechanisms of capitalist state, legislative interventions reorganize urban planning powers and empower new state institutions (public-private partnerships, development corporations and project agencies...etc.) in the formation of UDPs. The comparative investigation of six UDPs from different capitalist countries of the world (including Baltimore Inner Harbor Revitalization Project in US, London Docklands Regeneration Project and Olympic Games Urban Regeneration Project in UK, Potsdamer Platz Redevelopment Project in Germany, Abandoibarra Waterfront Regeneration Project in Spain and Lujiazui Central Finance District Development in Shanghai) shows that such legislative interventions of the state operate as coercive mechanisms to incorporate investor-business driven interests into the policy-making processes in the formation of UDPs. The role of the state, in this respect, is not only the production and dissemination of hegemonic discourses, but also the enforcement of key coercive-legislative mechanisms like laws and empowered state institutions to redefine urban planning powers. Therefore, it could be argued that UDPs in different capitalist countries of the world are politically constructed by both hegemonic discourses and coercive-legislative mechanisms of powerful state and capital actors. There is not a divergence amongst hegemonic discourses and coercive-legislative mechanisms, but rather there is a unitary and complementary relation amongst them in the political construction of UDP.

The analysis of the politics of different UDPs from different capitalist countries of the world in chapter three also provides a base to explain the socio-political background behind the use of hegemonic discourses and coercive-legislative mechanisms. The use of hegemonic discourses and coercive-legislative mechanisms have differentiated according to different relations and articulations of state and civil society. For instance, hegemonic discourses and activities to mobilize public support and consent may become key ideological-superstructural elements in particular social-political contexts of some countries where the agents of civil society are developed and they have a power over the structure and policies of the state. In the socio-political contexts of western capitalist countries, civil society is powerful and therefore hegemonic discourses and activities of the agents of civil society play an important role in the political construction of UDPs. However, in some other socio-

political contexts where state has a high repressive power over civil society, there may be no or even less need to use hegemonic discourses and activities. Thus, as a general interpretation, it could be argued that the role of hegemonic discourses or coercive-legislative mechanism have differentiated according to different contexts of state-civil society relations. In western capitalist countries, since the agents of civil society are powerful over the formation of the structure and policies of the state, hegemonic discourses are frequently produced and disseminated through entrepreneurial urban governance institutions, local business associations, media institutions, universities and chambers. However the political-ideological superstructure of UDPs have not only been constituted by these hegemonic discourses and activities of powerful capitalist forces. Coercive-legislative mechanisms of the state are still important in these countries, since they provide exceptional powers to reorganize urban planning authorities and to incorporate business-driven interests into the decision-making processes through the establishment of new entrepreneurial urban governance institutions.

In chapter four, the political construction of four UDPs from Turkey (including Haydarpaşa Urban Regeneration and Dubai Towers Projects from İstanbul and Northern Ankara and Güneypark Urban Regeneration Projects from Ankara) are critically and comparatively investigated. This investigation of four UDPs shed light on Turkish urban political context in which UDPs are formed and implemented. This Turkish urban political context could be summarized by discussing five main dimensions of the political construction of UDPs.

As the first deduction from chapter four, the main development logic and the political priority in the formation and implementation of UDPs is the production and distribution of urban rent. Under the name of “regeneration of urban space”, a rent-oriented approach has become the dominant paradigm in urban development policies. Urban built environments in the projects sites (such as the port and train station in Haydarpaşa, warehouse of İETT in Maslak, squatters in Northern Ankara and Güneypark) are defined and declared as “economically unproductive” by the governmental decision-makers of the cities. Rent-oriented UDPs are proposed as solutions to regenerate these “economically unproductive spaces” through transforming them into “attractive spaces for investment”. An abstract space approach, with reference to Lefebvre, has become dominant through these rent-oriented UDPs. Secondly, as chapter four uncovers, there are different actors supporting to or opposing against the formation of UDPs. Governmental decision-maker

actors (central or local government institutions and their partnerships), investors and business associations, ruling political party, media institutions and some universities (if they involve to the project) have constituted the base of political power in the formation of the projects. These powerful political and social forces have been led by governmental and investor-business actors and they play key roles in the production and dissemination of hegemonic discourses in the formation of UDPs. On the other side, chambers (affiliated to the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects), some labor unions and non-governmental organizations, oppositional media institutions, left-wing political parties and some universities have stated their oppositional views and organized their struggle against the formation of UDPs. In these oppositional movements, Chambers of Architectures and City Planners have led the formation of oppositional views and movements, since they have key roles in controlling urban development processes in terms of public interest. The third remark emphasizes that hegemonic discourses of powerful governmental and investor-business actors have constituted a hegemonic power over the definition of urban planning priorities. These powerful actors produce “economic growth”, “investment”, “employment” and “urban regeneration” based hegemonic discourses and disseminate them through dominating and commanding mass media tools in the formation of UDPs. These hegemonic discourses of UDPs give rise to the redefinition of urban policy and planning priorities on the basis of urban entrepreneurialism in Turkey. However, hegemonic discourses and activities of powerful governmental and investor-business actors is not the only dynamic in the political construction of UDPs. The forth main dimension of the political construction of UDP in Turkey underlines the enforcement of coercive-legislative mechanisms. The political power, in the formation of UDPs in Turkey as well as in the world, has been constructed through not only by hegemonic discourses and activities, but also through some legislative interventions like new laws, revisions in the existing laws and decree-laws ...etc. Such legislative interventions have operated as coercive mechanisms of capitalist state, since they impose some mechanisms to reorganize urban planning powers and to facilitate property transfer and privatization through the enforcement of legislative frameworks. Such coercive-legislative interventions of capitalist state have also function as mechanisms to bypass oppositional activities and court decisions that are against the formation of UDPs. Therefore, through using their legislative power, powerful governmental decision-makers enforce legislative frameworks to facilitate the formation and implementation of UDPs. The sixth and the last political dimension of UDPs in Turkey underlines the complementary

relation amongst hegemonic discourses and coercive-legislative mechanisms in the political construction of UDP.

Chapter three and four together emphasized that the utilization of hegemonic discursive practices and coercive-legislative mechanisms in the political construction of UDPs have differentiated according to different state-civil society relationship patterns in different countries of the world. Since the agents of civil society in western capitalist countries are well organized and powerful in the making of urban development policies, they perform an active and determinative role in the formation of UDPs. However in different political contexts like China, where state has a coercive-repressive power over the agents of civil society, state has the power to directly impose the formation of UDPs. Hegemonic discourses and activities in the field of “civil society” is important in the cities where the agents of civil society are well organized and have a stake in the making of urban development policies.

Therefore, this thesis argues that in different socio-political contexts of different capitalist countries, the hegemonic discourses and legislative mechanisms have been articulated differently. In other words, the articulation of consent and coercive mechanisms (hegemony and force), have differentiated according to the patterns of the relations between state and civil society. In the socio-political context of Turkey, both hegemonic discourses and legislative interventions are used with a complementary manner in the political construction of UDPs. Not only “growth”, “investment”, “employment” and “regeneration” based discourses of civil society actors but also legislative interventions of state actors have constructed the political power to produce urban space through UDPs. The key point for this thesis is to reveal the dynamics, inter-relations and particular actors of hegemonic discourses and coercive-legislative mechanisms in the case study of thesis.

Before the case study chapter, the historical political-economic background of İzmir’s urbanization and planning processes are elucidated in chapter five with a particular focus on post-2000 period. As the political-economic analysis of chapter five reveals, the roll-out phase of neo-liberalization and the rise of urban entrepreneurialism in the post-2000 period in İzmir has been organized by the state power and the active involvement of local business associations in urban policy-making processes. Within this context of increased state intervention and investor-business involvement, UDPs have been proposed by the

collaboration-cooperation of powerful governmental and investor-business actors as the viable urban policy choices to overcome structural problems of neo-liberalization regime, including stagnant economic growth, unemployment and trade deficit.

Historical political-economic analysis of chapter five also identified the hegemonic bases of different UDPs throughout different political-economic trajectories of urbanization. It is unveiled that UDPs have brought to the agenda of urban politics by dominant social forces and the common economic motivation behind UDPs in different trajectories is the regime of capital accumulation. UDPs in different time periods are formed and implemented to reproduce the dynamics of capitalist local economic structure. Through producing required spaces for the accumulation of capital (port in the first decades of 20th century, Kültürpark in the 1930s, railways and industrial development zones in the period between 1945 and 1970 and rent-oriented urban development projects since the 1980s) UDPs have provided the key dynamics for the reproduction of capitalist socio-spatial relations in the city. In each of the time period, the hegemonic bases of these different UDPs have been constituted on the basis of local economic structure and capital accumulation relations. In other words, public support and consent behind these UDPs have been mobilized through introducing these UDPs to public something serving the functioning of local economic structure. However, to investigate how the hegemonic power has been mobilized with these UDPs, it is not enough to shed light on economic structure and capital accumulation relations, but rather we should investigate through which discourses and activities of hegemony construction, a powerful political-ideological superstructural basis is constructed for the formation of UDPs. It is needed to investigate how UDPs, particularly in the post-2000s period, have been politically-ideologically constructed and which social forces play what roles in this political construction process? These questions are answered by the case study chapter including a comparative and detailed analysis of the formation of New City Center (NCC) and İnciraltı Tourism Center (İTC) Development Projects from İzmir.

In the case study chapter of the thesis, NCC and İTC development projects from İzmir are critically investigated through employing three methods of qualitative analysis with a complementary manner, which are (1) critical discourse analysis (of plan reports, related documents and media texts), (2) institution and neighborhood questionnaires and (3) semi-structured in-depth interviews (with key stakeholders and local residents). These different

sources of empirical evidence are used complementarily to reveal different dynamics of decision-making and opinion-building in the political construction of NCC and İTC projects.

Critical discourses analysis of media texts and key documents reveal that governmental decision-maker and investor-business actors in both of the projects use common economic growth based words like “investment”, “local economic development” and “employment”. In addition to them, there are also different words specific to each project. For instance in the formation of NCC project; İzmir Greater Municipality (İGM), investors and local business associations use “urban regeneration” based words and themes extensively. Such actors, on the other hand, use “tourism” and “EXPO” based words and themes in the formation of İTC project. Moreover, there are coalition-based words like “cooperation” and “collaboration” of “different stakeholders”. Such hegemonic discourses are ideologically constructed to mobilize and consolidate public support in the formation of UDPs.

The findings of critical discourse analysis show that news, articles and advertisements in mass media tools play an important role in disseminating and dominating hegemonic discourses in the formation of both of the two UDPs in İzmir. It is observed that the declarations of governmental and investor-business actors dominate the formation of news and articles in most of the media sources. Hegemonic discourses stated in these declarations play a facilitative role in the dissemination of predominant view in the formation of the projects. However there are also oppositional discourses against the formation of the projects. Therefore, discourses could be seen and studied as a political-ideological site of power, struggle and opposition of different social forces in the formation of the UDPs. Powerful state and capital actors (re)produce and disseminate hegemonic discourses to mobilize public support for the formation of UDPs. However, on the other side, oppositional actors confront against these discourses through putting forward their counter-oppositional discourses. There is a struggle at the level of discursive practice in the formation of UDPs. This struggle could be observed obviously in the formation of İTC project.

The main argument of this thesis is that governmental and investor-business actors aim to construct a **“capacity to produce consent” (CPC)** through the domination of hegemonic discourses and the collaboration with key agents of civil society like local business associations, chambers, universities and media institutions. The main target of CPC is to

mobilize public support and consent for UDP. This politically-ideologically constructed hegemonic capacity focuses on the mobilization of public support and consent in the formation of UDP and plays role in redefining the priorities of urban planning and policy. The construction of each capacities of producing consent (CsPC) for each project may vary according to different actors involved; but the common basis of each CsPC is that they are embodied by the hegemonic discourses of powerful capitalist actors in the formation of UDPs.

Which hegemonic discourses have played political-ideological superstructural role in mobilizing public support and consent for UDPs? This major research question of the thesis is answered by the findings of critical discourse analysis and urban field survey. The findings reveal that NCC project is defined and presented to public as “an opportunity to attract investment” and “to provide employment”. Such hegemonically constructed discourses are also supported with “urban regeneration” based discourses defining the problems of the project site as “urban decline”. ITC project, on the other hand, has become a site of “tourism” and “EXPO” based discourses. Most of the governmental and investor-business actors state that with ITC project “an economically unproductive” and “agriculturally declining” area will be transformed to “an attractive space of tourism development”. In both of the projects, through (re)producing and dominating “economic growth”, “investment” and “employment” based hegemonic discourses, a notion of “abstract space” (with reference to Lefebvre) is politically-ideologically constructed.

Urban field survey in İzmir revealed that the categories of institutions and class positions of local residents are decisive factors behind the mobilization of support and consent. Government institutions, investors, property owners and local capital organizations support to the formation of both of the two UDPs. Chambers affiliated to UCTEA, some universities and left-wing political parties, environmentalist NGOs declare their oppositional views against ITC project. For both of the projects, it could be argued that the tendency to support to the formation of the projects differ according to the class positions of local residents. Bourgeois classes tend to support to the formation of the projects more than the working classes and this class-based formation of the views could be observed as a general tendency. Moreover, geographical proximity to project site also plays a crucial role in mobilizing the support of the people. Local residents living or working in the sites of the projects are more tended to support to the projects than the people living in distant

districts of the city. In addition to this, being a property owner in the project site constitutes a positive influence over the formation of supportive views for the projects. Although the tendency to support to the projects differentiate according to class positions, geographical proximity to project site and property ownership, there is no problem from the perspective of governmental decision-makers in mobilizing the support and consent of local residents. A vast majority of local residents support to the formation of the projects.

However local residents tend to declare their support for the projects through different motivations, expectations and behaviors. They do not show a common behavioral type of mobilizing their consent; but rather there are different behaviors motivating local residents differently in expressing their thoughts and views concerning the formation of the project. In this respect, there are two major behavioral types of mobilizing consent. The first is **“active consent”**. Local residents obviously stating their support to the project without any hesitation and frequently using “investment” “employment” and growth” based discourses in their expressions could be categorized within the “active consent”. Most of the actively consenting local residents are property owners living in the project sites and they think that “projects provide benefits for all of the people living in İzmir”. Moreover, these people tend to become organized through establishing associations and pursue all the news from media sources concerning the formation of the projects. The second behavioral type of mobilizing consent is **“passive consent”** which means low level of awareness and passive support of the people concerning the formation of the project. People having a passive consent for the project do not embrace and reproduce hegemonic discourses and they have a very low level of information for the project. It is observed in urban field survey that most of the people having passive consent for the projects are tenants and low-educated, low-income people. Furthermore, in expressing their views for the projects these people emphasize their daily lives and survival strategies as reactions to project. However, although they do not actively support to the project, their tendency to cooperate with active supporters is high and therefore it could be expected that people having active and passive consent may act and decide together under any condition of decision-taking in the implementation of the project.

Through which mechanisms hegemonic discourses of UDPs have been disseminated and dominated as common sense over the formation of public opinion? This major research questions of the thesis is answered by the empirical evidence of the case study. There are

two common and influential mechanism in both of the projects namely (1) mass media tools and (2) the declarations of powerful governmental and investor-business actors in these tools. Besides these common mechanisms, there are project-specific mechanisms. For instance, the advertisements of shopping malls, office towers and luxury residences have become influential in dominating hegemonic discourses, therefore they have played a constitutive role in constructing the CPC of NCC project. The other project specific influential mechanism of disseminating hegemonic discourses is EXPO. As field survey uncovered, the governmental decision-makers and local business leaders intend to mobilize public support for ITC project through forming the project with an EXPO-based strategy. To sum up, the CsPC of UDPs have been constructed by the utilization of mass media tools. Particularly in the formation of ITC project, mass media tools have become the platform of political-ideological struggle amongst the predominant-supporter view (of governmental and investor-business actors) and oppositional-counter views (of chambers affiliated to UCTEA and some other NGOs). However, it could be stated that predominant-supporter views have more advantages in manipulating the shaping of public opinion since they dominate and command most of the media institutions.

Hegemonic discourses intend to mobilize the consent of which social forces in the formation of UDPs? This research question is answered through discussing the findings of the case study research in chapter six. It is identified two particularly targeted actors in the mobilization of consent, which are “occupational professions” like city planning and “chambers affiliated to UCTEA”. Governmental decision-maker actors intend to strengthen the CsPC of each project through “collaborating-cooperating” with such actors of civil society in the formation of UDPs. In the formation of NCC project, such efforts to collaborate with key actors of civil society have become successful since IGM, chambers and some academicians from universities have collaborated in the preparation of NCC development plan. However, since chambers politically-ideologically opposed against ITC project, they do not respond positively any consensus based discourse and reject cooperation-collaboration with Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) in the preparation of ITC development plans. As a result, the CPC of ITC project has not become powerful owing to the failed attempts of MCT to collaborate with oppositional actors of civil society.

Another important argument of the thesis is that under the guise of such “collaboration-cooperation” based relations, powerful governmental actors may exert dominance over the

role and priorities of urban planning in the formation of UDPs. Furthermore this “cooperation-collaboration” based discourses and strategies could also be viewed as a hegemonically constructed strategy to absorb and pacify the oppositional power of counter-oppositional actors. Governmental decision-makers fail to absorb and pacify the opposition of non-governmental social forces and therefore, the CPC of İTC project is restricted by the politically-ideologically motivated activities of chambers, environmentalist NGOs, some universities and left-wing political parties. Unlike the governmental actors of İTC project, İzmir Greater Municipality has “successfully” cooperated-collaborated with chambers in the formation of NCC project. This “strategically taken consensus based decision” enable them to strengthen the base of the CPC of NCC project, since they mobilize the support and active consent of the chambers with consensus-based relations. As a result, the case study provides the empirical evidence to argue that the existence and the mobilization of counter-oppositional views and activities directly influence the construction of CsPC of each projects.

This thesis argues that since governmental decision-makers do not provide collaboration with oppositional non-governmental actors (like chambers, environmentalist NGOs) in the formation of İTC project, they tend to enforce a project-based law to impose a coercive and legally legitimate base of power for the formation of İTC project. Thesis claims that project-based laws operate as **“coercive-legislative mechanisms”** and governmental actors tend to enforce them more if they do not successfully construct a powerful CPC for the project. This is the case in İTC project. The CPC of İTC project is not strength because there is a powerful and ideologically-motivated opposition of chambers and some NGOs, whose active consent could not be acquired by the governmental decision-makers. Owing to the weakness of CPC, powerful actors tend to dominate and impose a coercive and legally legitimate mechanism with a project-based law. However, such a project-based law still remain socially illegitimate since it is not a product of a real consensus amongst different actors of İTC project.

The case study also revealed that powerful governmental and investor-business institutions aim to acquire the consent of not only local residents and some non-governmental organizations, but they also need to mobilize the active consent of their own members/officials/employees. Therefore, the capacities of producing consent (CsPC) of UDPs are constructed to dominate the views of these insider people who performs

particular administrative or occupational duties. The level of intra-institutional consent is related directly and positively with the construction of CPC and therefore it could be claimed that high level of intra-institutional consent facilitates the construction of hegemony over the definition of urban political priorities in the formation of UDPs. Empirical evidence of case study chapter remarks that NCC project has a higher level of intra-institutional consent when compared with ITC project. Survey results also indicate that the level of intra-institutional consent also changes according to the duties of the people and the political-ideological tendencies of these people in performing their particular occupations.

All the findings of the case study and literature review on the politics of UDPs in the world and Turkey are summarized and illustrated through the figure mentioned below. This figure displays which governmental and non-governmental actors and their hegemonic discourses, activities and collaborative relations play what kind of roles (strengthening or weakening) in constructing the CPC. It also explicates under which conditions project-based laws as coercive-legislative mechanisms are enforced and what role such legislative mechanisms play in the formation of UDPs. In addition, this figure provides a basis to comparatively analyze the roles of CPC and coercive-legislative mechanisms in the political construction of NCC and ITC Development Projects.

To explain the main rationale of the figure, firstly it is needed to manifest the key socio-political dynamics of the political construction of UDPs. Local political power of government institutions (which are having planning authority in the formation of UDP), collaborative relations amongst local and central government and the high level of intra-institutional consent in the formation of UDP have all strengthened the CPC of UDP. Negotiation power of investors-business associations over the governmental decision-makers and coordinated and organized acting capacity of local capital fractions also strengthen the CPC of UDP. If the local political power of governmental institution (having planning authority in the formation of UDP) and the level of its intra-institutional consent are low and if there is political struggle between local and central governments, then these socio-political dynamics all weaken the construction of CPC of UDP. Uncoordinated actions of local capital fractions and the low negotiation power of them over governmental decision-makers also weaken CPC. Media power, on the other hand, plays a very curial role in constructing the CPC through disseminating, dominating and manipulating a common-sense public opinion

for UDPs. The utilization of mass media tools like newspapers, television channels, internet and all sorts of advertisement platforms by powerful governmental and investor-business actors gives rise to the construction of CPC. Oppositional non-governmental actors may also utilize these tools to explain their oppositional views and manifest their counter hegemonic projects and such activities undermines the construction of CPC of UDPs. However, powerful capitalist actors of UDPs have more power in dominating and commanding mass media tools in the formation of UDPs.

The thesis argues that mobilizing the active consent of organized conscious social groups including universities, chambers and other non-governmental organizations is one of the most important dynamic in the political construction of UDP. To construct a powerful CPC, governmental and investor-business actors attempt to develop collaborative relations with such organized social groups in the formation of UDPs. For instance, collaborations with related academicians and departments from universities and forming partnerships with chambers affiliated to UCTEA in the preparation of development plans strengthen CPC, since these collaborative relations provide support and active consent of these organized conscious social groups.

Mobilization of consent of local residents and citizens is also important for governmental decision-makers of UDPs. The active consent of these unorganized masses, in the general sense, is mobilized through hegemonic discourses and the manipulation of public opinion. As case study research indicates, the mobilization of the consent of people living in İzmir differentiated according to geographical proximity to project site, class positions and property ownership.

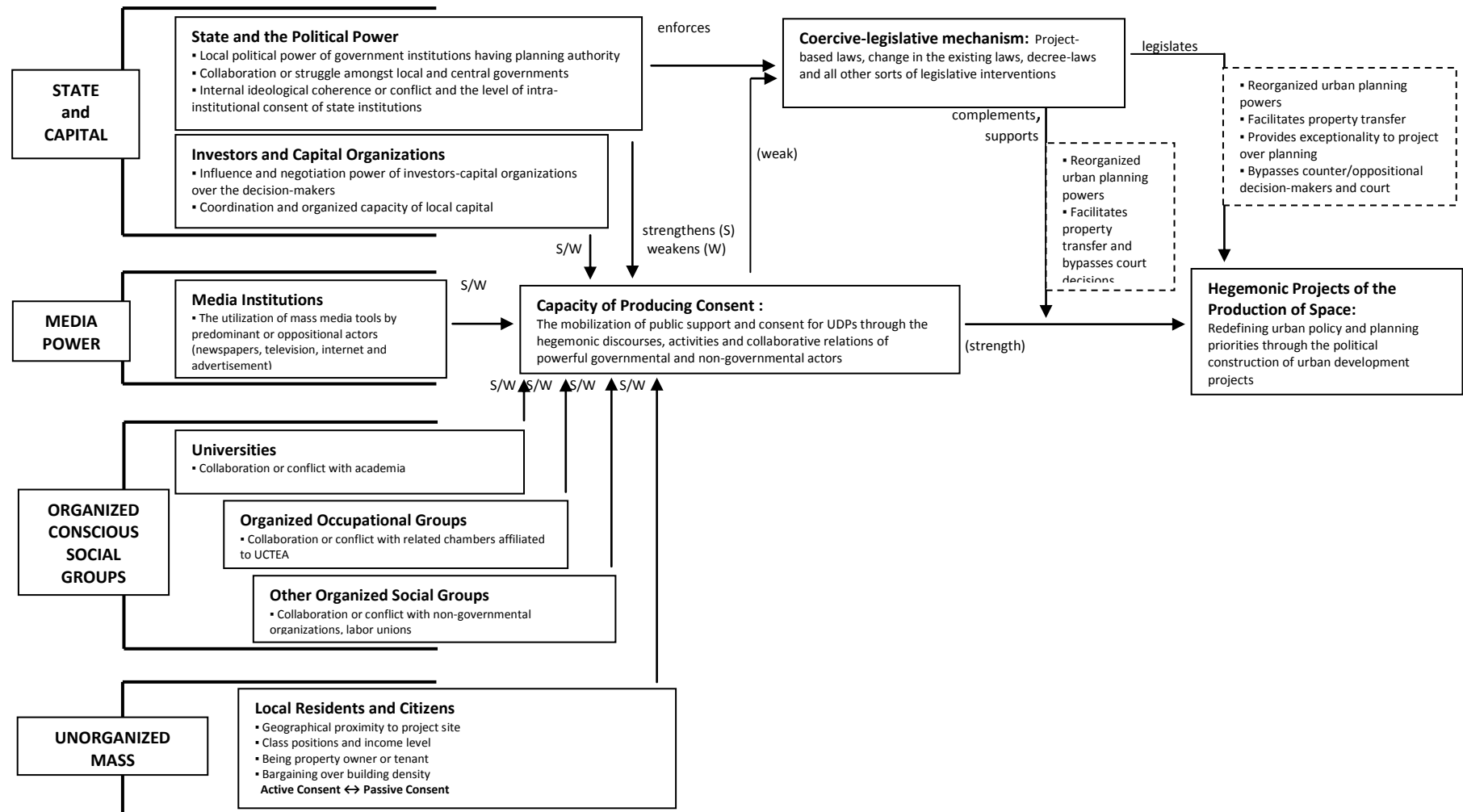


Figure 7.1 The Key Dimensions of the Political Construction of Urban Development Projects

These socio-political dynamics stated in the table mentioned above have all strengthen or weaken the construction of CsPC of UDPs, which are the crucial capacities of hegemony construction over the definition of urban political priorities. However, as the critical examination of the politics of UDPs in the world and Turkey reveals, the CsPC of UDPs do not provide the only superstructural base in the political-ideological construction of UDPs. Laws, legislations, project-based laws, decree-laws and all sorts of legislative interventions play a very important role and they operate as coercive-legislative mechanisms of capitalist state in the political construction of UDPs. As Chapter four and the findings on İTC project in case study revealed, these coercive-legislative mechanisms have played four significant roles, which are (1) the reorganization of urban planning powers, (2) the facilitation of property transfer, (3) the provision of exceptional power to project over planning and lastly (4) bypassing of counter/oppositional decision-makers and court decisions. These dynamics are provided by the enforcement of project-based laws, decree-laws and all other sorts of legislative interventions in the political construction of UDPs in Turkey.

The CPC and coercive-legislative mechanisms of the state together form the basis of political-ideological superstructural power in the formation of UDPs. These hegemonically constructed capacity (CPC) and coercive-legislative mechanisms articulated in the political construction of UDPs. They complement each other and provide key political-ideological and legal-legislative dynamics for the political construction of UDPs.

Abovementioned figure provide a comparative framework to explain main differences and similarities in the political construction of NCC and İTC development projects. NCC project is formed by a local government institution (İzmir Greater Municipality), which has high levels of political power and intra-institutional consent. Furthermore, in the preparation of NCC development plans, İGM collaborated with investors, local business associations, chambers affiliated to UCTEA and some academicians from universities. This collaborative relations with such non-governmental actors and the utilization of mass media tools by governmental and investor-business actors give rise to a powerful construction of CPC for NCC project. Since this hegemonically constructed capacity of NCC project is powerful, governmental decision-makers did not consider to enforce a project-based law as a coercive-legislative mechanism. With its powerful CPC, NCC project has been implemented and it has become the “hegemonic project of the production of space”, redefined urban policy and planning priorities of İzmir in the last decade.

The political construction of İTC project, on the other hand, shows differences in terms of the articulation of CPC and coercive-legislative mechanism. In the formation of İTC project, the preparation and approval of development plans are managed by a central government institution (MCT-Ministry of Culture and Tourism) which has both low levels of local political power and intra-institutional consent. To overcome its low level of power in İzmir, MCT collaborated with local government institutions including İGM and Balçova Municipality in the preparation of development plans. However, MCT did not succeed in mobilizing the consent of most of the organized social groups like chambers (affiliated to UCTEA), some left-wing political parties and labor unions, environmentalist NGOs and some academicians from universities. These organized conscious social groups politically-ideologically opposed against the formation of İTC project and they rejected to make collaboration with MCT in the preparation of İTC development plans. This political-ideological opposition of such organized conscious social groups undermined the construction of CPC of İTC project. Since central and local government decision-makers failed to construct a powerful CPC, they tend to enforce an EXPO-based law as a coercive-legislative mechanism to facilitate the implementation of İTC project. In other words, governmental decision-makers in İTC project, intend to substitute the lack of a powerful CPC through enforcing a coercive-legislative mechanism. Unlike NCC project, not the CPC but an EXPO based law as a coercive-legislative mechanism plays the key role in the political construction of İTC project. Moreover, it could also be argued that weak CPC of İTC project reflect why this politically-ideologically opposed project is not implemented yet. Owing to the judiciary actions of politically-ideologically opposed social groups against İTC development plans, the CPC of İTC project could not be strengthened and therefore, MCT is not able to successfully finish İTC planning process. Politically-ideologically motivated opposition of organized social groups continues and powerful governmental actors aim to bypass the opposition of these groups through enforcing an EXPO-based law as a coercive-legislative mechanism.

All the findings of research including the case study and the politics of UDPs in the world and Turkey are discussed with a critical, comparative and detailed manner in this part. In the following part of conclusion chapter, the theories of the politics of urban development projects are reconsidered within the light of this empirical evidence. The next part shows how the empirical evidence of the thesis contributes to the formulation of a Lefebvrian-

inspired neo-Gramscian theoretical perspective for the investigation of political-ideological construction of UDPs.

7.2 Reconsidering Theories of the Politics of Urban Development Projects

There are different theoretical perspectives to investigate the politics of urban development. As neo-pluralist and neo-Weberian perspectives of urban development politics, urban regime and growth machine approaches propose to research the politics of UDPs as “identifiable urban policy agendas” of “land-based business elites”. Moreover, urban regime approach emphasized the role of cooperation-collaboration of governmental and business actors and claims that these state and capital actors produce a “capacity to govern” urban development process (Stone, 1989). However theoretical approach and the research of the thesis proves that agent based perspectives of urban regime and growth machine approaches fail to consider the role of capital accumulation, state power, hegemony construction and struggles in the political construction of UDPs. As the empirical evidence of the thesis indicate, UDPs have become the sites of constructing capitalist hegemony over the definition of urban planning and policy priorities. Therefore, “capacity to govern” in the city is produced not only through the collaboration of powerful government and business actors, but it is also politically-ideologically constructed by the hegemonic discourses and activities of these capitalist actors to mobilize public support and consent.

Marxist geography approach, led by Harvey, provided a structuralist explanation to overcome agent based perspectives of urban regime and growth machine approaches. It places particular emphasis on capital accumulation relations in explaining the political-economic dynamics of UDPs. As Marxist Geography approach argues (Harvey, 1989a; Smith, 2002), UDPs are profit-oriented and rent-seeking ways of producing built environment, facilitating the switch of capital from first to secondary circuit and thus providing dynamics for the accumulation of capital. To explain how state power and state-capital relations have been redefined and restructured in the formation of UDPs, Harvey (1989b) propounded the concept of “urban entrepreneurialism” as a general theoretical preface for the investigation of the politics of urban development. Urban entrepreneurialism, for Harvey (1989b), have become widespread in capitalist countries through dominating UDPs as the viable urban development policy choices to attract inward investment. Through providing a “good

business climate” for capitalist market forces, UDPs represent entrepreneurial urban policy mechanisms of capitalist class power.

Which governmental and non-governmental actors play what roles in dominating UDPs as entrepreneurial urban policy mechanisms? Harvey and Marxist Geography approach, in general, do not provide full-fledged answers to these questions, they rather underline that the new role of state power in the organization of urban entrepreneurialism is to incorporate investor-business driven interests into the urban policy making process. UDPs play role in this incorporation of capitalist interest and therefore they are conceptualized as entrepreneurial urban development policy mechanisms. However, as the theoretical perspective of this thesis stresses, Marxist Geography approaches adopt an economic determinist/reductionist view and fail to explain how governmental and non-governmental actors organize their power in the political-ideological construction of UDPs. To overcome economic reductionist approach of Marxist Geography, different neo-Marxian views of urban governance emerged and they provide important explanations on how state power and state capital relations have been redefined, reorganized and even reterritorialized in the making of entrepreneurial urban development policies. Amongst them, the most important ones are Brenner’s and Cox’s views of urban governance. Brenner (2004) explained how UDPs as supply-side entrepreneurial urban development policies have emerged as the product of “state rescaling” process in west European cities. Cox and Mair (1988) explored the formation of urban coalitions and their growth based UDPs with reference to “local dependence” concept.

However any of these Marxist and neo-Marxian perspectives of urban governance do not provide a theoretical base to investigate how governmental and non-governmental actors organize their hegemonic-ideological and coercive-legislative powers in the political construction of UDPs in Turkey. This thesis formulated a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian perspective to investigate the political construction of UDPs within the case study of İzmir.

Theoretical formulation of the thesis originated on Gramsci’s conception of political power. For Gramsci (1971) hegemony (consent) and force (coercion) are two underlying, interrelated and articulated dimensions of political power through which capitalist classes maintain their ruling power. Force is provided by the coercive-repressive power of the state. Hegemony, on the other hand, is constructed by the formation, operation and

domination of “hegemonic projects” which are organized through the organizing capacity of the state (Jessop, 1997; Joseph, 2002). Therefore state in the integral sense and its policy-making mechanisms could be viewed as a strategic terrain through which capitalist ruling classes develop their hegemonic projects. UDPs, from this neo-Gramscian perspective, could be seen and studied as “hegemonic projects” that reflect how diverse social forces (governmental and investor-business actors, chambers and non-governmental organizations, universities and media institutions ...etc.) unite to secure the economic base of capital accumulation relations.

In addition to neo-Gramscian approach, Lefebvrian perspective of urban politics views UDPs as serialized production of “abstract space”, which is internalized in the everyday life through the moral principles and consent (Lefebvre, 1991; Kipfer, 2002; 2008). Through producing abstract space with UDPs, a hegemonic-ideological power is constructed over the definition of urban policy and planning priorities. This hegemonic-ideological powers of UDPs also gives rise to commodification, alienation, homogenization and fragmentation, all of which for Lefebvre (1976) deepen capitalism through dominating everyday life practices.

Through reinterpreting the concepts and theoretical perspectives of Gramsci and Lefebvre, a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian approach is formulated to investigate the political construction of UDPs. Although this approach conceptualized UDPs as “hegemonic projects of the production of space” at the theoretical level, it is needed empirically to reveal hegemonic discourses and activities, collaborative relations and conflicts, legislative interventions and enforcements and the role of governmental and non-governmental actors in these processes. Therefore empirical survey of our case study concentrated to reveal these socio-political dynamics of the political construction of UDPs in the case of NCC and ITC Development Projects. The main results of the case study research are reflected in the table below.

Table 7.1 The Key Dimensions of the Political Construction of Urban Development Projects

The Configuration of Actors in the Political Construction of UDPs		Socio-Political Dynamics of the Political Construction of UDPs	Strengthens (S) or Weakens (W) CsPC for UDPs	Facilitated the implementation of UDPs	Obstructed the implementation of UDPs	The Composition of the Power in the Political Construction of UDPs
Political Society + Civil Society (Integral State)	State and Capital	Politically powerful government institutions having planning authority	S	√		Hegemonic Capacity (CPC) + Coercive-Legislative Mechanism
		Politically powerless government institutions having planning authority	W		√	
		Collaboration amongst local and central governments	S	√		
		Struggle amongst local and central governments	W		√	
		Internal ideological coherence of government institution having planning authority	S	√		
		Internal ideological conflict of government institution having planning authority	W		√	
		High level of intra-institutional consent of government institution having planning authority	S	√		
		Low level of intra-institutional consent of government institution having planning authority	W		√	
		High negotiation power of investors-capital organizations over the decision-makers	S	√		
		Low negotiation power of investors-capital organizations over the decision-makers	W		√	
		Collective and coordinated actions of local capital having organized capacity	S	√		
		Non-collective and uncoordinated actions of local capital having no organized capacity	W		√	
	Media Power	The utilization of mass media tools by powerful governmental and investor-capital actors	S	√		
		The utilization of mass media tools by oppositional organized conscious social groups	W		√	
	Organized Conscious Social Groups	Collaboration with related departments and academicians	S	√		
		Conflict with related departments and academicians	W		√	
		Collaboration with related chambers affiliated to UCTEA	S	√		
		Conflict with related chambers affiliated to UCTEA	W		√	
		Collaboration with non-governmental organizations, labor unions	S	√		
		Conflict with non-governmental organizations, labor unions	W		√	
	Unorganized Mass	People living/working proximate to project site	S			
		People living/working in distant districts from the project site	W			
		Upper and petty bourgeois, white collar workers with high income level	S			
		Unemployed, retired persons, blue collar and casual workers with low income level	W			
		Property owners in the project site	S			
		Tenants in the project site	W			
		Bargaining with property owners over building density	S	√		

The table showing the key dimensions of the political construction of UDPs, is a summary and table version of the figure mentioned in the previous part of conclusion chapter. It elucidates which socio-political dynamics play what roles in the construction of CPC. As this table indicates, local political power, hegemonic discourses and collaborative relations amongst state, capital and civil society actors strengthens the construction of CsPC of UDPs. Local political struggles and conflicts amongst such actors, on the other hand, weakens the construction of CsPC.

Governmental and investor-business actors aim to strengthen CPC of UDP through collaborating with organized conscious social groups including chambers, universities and other non-governmental organization. This collaborative relation facilitates the implementation of UDP. If governmental and investor-business actors fail to collaborate with such social groups, CPC of UDP could not be strength and the implementation of UDPs are obstructed since such social groups politically-ideologically oppose against the formation of UDPs through bringing judiciary action against these projects. Under such conditions of weak CPC, governmental decision-makers tend to enforce project-based laws as coercive-legislative mechanisms in the formation of UDPs.

CPC is a key concept in terms of the political construction of UDPs. It operationalizes Gramsci's concept of hegemony and reflects how political-ideological superstructural dynamics have been organized by powerful governmental and non-governmental actors in the political construction of UDPs. However CPC is not the only base of political power, legislative interventions (project-based laws, decree-laws, all sorts of legislative intervention) also play key roles in the formation of UDPs. As research findings unveil, the political power in the formation of UDPs is composed by the complementary relation and differential articulation of hegemonic capacity (CPC) and coercive-legislative mechanisms (laws, legislative interventions). Furthermore, Gramsci's definition of "integral state" (political society + civil society) reflect the configuration of governmental and non-governmental actors in the political construction of UDPs.

The final arguments of conclusion is derived through reconsidering the initial arguments of the thesis within the light of empirical evidence. Initial arguments play an important role in framing basic theoretical premises and empirical survey of thesis and they are revised within the light of the empirical evidence. As a result of the research, initial arguments are

reconsidered, enriched and four concluding arguments have been derived. These concluding arguments summarize the findings of research and contribute to the theorization of the political construction of UDPs.

Concluding Argument 1: UDPs (Urban Development Projects) have become **“hegemonic projects of the production of space”** as long as governmental and key non-governmental actors collaborate and mobilize hegemonic-ideological discursive practices and coercive-legislative mechanisms in the political construction of UDPs. Through dominating hegemonic discourses and enforcing project-based legislative interventions, these hegemonic and coercive superstructural practices and mechanisms are mobilized to redefine urban policy and planning priorities in urban development processes.

Concluding Argument 2: UDPs are politically constructed through “economic growth”, “investment”, “employment” and “urban regeneration” based hegemonic arguments, discourses and narratives of powerful governmental and investor-business actors. These powerful capitalist actors of UDPs aim to construct a **“capacity to produce consent” (CPC)** through the domination of hegemonic discourses and the collaboration with key organized actors of civil society including chambers affiliated to UCTEA, universities, environmentalist non-governmental organizations and media institutions. The CPC of an UDP primarily target to mobilize the consent of such organized conscious social groups to construct a hegemonic power over the definition of urban policy and planning priorities. UDPs gain a hegemonic power as long as powerful capitalist actors of UDPs successfully construct a powerful CPC. The power of CPC depends on the adoption of hegemonic discourses, local political power of governmental actor (having planning authority), the collaboration of central and local governments, the internal ideological coherence and intra-institutional consent of state institutions, coordinated and organized capacity of local capital and the utilization of mass media tools in the formation of UDPs.

Concluding Argument 3: In the political construction of UDPS; not only discursive practices of hegemony construction, but also legislative mechanisms of capitalist state (project-based laws, decree-laws, change in the existing laws and all other sorts of legislative interventions) play a key role. In the socio-political contexts in which governmental decision-makers do not provide collaboration with oppositional non-governmental actors (like chambers, universities, environmentalist NGOs) in the formation of UDPs, they tend to

enforce a project-based law to impose a coercive and legally legitimate base of power for the formation of UDPs. In this respect, as the case study of this thesis reveals, project-based laws operate as **“coercive-legislative mechanisms”** and governmental actors tend to enforce them more if they do not successfully construct a powerful CPC for UDP. Governmental decision-makers intend to substitute the lack of a powerful CPC through enforcing a project-based law as a coercive-legislative mechanism in the formation of UDP. However the enforcement of coercive-legislative mechanisms do not only stem from the lack of hegemonic power. If the production of built environment become a necessity for the continuity of capital accumulation, governmental decision-makers tend to enforce these coercive-legislative mechanisms to impose the implementation of UDPs

Concluding Argument 4: UDPs have been politically constructed through the complementary relation and differential articulation of hegemonic discourses and activities (that construct CPC of UDP) and legislative interventions (that operate as coercive-legislative mechanisms). Empirical evidence of the thesis indicate that hegemonic-ideological discursive practices and coercive-legislative mechanisms have been articulated in the political construction of UDPs and this **“differential articulation of hegemony and force”** depends on different state-civil society relationship patterns in different capitalist countries of the world. In the countries where the agents of civil society are organized and powerful, governmental actors need to construct a hegemonic-ideological power for a successful political construction of UDPs. However in different socio-political contexts in which state has a coercive-repressive power over the agents of civil society, state has the power to directly impose the formation of UDPs through coercive-legislative mechanisms. Therefore, articulation of the mechanisms of hegemony and force have differentiated according to the patterns of the relations between state and civil society. In the socio-political context of Turkey, both hegemonic discourses and legislative interventions are used with a complementary manner in the political construction of UDPs. Not only “growth”, “investment”, “employment” and “regeneration” based discourses of civil society actors, but also legislative interventions of state actors have constructed the political power to produce urban space through UDPs.

7.3 Policy Implications and Further Remarks for Counter-Hegemonic Views and Projects

UDPs are politically constructed and this construction gives rise to the domination of an hegemonic-ideological power over the definition of urban policy and planning priorities. To struggle against the capitalist hegemony of UDPs, urban planning may play revolutionary roles. In this part of conclusion chapter some policy implications are proposed to elucidate the role of urban planning in organizing counter hegemonic views and projects.

The political analysis of UDPs shows that powerful capitalist forces mobilize not only coercive-legislative power of state and systemic power of capital, but they also construct a hegemonic power over the role of urban planning in the formation of UDPs. As the case study reveals, the roles and the priorities of urban planning, in the formation of UDPs, are defined as “the attraction of investment”, “the provision of employment” and “the promotion of local economic growth”. In the formation of UDPs, urban planning as the strategic mechanism of producing space, has been subordinated to the priorities of economic growth. Capitalist social forces aim to dominate urban planning as the practice of producing “abstract space” in Lefebvrian terms.

However, the role of urban planning is not restricted with the production of abstract space. Urban planning is not a simple instrument of capitalist forces to impose their profit-oriented UDPs. The basic principles of urban planning concerns public interest, social justice, use value of urban space and socio-spatial equality of classes. Therefore urban planning, by its nature, plays a strategic role in providing social and spatial justice and equality through a socially just redistribution of resources. Against profit-oriented UDPs of capitalism, UDPs could also be used as an anti-capitalist urban planning practice, focusing on socio-spatial justice and the primacy of use value of space over exchange value. To sum up, urban planning could be viewed as a strategic site of urban political praxis upon which hegemonic UDPs of capitalist forces and counter hegemonic views and projects of politically-ideologically opponent revolutionary social forces compete and struggle.

In Turkey as well as in the world, there are different political and social forces supporting to and struggling against the capitalist hegemony of UDPs. Governmental and investor-business actors construct hegemonic powers of UDPs through collaborating with key actors of civil society including universities, chambers, media institutions and other non-

governmental organizations. However these organized actors of civil society have also political-ideological potential to oppose against the hegemony of UDPs. Therefore, these actors of civil society could be conceptualized as the agents of “the war of position” in Gramscian terms, which defines the hegemony struggle amongst capitalist and revolutionary social forces.

It can be inferred from this thesis that to struggle against the capitalist hegemony of UDPs, it is required to organize and coordinate the power and the revolutionary productive capacity of civil society actors including universities, chambers, media institutions and other NGOs. Universities and chambers have the potential to play crucial roles in forming counter-hegemonic projects for a socially just and use value oriented production of urban space against the hegemony of UDPs. Media power has key role in this process, since these counter-hegemonic views and projects are able to mobilize public support and consent through the utilization of mass media tools. Thus, counter-hegemonic projects of an anti-capitalist urban planning approach could only be mobilized through organizing the power and resources of these civil society actors. The role of counter-hegemonic projects, in this respect, is providing alternative socialist urban development visions through empowering new imaginations, new revolutionary utopian visions to create livable, accessible, socially just and egalitarian cities, urban spaces and neighborhoods for the people not for profit.

In Turkish urban political context, existing mode of struggle against profit-oriented UDPs is bringing judiciary actions against legislative frameworks and development plans of these UDPs. Chambers affiliated to UCTEA and some oppositional NGOs have brought judiciary actions against such coercive-legislative mechanisms (laws, plans ...etc.) of UDPs and through giving rise to the cancellation of development plans, such oppositional social forces play role in obstructing the implementation of UDPs. However to mobilize our counter anti-capitalist urban development policies, we need not only a struggle at the level of coercive-legislative mechanisms through bringing judiciary actions against UDPs. But we also need to enrich urban development vision and imagination of people through mobilizing our counter-hegemonic anti-capitalist urban development projects. It is the only way to win “the war of position” against the capitalist hegemony of UDPs and in this hegemony struggle, academicians from universities, chambers of city planners and architectures urban planning practitioners and all related organized social groups should mobilize, coordinate and organize their activity to create alternative socialist urban development visions and

projects that focus on the production of livable, accessible, socially just and egalitarian urban spaces. They also need to utilize media power to mobilize awareness, public support and consent for their alternative socialist urban development visions and projects. This is the way how the political-ideological power of urban planning is able to organize and mobilize its revolutionary power against the capitalist hegemony of UDPs.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INSTITUTION QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

Anket yapılanlara okunacak bilgilendirme notu

Bu anket Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesinde yürütülmekte olan bir Bilimsel Araştırma Projesi kapsamında yapılmaktadır. Anket Yeni Kent Merkezi ve İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Projelerine yönelik olarak görüşlerinizi almayı amaçlamaktadır ve yaklaşık 20 dakika sürmektedir. Verdiğiniz kişisel bilgiler hiçbir şekilde kullanılmayacaktır. Anketin yapılmasındaki amaç Yeni Kent Merkezi ve İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi projelerine ilişkin olarak farklı toplumsal kesimlerin görüşlerini almaktır. Anket sırasında size yöneltilen soruları ve cevap seçeneklerini önünüzdeki anket formundan da takip edebilirsiniz. Bu anket sırasında size yönelttiğimiz sorulara (varsa) kurumunuzun görüşlerini yansıtacak şekilde yanıt vermeniz beklenmektedir. Kişisel görüşünüzün istendiği sorularda “kişisel görüşünüz itibarıyla” ifadesi yer almaktadır ve bu sorularda kişisel görüşlerinizi belirtmeniz yerinde olacaktır.

Anket Numarası:..... Anketörün Adı:..... Anket Yapılma Tarihi:.....

Genel Bilgiler

1. Anket yapılan kurumun adı nedir? :.....

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı ve bağlı kurumlar, Valilik, Kaymakamlıklar, Kalkınma Ajansı)
☐ Yerel Yönetim Kurumu (Belediyeler, İl Özel İdaresi, Muhtarlıklar)
☐ Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı
☐ Yerel Sermaye Örgütü (Ticaret, sanayi, esnaf odaları, iş adamları dernekleri...vb)
☐ Yatırımcı Şirket (Gayrimenkul geliştirici - büyük mülk sahibi)
☐ Sendika
☐ Yerel veya ulusal medya kuruluşu
☐ TMMOB'a bağlı Meslek Odası
☐ Üniversite
☐ Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütü

2. Anket yapılan kişinin adı nedir? :.....

3. Anket yapılan kişinin kurum içerisindeki görevi nedir? :.....

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi (dernekler, siyasi partiler, sendikalar, odalar, şirketler ...vd.)
☐ İdari görevli (Vali, Kaymakam, Muhtar, Belediye Bşk., Genel Md., Daire Bşk., Şube Md., Genel Sek. ve Yardımcıları ...vd.)
☐ Mesleki görevli (Uzman, Avukat, Şehir plancısı, Mimar, Mühendis, Sekreter, Gazeteci ...vb. mesleki görevli çalışan)
☐ Öğretim elemanı (Öğretim Üyesi veya Araştırma Görevlisi)
☐ Diğer. Yazınız.....

Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesi Üzerine Sorular

4. Kurumunuz yeni kent merkezi projesine ilişkin herhangi bir görüş oluşturdu mu? (Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Evet oluşturdu (5. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Hayır oluşturmadı (6. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Diğer. Yazınız..... (6. Soruya geçiniz)

5. Kurumunuzun görüşünü size sayacaklarımdan hangileri yoluyla ilettiniz? (Sayılanların herbirine ilişkin evet veya hayır şıklarından birini işaretleyiniz) (8. Soruya Geçiniz)

	Evet	Hayır
Görüşümüzü kurumlara yazılı olarak ilettik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kurumlarla toplantı-görüşme yaparak görüşümüzü ilettik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kamuoyu açıklaması yaparak görüşümüzü açıkladık	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....		

6. Yeni kent merkezi projesine ilişkin görüşünü benimsediğiniz kurumlar/kesimler var mı?

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Evet var (7. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Hayır yok (8. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Diğer. Yazınız..... (8. Soruya geçiniz)

7. Yeni kent merkezi projesine ilişkin görüşlerini benimsediğiniz kurumları/kesimleri öncelik sırasına göre belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Yatırımcılar ve Mülk sahipleri
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odaları
☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Hükümet Yetkilileri
☐ (...) İş Adamları Dernekleri
☐ (...) Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

8. İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesine ilişkin kurumunuzun görüşünü talep etti mi?

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Evet etti
☐ Hayır etmedi
☐ Diğer. Yazınız.....

9. Yeni kent merkezi projesinde İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi ile en çok işbirliği içerisinde olduğunu düşündüğünüz kurumları/kesimleri öncelik sırasıyla belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) Hükümet yetkilileri
☐ (...) İlçe Belediyeleri (Konak, Karşıyaka, Bayraklı Belediyeleri)
☐ (...) Yatırımcılar ve Mülk sahipleri
☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odaları
☐ (...) İş Adamları Dernekleri
☐ (...) Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

10. Size sayacağım ifadelerden hangileri Yeni Kent Merkezi Proje Alanının (Liman arkası, Salhane bölgesi ve Turan mahallesi) şu anki durumunu tanımlamaktadır? Tanımlamaktadır, kısmen tanımlamaktadır veya tanımlamamaktadır seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz?

(her ifadeye ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Tanımlamaktadır	Kısmen Tanımlamaktadır	Tanımlamamaktadır
Ekonomik getiri sağlamayan, atıl kalmış bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Terkedilmiş, yıpranmış bir çöküntü alanıdır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçak yapılarla çevrelenmiş eski bir depolama alanıdır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Modern kentsel merkeze dönüştürülememiş bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeolojik özelliklerinden dolayı yapılaşmaması gereken bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

11. Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesinin yaşama geçirilmesine kurumunuz destek veriyor mu? (Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Evet veriyor (12. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Hayır vermiyor (15. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Fikrimiz yok (18. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Diğer. Yazınız..... (18. Soruya geçiniz)

12. Size sayacağım gerekçelerden hangileri Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesine destek vermenizde etkili oldu? Etkili oldu, kısmen etkili oldu veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz?

(her gerekçe ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkili oldu	Kısmen etkili oldu	Etkisiz
Proje yatırım ve istihdam sağlayacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proje İzmir'e gökdelenler inşa edilmiş bir cazibe merkezi kazandıracaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Proje gayrimenkul değerlerinde artış sağlayacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proje Bayraklı'daki ve kentin diğer alanlarındaki dönüşümü tetikleyecektir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proje kent merkezindeki ulaşım sorununa çözüm sağlayacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proje Konak'daki tarihsel doku üzerindeki yapılaşma baskısını azaltacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

13. Size sayacaklarımdan hangileri Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesine ilişkin görüşlerinizin oluşmasını etkilemiştir? Etkiledi, kısmen etkiledi veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz?
 (sayılanların herbirine ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkiledi	Kısmen Etkiledi	Etkisiz
Gazetelerde, televizyonda ve internette yer alan haberler ve yazılar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnşaat şirketlerinin, yatırımcıların açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinin açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hükümet Yetkililerinin açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu alanda yapılacak gökdelen, AVM, rezidans reklamları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Liman bölgesi için kentsel tasarım uluslararası fikir yarışması	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yeni kent merkezi nazım imar planı ve planda yapılan değişiklikler	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu projeyle ilgili gerçekleştirilen konferans, forum, çalıştay ...vb etkinlikler	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

14. Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesine destek vermenizden en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin açıklamaları ve görüşleri etkili oldu? Öncelik sırasıyla belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına belirtirken en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)
 (17. Soruya geçiniz)

- ☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Yatırımcılar ve Mülk sahipleri
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi ve Esnaf Odaları
☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Hükümet Yetkilileri
☐ (...) İş Adamları Dernekleri
☐ (...) Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

15. Size sayacağım gerekçelerden hangileri Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesine karşı olmanızda etkili oldu? Etkili oldu, kısmen etkili oldu veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (her gerekçeye ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkili oldu	Kısmen etkili oldu	Etkisiz
Bu alanda yüksek katlı yapılaşmanın jeolojik riskleri bulunmaktadır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mülk sahiplerine ayrıcalıklı yapılaşma hakları verilmektedir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu alanda sunulacak hizmetlerden sadece zengin kesimler faydalanacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu alanda yaşayan yoksul kesimler yerinden edilecektir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plan kamu yararını gözeterek hazırlanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plan toplumun tüm kesimlerinin katılımıyla hazırlanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

16. Yeni Kent Merkezi projesine karşı olmanızda en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin görüşleri etkili oldu? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) Yüksel Çakmur ve onunla birlikte projeye karşı dava açan kişilerin
☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Yatırımcılar ve Mülk sahipleri

- ☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odaları
☐ (...) Hükümet Yetkilileri
☐ (...) Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları
☐ (...) İş Adamları Dernekleri
☐ (...) Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

17. Yeni kent merkezi projesinin yaşama geçirilmesi için uzlaşi sağlanması gereken en önemli kurumları/kesimleri öncelik sırasına göre belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) Yüksel Çakmur ve onunla birlikte dava açan kişiler
☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Mülk sahipleri ve yatırımcılar
☐ (...) Hükümet, ilgili Bakanlıkları
☐ (...) İlçe Belediyeleri (Konak, Karşıyaka, Bayraklı Belediyeleri)
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi ve Esnaf Odaları
☐ (...) İş adamları dernekleri
☐ (...) Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşları
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

18. Size sayacaklarımdan hangileri Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesinden beklentilerinizi yansıtmaktadır? Yansıtmaktadır, kısmen yansıtmaktadır, yansıtmamaktadır seçeneklerinden bir tanesini belirtebilir misiniz? (sayılanların herbirine ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Yansıtmaktadır	Kısmen yansıtmaktadır	Yansıtmamaktadır
Yatırım ve istihdam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gökdelene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yüksek emsal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Projeyle özel yasa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İkna	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uzlaşi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ticaret ve Turizm Merkezi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kurvaziyer Turizmi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lüks konut merkezi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yaşam kalitesi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Düşük yoğunluk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kent meydanı	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Açık ve Yeşil Alanlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kamu yararı	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kamusal mekan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kıyıyla bütünleşme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

19. Kurumunuzun yeni kent merkezi projesine yönelik görüşünü kişisel olarak benimsiyor musunuz?

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Benimsiyorum
☐ Kısmen benimsiyorum
☐ Benimsemiyorum
☐ Diğer. Yazınız.....

20. Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesinin yaşama geçmesi en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin faydasına olur? Öncelik sırasıyla belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinin
☐ (...) Yatırımcı ve Mülk Sahiplerinin
☐ (...) İzmir'de yaşayan her kesimin

- ☐ (...) Hükümetin
☐ (...) İlçe Belediyelerinin (Konak, Karşıyaka, Bayraklı Belediyeleri)
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odalarının
☐ (...) İş adamları derneklerinin
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlaması Üzerine Sorular

21. Kurumunuz İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına ilişkin herhangi bir görüş oluşturdu mu?

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Evet oluşturdu (22. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Hayır oluşturmadı (23. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Diğer. Yazınız..... (23. Soruya geçiniz)

22. Kurumunuzun görüşünü size sayacaklarımdan hangileri yoluyla ilettiniz? (Sayılanların herbirine ilişkin evet veya hayır şıklarından birini işaretleyiniz) (25. Soruya Geçiniz)

	Evet	Hayır
Görüşümüzü kurumlara yazılı olarak ilettik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kurumlarla toplantı-görüşme yaparak görüşümüzü ilettik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kamuoyu açıklaması yaparak görüşümüzü açıkladık	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....		

23. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına ilişkin görüşünüzü benimsediğiniz kurumlar/kesimler var mı?

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Evet var (24. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Hayır yok (25. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Diğer. Yazınız..... (25. Soruya geçiniz)

24. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına ilişkin görüşlerinizi benimsediğiniz kurumları/kesimleri öncelik sırasına göre belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Yatırımcılar ve Mülk sahipleri
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odaları
☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Hükümet Yetkilileri
☐ (...) İş Adamları Dernekleri
☐ (...) Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

25. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına ilişkin kurumunuzun görüşünüzü talep etti mi?

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Evet etti
☐ Hayır etmedi
☐ Diğer. Yazınız.....

26. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasında Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı ile en çok işbirliği içerisinde olduğunu düşündüğünüz kurumları/kesimleri öncelik sırasıyla belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Yatırımcılar ve Mülk sahipleri
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odaları
☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Balçova Belediyesi
☐ (...) İş Adamları Dernekleri
☐ (...) Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

27. Size sayacağım ifadelerden hangileri İnciraltı Turizm Merkezinin (İnciraltı ve Bahçelerarası Mahalleleri) şu anki durumunu tanımlamaktadır? Tanımlamaktadır, kısmen tanımlamaktadır, tanımlamamaktadır seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (her ifadeye ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Tanımlamaktadır	Kısmen Tanımlamaktadır	Tanımlamamaktadır
Tarım yapılamayan, imarı da sorunlu, mülk sahiplerinin mağdur edildiği bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kıyıda değerli konumuna rağmen turizm amaçlı geliştirilememiştir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yatırımcılar ve mülk sahipleri tarafından yoğun yapılaşma baskısı altındadır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tarımsal ve ekolojik niteliklerinden dolayı yoğun yapılaşmanın teşvik edilmemesi gereken bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Belirli siyasi ve ekonomik çıkar çevrelerinin güçlerini arttırmak için imara açmak istedikleri bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

28. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlarının yaşama geçirilmesine kurumunuz destek veriyor mu?

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Evet veriyor (29. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Hayır vermiyor (32. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Fikrimiz Yok (35. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Diğer. Yazınız..... (35. Soruya geçiniz)

29. Size sayacağım gerekçelerden hangileri İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına destek vermenizdeki etkili oldu? Etkili oldu, kısmen etkili oldu veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (her gerekçeye ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkili oldu	Kısmen etkili oldu	Etkisiz
Planların yaşama geçmesi yatırım ve istihdam sağlayacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Planlar İzmir'in değerli bir kıyı alanını turistik bir cazibe merkezine dönüştürecektir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Planlar gayrimenkul değerlerini arttıracaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Planlar yaşama geçerse Hükümet İzmir'e daha büyük yatırımlar yapacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnciraltındaki gelişme kentin diğer alanlarındaki dönüşümü tetikleyecektir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnciraltındaki gelişme ulaşım sorunlarını da çözecek büyük yatırımlar sağlayacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

30. Size sayacaklarımdan hangileri İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına ilişkin görüşlerinizin oluşmasını etkilemiştir? Etkiledi, kısmen etkiledi veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz?

(sayılanların herbirine ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkiledi	Kısmen Etkiledi	Etkisiz
Gazetelerde, televizyonda ve internette yer alan haberler ve yazılar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnşaat şirketlerinin, yatırımcıların açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığının açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinin açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Balçova Belediyesinin açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu alanda yapılacak gökdelen, AVM, rezidans reklamları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EXPO tanıtımı kapsamında gördüğüm yazılar ve fotoğraflar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Çevre Düzeni Planı ve planda yapılan değişiklikler	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı'nın düzenlediği toplantılar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin düzenlediği İnciraltı Forumu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

☐ Diğer.

Yazınız.....

31. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına destek vermenizden en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin açıklamaları ve görüşleri etkili oldu? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz) (34. Soruya geçiniz)

- ☐ (...) Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı
☐ (...) EXPO adaylığı kapsamında kurulan komiteler, kurullar
☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Balçova Belediyesi
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odaları
☐ (...) Yatırımcılar ve Mülk sahipleri
☐ (...) Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları
☐ (...) İş Adamları Dernekleri
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

32. Size sayacağım gerekçelerden hangileri İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına karşı olmanızda etkili oldu? Etkili oldu, kısmen etkili oldu veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (her gerekçeye ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkili oldu	Kısmen etkili oldu	Etkisiz
İnciraltının ekolojik niteliklerine özgü, korumacı bir plan hazırlanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plan kamu yararı gözeterek hazırlanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnciraltında planlanan gelişme hükümeti güçlendirecektir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plan toplumun tüm kesimlerinin katılımıyla hazırlanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu alanda sunulacak hizmetlerden sadece zengin kesimler faydalanacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mülk sahiplerinin yüksek emsal talepleri karşılanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

33. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına karşı olmanızda en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin görüşleri etkili oldu? Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz

- ☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Çevreci sivil toplum örgütleri
☐ (...) Mülk sahipleri ve yatırımcılar
☐ (...) Hükümet, ilgili Bakanlıkları
☐ (...) Ticaret ve Sanayi Odaları
☐ (...) İş adamları dernekleri
☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Balçova Belediyesi
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşları
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

34. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi planlarının yaşama geçirilmesi için uzlaşa sağlanması gereken en önemli kurumları/kesimleri öncelik sırasına göre belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Çevreci sivil toplum örgütleri
☐ (...) Mülk sahipleri ve yatırımcılar
☐ (...) Hükümet, ilgili Bakanlıkları
☐ (...) Ticaret ve Sanayi Odaları
☐ (...) İş adamları dernekleri
☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Balçova Belediyesi
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

35. Size sayacaklarımdan hangileri İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasından beklentilerinizi yansıtmaktadır? Yansıtmaktadır, kısmen yansıtmaktadır, yansıtmamaktadır seçeneklerinden bir tanesini belirtebilir misiniz? (sayılanların herbirine ilişkin üç seçenektan birini işaretleyiniz)

	Yansıtmaktadır	Kısmen yansıtmaktadır	Yansıtmamaktadır
Yatırım ve istihdam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gökdelen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yüksek emsal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Projeye özel yasa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İkna	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uzlaş	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Turistik Cazibe Merkezi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kurvaziyer Turizmi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lüks oteller ve rezidanslar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yaşam kalitesi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Düşük yoğunluk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Korumacı planlama	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ekoloji duyarlı planlama	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Açık ve Yeşil Alanlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kamu yararı	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kamusal mekan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

36. Kurumunuzun İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına ilişkin görüşünü kişisel olarak benimsiyor musunuz?

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Benimsiyorum
☐ Kısmen benimsiyorum
☐ Benimsemiyorum
☐ Diğer. Yazınız.....

37. İnciraltı'nın turizm merkezi planlarıyla imara açılması sizce en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin faydasına olur? Öncelik sırasıyla belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) Hükümetin
☐ (...) Yatırımcı ve mülk sahiplerinin
☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinin
☐ (...) İzmir'de yaşayan her kesimin
☐ (...) Balçova Belediyesinin
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odalarının
☐ (...) İş adamları derneklerinin
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

38. İzmir'de büyük ölçekli kentsel projelerin yaşama geçirilmesi için özel yasalar hazırlanması gündemdedir. Bu konuda görüşlerinizi almak istiyorum. Lütfen saydığım ifadelerle katılıp katılmadığınızı belirtir misiniz? (Her ifadeye ilişkin Katılıyorum, katılmıyorum, fikrim yok seçeneklerinden birini işaretleyiniz)

	Katılıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Özel yasalar inşaat sektörünü, yatırımcıları teşvik eder, faydalı olur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Özel yasalar davaların aşılarda projelerin hızla yaşama geçmesini sağlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Özel yasalar projelere karşı olan kesimlerin daha kolay ikna edilmelerini sağlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Özel yasalar Hükümetin İzmir'de güçlenmesini sağlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Özel yasalar projelere karşı olan muhalefeti, tepkileri arttırır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Özel yasalar kentin plansız gelişmesini teşvik eder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Görüşlerinizi bizlerle paylaştığınız için
teşekkür ederiz.

APPENDIX B: NEIGHBORHOOD QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

Anket yapılanlara okunacak bilgilendirme notu

Bu anket Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesinde yürütülmekte olan bir Bilimsel Araştırma Projesi kapsamında yapılmaktadır. Anket Yeni Kent Merkezi ve İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Projelerine yönelik olarak görüşlerinizi almayı amaçlamaktadır ve yaklaşık 15 dakika sürmektedir. Verdiğiniz kişisel bilgiler hiçbir şekilde kullanılmayacaktır. Anketin yapılmasındaki amaç Yeni Kent Merkezi ve İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi projelerine ilişkin olarak farklı toplumsal kesimlerin görüşlerini almaktır. Anket sırasında size yöneltilen soruları ve cevap seçeneklerini önünüzdeki anket formundan da takip edebilirsiniz.

Anket Numarası:..... Anketörün Adı:..... Anket Yapılma Tarihi:.....

Genel Bilgiler

1. Anket yapılan kişinin adı nedir? :.....

2. Hangi mahallede yaşıyorsunuz/çalışıyorsunuz? (Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Umurbey Mahallesi
- ☐ Ege Mahallesi
- ☐ Bayraklı Mahallesi
- ☐ Fuat Edip Baksı Mahallesi
- ☐ İnciraltı Mahallesi
- ☐ Bahçeleraası Mahallesi
- ☐ Korutürk Mahallesi
- ☐ Fevzi Çakmak Mahallesi
- ☐ Diğer. Yazınız.....

3. Ne kadar zamandır bu mahallede yaşıyorsunuz/çalışıyorsunuz? (Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ 1-4 yıldır
- ☐ 5-9 yıldır
- ☐ 10-19 yıldır
- ☐ 20-29 yıldır
- ☐ 30 yıldan fazla süredir

4. Eğitim durumunuz nedir? (Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ İlköğretim mezunu
- ☐ Lise mezunu
- ☐ Üniversite Mezunu
- ☐ Yüksek Lisans
- ☐ Doktora
- ☐ Diğer. Yazınız.....

5. Yaşadığınız/çalıştığınızın konutun/işyerinin mülkiyet durumu nedir? (Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Mülk sahibi hanehalkı
- ☐ Mülk sahibi işyeri
- ☐ Kiracı hanehalkı
- ☐ Kiracı işyeri

6. Çalışıyor musunuz? (çalışıyorsa) İşiniz nedir? (Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ İşveren - büyük sermaye (büyük şirket, fabrika, büyük otel sahibi...vb.)
- ☐ İşveren - küçük sermaye (KOBİ, esnaf, tüccar...vb.)
- ☐ Nitelikli işgücü – ücretli (doktor, mühendis, öğretmen, avukat...vb.)
- ☐ Nitelsiz işgücü – ücretli (işçi, tezgahkar, şoför...vb.)
- ☐ Yevmiyeli
- ☐ Emekli
- ☐ Öğrenci
- ☐ İşsiz
- ☐ Diğer. Yazınız.....

7. Aylık geliriniz yaklaşık olarak hangi aralıktadır? (Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Aylık geliri yok
- ☐ 0-599 TL
- ☐ 600-1199 TL
- ☐ 1200-1999 TL
- ☐ 2000-3999
- ☐ 4000 TL'nin üzerinde

8. Herhangi bir sivil toplum kuruluşuna üye misiniz? (sendika, dernek, vakıf, ticaret, sanayi, esnaf odaları, meslek odaları... vb.)

(Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

☐ Evet (9. Soruya geçiniz) ☐ Hayır (10. Soruya geçiniz)

9. Hangi türde sivil toplum kuruluşuna üyesiniz? (Bir yada birden fazla seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Sendika
☐ Dernek
☐ Vakıf
☐ Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odaları
☐ TMMOB'a bağlı Meslek Odaları
☐ Diğer. Yazınız.....

Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesi Üzerine Sorular

10. Size sayacağım ifadelerden hangileri Yeni Kent Merkezi Proje Alanının (Liman arkası, Salhane ve Bayraklı) şu anki durumunu tanımlamaktadır? Tanımlamaktadır, kısmen tanımlamaktadır veya tanımlamamaktadır seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (her ifadeye ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Tanımlamaktadır	Kısmen Tanımlamaktadır	Tanımlamamaktadır
Ekonomik getiri sağlamayan, atıl kalmış bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Terkedilmiş, yıpranmış bir çöküntü alanıdır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaçak yapılarla çevrelenmiş eski bir depolama alanıdır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Modern kentsel merkeze dönüştürülememiş bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeolojik özelliklerinden dolayı yapılaşmaması gereken bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

11. Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesinin yaşama geçirilmesine destek veriyor musunuz? (Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Evet veriyor (12. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Hayır vermiyor (15. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Fikri Yok (18. Soruya geçiniz)
☐ Diğer. Yazınız..... (18. Soruya geçiniz)

12. Size sayacağım gerekçelerden hangileri Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesine destek vermenizde etkili oldu? Etkili oldu, kısmen etkili oldu veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (her gerekçeye ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkili oldu	Kısmen etkili oldu	Etkisiz
Proje yatırım ve istihdam sağlayacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proje İzmir'e gökdelenler inşa edilmiş bir cazibe merkezi kazandıracaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proje gayrimenkul değerlerinde artış sağlayacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proje Bayraklı'daki ve kentin diğer alanlarındaki dönüşümü tetikleyecektir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proje kent merkezindeki ulaşım sorununa çözüm sağlayacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proje Konak'daki tarihsel doku üzerindeki yapılaşma baskısını azaltacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

13. Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesine destek vermenizde en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin açıklamaları ve görüşleri etkili oldu? Öncelik sırasıyla belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına belirtmek en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Yatırımcılar ve Mülk sahipleri
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi ve Esnaf Odaları
☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Hükümet Yetkilileri
☐ (...) İş Adamları Dernekleri
☐ (...) Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

14. Size sayacaklarımdan hangileri Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesine ilişkin görüşlerinizin oluşmasını etkilemiştir? Etkiledi, kısmen etkiledi veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz?

(sayılanların herbirine ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz) (17. Soruya geçiniz)

	Etkiledi	Kısmen Etkiledi	Etkisiz
Gazetelerde, televizyonda ve internette yer alan haberler ve yazılar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnşaat şirketlerinin, yatırımcıların açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinin açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hükümet Yetkililerinin açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu alanda yapılacak gökdelen, AVM, rezidans reklamları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Liman bölgesi için kentsel tasarım uluslararası fikir yarışması	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yeni kent merkezi nazım imar planı ve planda yapılan değişiklikler	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu projeye ilgili gerçekleştirilen konferans, forum, çalıştay ...vb etkinlikler	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

15. Size sayacağım gerekçelerden hangileri Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesine karşı olmanızda etkili oldu? Etkili oldu, kısmen etkili oldu veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (her gerekçeyle ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkili oldu	Kısmen etkili oldu	Etkisiz
Bu alanda yüksek katlı yapılaşmanın jeolojik riskleri bulunmaktadır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mülk sahiplerine ayrıcalıklı yapılaşma hakları verilmektedir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu alanda sunulacak hizmetlerden sadece zengin kesimler faydalanacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu alanda yaşayan yoksul kesimler yerinden edilecektir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plan kamu yararını gözeterek hazırlanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plan toplumun tüm kesimlerinin katılımıyla hazırlanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

16. Yeni Kent Merkezi projesine karşı olmanızda en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin görüşleri etkili oldu? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) Yüksel Çakmur ve onunla birlikte projeye karşı dava açan kişilerin
- ☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
- ☐ (...) Yatırımcılar ve Mülk sahipleri
- ☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
- ☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odaları
- ☐ (...) Hükümet Yetkilileri
- ☐ (...) Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları
- ☐ (...) İş Adamları Dernekleri
- ☐ (...) Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri
- ☐ (...) Üniversiteler
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

17. Yeni kent merkezi projesinin yaşama geçirilmesi için uzlaş sağlanması gereken en önemli kurumları/kesimleri öncelik sırasına göre belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) Yüksel Çakmur ve onunla birlikte dava açan kişiler
- ☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
- ☐ (...) Mülk sahipleri ve yatırımcılar
- ☐ (...) Hükümet, ilgili Bakanlıkları
- ☐ (...) İlçe Belediyeleri (Konak, Karşıyaka, Bayraklı Belediyeleri)
- ☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi ve Esnaf Odaları
- ☐ (...) İş adamları dernekleri
- ☐ (...) Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri
- ☐ (...) Üniversiteler
- ☐ (...) Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşları
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

18. Size sayacaklarımdan hangileri Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesinden beklentilerinizi yansıtmaktadır? Yansıtmaktadır, kısmen yansıtmaktadır, yansıtmamaktadır seçeneklerinden bir tanesini belirtebilir misiniz? (sayılanların herbirine ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Yansıtmaktadır	Kısmen yansıtmaktadır	Yansıtmamaktadır
Yatırım ve istihdam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gökdelen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yüksek emsal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Projeyle özel yasa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İkna	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uzlaş	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ticaret ve Turizm Merkezi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kurvaziyer Turizmi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lüks konut merkezi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yaşam kalitesi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Düşük yoğunluk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kent meydanı	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Açık ve Yeşil Alanlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kamu yararı	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kamusal mekan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kıyıyla bütünleşme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

19. Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesinin yaşama geçmesi en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin faydasına olur? Öncelik sırasıyla belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinin
- ☐ (...) Yatırımcı ve Mülk Sahiplerinin
- ☐ (...) İzmir'de yaşayan her kesimin
- ☐ (...) Hükümetin
- ☐ (...) İlçe Belediyelerinin (Konak, Karşıyaka, Bayraklı Belediyeleri)
- ☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odalarının
- ☐ (...) İş adamları derneklerinin
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlaması Üzerine Sorular

20. Size sayacağım ifadelerden hangileri İnciraltı Turizm Merkezinin (İnciraltı ve Bahçelerarası Mahalleleri) şu anki durumunu tanımlamaktadır? Tanımlamaktadır, kısmen tanımlamaktadır, tanımlamamaktadır seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (her ifadeye ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Tanımlamak tadır	Kısmen Tanımlamaktadır	Tanımlamamaktadır
Tarım yapılamayan, imarı da sorunlu, mülk sahiplerinin mağdur edildiği bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kıyıda değerli konumuna rağmen turizm amaçlı geliştirilememiştir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yatırımcılar ve mülk sahipleri tarafından yoğun yapılaşma baskısı altındadır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tarımsal ve ekolojik niteliklerinden dolayı yoğun yapılaşmanın teşvik edilmemesi gereken bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Belirli siyasi ve ekonomik çıkar çevrelerinin güçlerini arttırmak için imara açmak istedikleri bir alandır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

21. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlarının yaşama geçirilmesine destek veriyor musunuz? (Bir seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ Evet veriyor (22. Soruya geçiniz)
- ☐ Hayır vermiyor (25. Soruya geçiniz)
- ☐ Fikrim yok (28. Soruya geçiniz)
- ☐ Diğer. Yazınız..... (28. Soruya geçiniz)

22. Size sayacağım gerekçelerden hangileri İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına destek vermeniz de etkili oldu? Etkili oldu, kısmen etkili oldu veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (her gerekçeye ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkili oldu	Kısmen etkili oldu	Etkisiz
Planların yaşama geçmesi yatırım ve istihdam sağlayacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Planlar İzmir'in değerli bir kıyı alanını turistik bir cazibe merkezine dönüştürecektir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Planlar gayrimenkul değerlerini arttıracaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Planlar yaşama geçerse Hükümet İzmir'e daha büyük yatırımlar yapacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnciraltındaki gelişme kentin diğer alanlarındaki dönüşümü tetikleyecektir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnciraltındaki gelişme ulaşım sorunlarını da çözecek büyük yatırımlar sağlayacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

23. Size sayacaklarımdan hangileri İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına ilişkin görüşlerinizin oluşmasını etkilemiştir? Etkiledi, kısmen etkiledi veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (sayılanların herbirine ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkiledi	Kısmen Etkiledi	Etkisiz
Gazetelerde, televizyonda ve internette yer alan haberler ve yazılar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnşaat şirketlerinin, yatırımcıların açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığının açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinin açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Balçova Belediyesinin açıklamaları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu alanda yapılacak gökdelen, AVM, rezidans reklamları	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EXPO tanıtımı kapsamında gördüğüm yazılar ve fotoğraflar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Çevre Düzeni Planı ve planda yapılan değişiklikler	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı'nın düzenlediği toplantılar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin düzenlediği İnciraltı Forumu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

24. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına destek vermeniz de en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin açıklamaları ve görüşleri etkili oldu? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz) (27. Soruya geçiniz)

- ☐ (...) Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı
- ☐ (...) EXPO adaylığı kapsamında kurulan komiteler, kurullar
- ☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
- ☐ (...) Balçova Belediyesi
- ☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odaları
- ☐ (...) Yatırımcılar ve Mülk sahipleri
- ☐ (...) Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları
- ☐ (...) İş Adamları Dernekleri
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
- ☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

25. Size sayacağım gerekçelerden hangileri İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına karşı olmanız da etkili oldu? Etkili oldu, kısmen etkili oldu veya etkisiz seçeneklerinden birini belirtebilir misiniz? (her gerekçeye ilişkin üç seçenekten birini işaretleyiniz)

	Etkili oldu	Kısmen etkili oldu	Etkisiz
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İnciraltının ekolojik niteliklerine özgü, korumacı bir plan hazırlanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plan kamu yararı gözeterek hazırlanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İnciraltında planlanan gelişme hükümeti güçlendirecektir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plan toplumun tüm kesimlerinin katılımıyla hazırlanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bu alanda sunulacak hizmetlerden sadece zengin kesimler faydalanacaktır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mülk sahiplerinin yüksek emsal talepleri karşılanmamıştır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız..... ...			

26. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına karşı olmanızda en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin görüşleri etkili oldu? Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz

- ☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Çevreci sivil toplum örgütleri
☐ (...) Mülk sahipleri ve yatırımcılar
☐ (...) Hükümet, ilgili Bakanlıkları
☐ (...) Ticaret ve Sanayi Odaları
☐ (...) İş adamları dernekleri
☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Balçova Belediyesi
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşları
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

27. İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi planlarının yaşama geçirilmesi için uzlaşi sağlanması gereken en önemli kurumları/kesimleri öncelik sırasına göre belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları
☐ (...) Çevreci sivil toplum örgütleri
☐ (...) Mülk sahipleri ve yatırımcılar
☐ (...) Hükümet, ilgili Bakanlıkları
☐ (...) Ticaret ve Sanayi Odaları
☐ (...) İş adamları dernekleri
☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi
☐ (...) Balçova Belediyesi
☐ (...) Üniversiteler
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

28. Size sayacaklarımdan hangileri İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasından beklentilerinizi yansıtmaktadır? Yansıtmaktadır, kısmen yansıtmaktadır, yansıtmamaktadır seçeneklerinden bir tanesini belirtebilir misiniz? (sayılanların herbirine ilişkin üç seçenektan birini işaretleyiniz)

	Yansıtmaktadır	Kısmen yansıtmaktadır	Yansıtmamaktadır
Yatırım ve istihdam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gökdelen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yüksek emsal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Projeye özel yasa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
İkna	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uzlaşi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Turistik Cazibe Merkezi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kurvaziyer Turizmi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lüks oteller ve rezidanslar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yaşam kalitesi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Düşük yoğunluk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Korumacı planlama	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ekoloji duyarlı planlama	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Açık ve Yeşil Alanlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kamu yararı	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kamusal mekan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer. Yazınız.....			

29. İnciraltı'nın turizm merkezi planlarıyla imara açılması sizce en çok hangi kurumların/kesimlerin faydasına olur? Öncelik sırasıyla belirtebilir misiniz? (Öncelik sırasına göre en fazla üç seçenek işaretleyiniz)

- ☐ (...) Hükümetin
☐ (...) Yatırımcı ve mülk sahiplerinin
☐ (...) İzmir'de yaşayan her kesimin
☐ (...) İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinin
☐ (...) Balçova Belediyesinin
☐ (...) Ticaret, Sanayi, Esnaf Odalarının
☐ (...) İş adamları derneklerinin
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....
☐ (...) Diğer. Yazınız.....

30. İzmir'de büyük ölçekli kentsel projelerin yaşama geçirilmesi için özel yasalar hazırlanması gündemdedir. Bu konuda görüşlerinizi almak istiyorum. Lütfen saydığım ifadelere katılıp katılmadığınızı belirtir misiniz?
 (Her ifadeye ilişkin Katılıyorum, katılmıyorum, fikrim yok seçeneklerinden birini işaretleyiniz)

	Katılıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Özel yasalar inşaat sektörünü, yatırımcıları teşvik eder, faydalı olur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Özel yasalar davaların aşılarda projelerin hızla yaşama geçmesini sağlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Özel yasalar projelere karşı olan kesimlerin daha kolay ikna edilmelerini sağlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Özel yasalar Hükümetin İzmir'de güçlenmesini sağlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Özel yasalar projelere karşı olan muhalefeti, tepkileri arttırır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Özel yasalar kentin plansız gelişmesini teşvik eder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Görüşlerinizi bizlerle paylaştığınız için
teşekkür ederiz.

APPENDIX C: SAMPLING OF INSTITUTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	Kultur ve Turizm Bakanlığı	Yatırımcı Şirket	Birlesik Emlakçılar A.S. Balcova Acentası
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	Kultur ve Turizm Bakanlığı	Yatırımcı Şirket	Folkart Yapı A.S.
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	Kultur ve Turizm Bakanlığı	Yatırımcı Şirket	Veryeriler İnşaat A.S.
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	Kultur ve Turizm Bakanlığı	Yatırımcı Şirket	Ar-Tu Kimya A.S.
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	İzmir Valiliği İl Kultur ve Turizm Müd.	Yatırımcı Şirket	Nail Özkardes İnşaat A.S.
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	Balcova Kaymakamlığı	Yatırımcı Şirket	Kucukbay Grup
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	Konak Kaymakamlığı	Yatırımcı Şirket	Kar İnşaat A.S.
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	TCDD İzmir Alsancak Liman İşletme	Yatırımcı Şirket	Turkmal Gayrimenkul Yatırım A.S.
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	İzmir Kalkınma Ajansı	Yatırımcı Şirket	Ronesans AVM Ege Koordinatörlüğü
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	İzmir Valiliği İl Çevre ve Şehircilik	Yatırımcı Şirket	Nokta İnşaat Yatırım Turizm A.S.
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	İzmir Valiliği İl Tarım Müdürlüğü	Yatırımcı Şirket	Tekfen-ÖZ Gayrimenkul Geliştirme A.S.
Merkezi Yönetim Kurumu	İzmir Kultur ve Tabiat Varlıkları Ko	Yatırımcı Şirket	Torunlar Gayrimenkul Yatırım A.S.
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Ege Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	Sendika	KESK-Yapı Yol-Sen
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Konak Belediyesi	Sendika	DISK- Sosyal İş Sendikası
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	İnciraltı Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	Sendika	KESK-Tüm Belediyeler ve Yerel Yönetim
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Bahçeleraresi Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	Sendika	KESK-Eğitim-Sen 1Nolu Sube
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Sendika	Türk-İs Tez-Koop-İs İzmir Sube
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Sendika	Kamu-Sen İzmir Sube
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşu	Dogan Haber Ajansı
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Alsancak Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşu	Yeni Asir Gazetesi
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Mimar Sinan Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşu	İzmir Life Dergisi
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Balcova Belediyesi	Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşu	Evrensel Gazetesi İzmir Bürosu
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Bayraklı Belediyesi	Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşu	Cumhuriyet Gazetesi İzmir Bürosu
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Adalet Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşu	Yenigün Gazetesi
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Umurbey Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	Yerel ve Ulusal Medya Kuruluşu	Ege Postası Gazetesi
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Fevzi Çakmak Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası	TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Genel Me
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	İzmir İl Özel İdaresi	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası	TMMOB Harita Mühendisleri Odası İzmir
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Kahramanlar Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası	TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası İzmir Sub
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Bayraklı Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası	TMMOB İnşaat Mühendisleri Odası İzmir
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Teleferik Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası	TMMOB Jeofizik Mühendisleri Odası İzmir
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Fuat Edip Baki Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası	TMMOB Jeoloji Mühendisleri Odası İzmir
Yerel Yönetim Kurumu	Eğitim Mahallesi Muhtarlığı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası	TMMOB Ziraat Mühendisleri Odası İzmir
Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı	AKP İzmir İl Başkanlığı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası	TMMOB Mimarlar Odası İzmir Subesi
Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı	BDP İzmir İl Başkanlığı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası	TMMOB Çevre Mühendisleri Odası İzmir
Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı	ODP İzmir İl Başkanlığı	Üniversite	İzmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü
Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı	CHP İzmir İl Başkanlığı	Üniversite	Ege Üniversitesi
Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı	MHP İzmir İl Başkanlığı	Üniversite	Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi
Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı	HAS İzmir İl Başkanlığı	Üniversite	Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi
Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı	TKP İzmir İl Başkanlığı	Üniversite	İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi
Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı	DP İzmir İl Başkanlığı	Üniversite	Yasar Üniversitesi
Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı	HEPAR İzmir İl Başkanlığı	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Ege Ekonomiyi Geliştirme Vakfı
Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı	Saadet Partisi İzmir İl Başkanlığı	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Ege Mahallesi Roman Dernekleri Feder
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	İzmir Ticaret Odası	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Halkevleri Konak Subesi
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	Deniz Ticaret Odası	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	İnciraltı Bahçeleraresi Tabiatını Güzelle
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	İzmir Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odaları	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	TEMA Vakfı İzmir Subesi
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	İzmir Emlak Komisyoncuları Odası	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Cagdas Yasami Destekleme Derneği İzmir
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	Ege Genç İşadamları Derneği	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	İzmir Barosu
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	İzmir Ticaret Borsası	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Yenişehir İzmir Grubu
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	MUSIAD İzmir Subesi	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	İzmir İdeal Lions Klubu
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	Ege-Koop	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Ege Çevre ve Kültür Platformu Derneği
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	Ege Sanayiciler ve İşadamları Derne	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Ege Doğal Yasami Koruma Derneği
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	İzmir Sanayici ve İşadamları Derne	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Ege Sürdürülebilir Sağlık Çevre Eğitim v
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	Ege ve Batı Akdeniz İşadamları Fed	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	İzmir Gazeteciler Cemiyeti
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	Ege Turistik İşletmeler ve Konakla	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Ege Orman Vakfı
Yerel Sermaye Örgütü	Ege Bölgesi Sanayi Odası	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Deniz Feneri Derneği İzmir Subesi
Yatırımcı Şirket	Nazmi Kurum İnşaat A.S.	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Doğal ve Kültürel Çevre İçin Yasam Giriş
Yatırımcı Şirket	Megapol İnşaat A.S.	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Çevre Koruma Ve Araştırma Vakfı
Yatırımcı Şirket	Kavuklar İnşaat A.S.	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	ODTU Ege Mezunları Derneği
Yatırımcı Şirket	Eskidji Gayrimenkul A.S.	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Cagdas Hukukcular Derneği
Yatırımcı Şirket	Balcova Termal Otel	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	Ege Turizm Derneği
		Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütleri	İzmir Yerel Gündem 21

APPENDIX D: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesi üzerine sorular

Yeni Kent Merkezi Projesinde Büyükşehir Belediyesinin önceliği, hedefleri kısaca nasıl tanımlanabilir? Siz bu öncelikler, hedefler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? İZBB sizinle uzlaşa mı sağlamaya çalışıyor yoksa kendi fikirleri doğrultusunda sizi ikna etmeye mi çalışıyorlar? Sizce niçin böyle bir çaba içerisinde?

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Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım İmar Planının yapılması, revize edilmesinde, arazi kullanım ve yoğunluk kararlarının değiştirilmesinde etkili olan kesimler hangileri? Nasıl etkili oluyorlar ve niçin etkili/belirleyici olmak istiyorlar? Siz görüşlerinizi bu süreçte İZBB'ye ilettiniz mi? Nasıl ve niçin?

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Yeni Kent Merkezi projesine yönelik olarak farklı kesimlerin/kurumların rıza göstermesi, desteklerinin alınması niçin önemlidir? Farklı kesimlerin projeye destek vermesi için ne tür çabalarınız oldu?

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Yeni Kent Merkezi imar planlarının yaşama geçirilmesi yaşadığınız/çalıştığınız mahalledeki gündelik yaşamınıza nasıl bir etkisi olacak? Niçin böyle düşünüyorsunuz?

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İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlaması üzerine sorular

İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasında Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığının öncelikleri ve hedefleri nedir? Siz bu öncelikler, hedefler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Bakanlık sizinle uzlaşa mı sağlamaya çalışıyor yoksa kendi fikirleri doğrultusunda sizi ikna etmeye mi çalışıyorlar? Sizce niçin böyle bir çaba içerisinde?

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İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlarının yapılması, revize edilmesinde, arazi kullanım ve yoğunluk kararlarının değiştirilmesinde etkili olan kesimler hangileri? Nasıl etkili oluyorlar (toplantı, görüşme, kamuya açık veya kapalı?) ve niçin etkili/belirleyici olmak istiyorlar? Siz görüşlerinizi bu süreçte KTB'ye ilettiniz mi? Nasıl ve niçin?

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İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlamasına yönelik olarak farklı kesimlerin/kurumların rıza göstermesi, desteklerinin alınması niçin önemlidir? Farklı kesimlerin projeye destek vermesi için ne tür çabalarınız oldu?

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İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi planlarının yaşama geçirilerek İnciraltı'nın imara açılması sizce en çok hangi kesimin faydasına olur? Hangi kesim bundan nasıl fayda sağlar? Niçin böyle düşünüyorsunuz?

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İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi Planlarının yaşama geçirilmesi yaşadığınız/çalıştığınız mahalledeki gündelik yaşamınıza nasıl bir etkisi olacak? Niçin böyle düşünüyorsunuz?

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Ortak sorular

Yeni Kent Merkezi ve İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi gibi büyük ölçekli kentsel projeler şehir planlama meslek alanına ilişkin hangi konuları gündeme getiriyor? Bu projelerle birlikte meslek alanımızda hangi söylemler, yaklaşımlar, hangi öncelikler hakim olmaya başlıyor? Siz bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz?

.....
.....

Bu projelerle birlikte planlamanın yeni dönemde rolü olarak tanımlanan uzlaş, işbirliği, yatırım çekme, istihdam sağlama, cazibe merkezleri yaratma gibi söylemler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce bu projelerin yanında yada karşısında planlamanın rolü nedir, ne olmalıdır?

.....
.....

İzmir’de büyük ölçekli kentsel projelerin yaşama geçirilmesi için özel yasaların hazırlanması gündemde. Önceden İstanbul’da ve Ankara’da da belirli projeleri yaşama geçirmek için projelere özel yasalar, yasa değişiklikleri yapılmıştı. Sizce niçin bu tür girişimler gerçekleştiriliyor? İzmir içinde böyle yasalar hazırlanırsa bunun sonuçları ne olur? Hangi kesimler bundan fayda sağlar, dava süreçlerini nasıl etkiler?

.....
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APPENDIX E: INTERVIEWEE LIST

Derinlemesine Görüşme Yapılan Kişilerin Kurumları ve Görevleri	Görüşme yapılan kurum/kesim kategorisi
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Başkanı *	Yerel Yönetim
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Eski Daire Başkanı	Yerel Yönetim
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Şehir Plancısı 1	Yerel Yönetim
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Şehir Plancısı 2	Yerel Yönetim
Konak Belediyesi Şehir Plancısı	Yerel Yönetim
Bayraklı Belediyesi Şehir Plancısı	Yerel Yönetim
Balçova Belediyesi Başkanı	Yerel Yönetim
Bahçelerarası Mahallesi Muhtarı	Yerel Yönetim
Ege Mahallesi Muhtarı	Yerel Yönetim
Bayraklı Mahallesi Muhtarı	Yerel Yönetim
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Üst Düzey Bürokratı 1	Merkezi Yönetim
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Üst Düzey Bürokratı 2	Merkezi Yönetim
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Uzmanı	Merkezi Yönetim
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Uzman Yardımcısı	Merkezi Yönetim
İzmir 1. No.lu KTVKK Şehir Plancısı	Merkezi Yönetim
İzmir Valisi *	Merkezi Yönetim
İzmir Kalkınma Ajansı Uzmanı	Merkezi Yönetim
TMMOB ŞPO Genel Merkez Başkanı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası
TMMOB ŞPO İzmir Şube Eski Başkanı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası
TMMOB ŞPO İzmir Şube Başkanı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası
TMMOB MO Mimarlar Odası Başkanı	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası
TMMOB JMO İzmir Şube Y.K. Üyesi	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası
TMMOB JFMO İzmir Şube Y.K. Üyesi	TMMOB'a Bağlı Meslek Odası
İzmit Ticaret Odası Kent Danışmanı	Yerel Sermaye Örgütü
Ege Ekonomiyi Geliştirme Vakfı Y.K. Üyesi	Yerel Sermaye Örgütü
YKM'de Yatırımcı - Megapol İnşaat A.Ş., Y.K. Üyesi	Yatırımcı
YKM'de Yatırımcı - Folkart Kuleleri Proje Sorumlusu	Yatırımcı
YKM'de Yatırımcı - Tekfen Holding Y.K. Üyesi	Yatırımcı
YKM'de Yatırımcı - İŞ-GYO İzmir Bürosu Sorumlusu	Yatırımcı
İTM'de Yatırımcı - Fiyap İnşaat A.Ş., Y.K. Üyesi	Yatırımcı
İTM'de Yatırımcı - Nazmi Kürüm İnşaat A.Ş., Y.K. Üyesi	Yatırımcı
AKP İzmir İl Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi	Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı
CHP İzmir İl Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi	Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı
ÖDP İzmir İl Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi	Siyasi Parti İl Başkanlığı
Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi 1	Üniversite
Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi 2	Üniversite
İzmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü Öğretim Üyesi	Üniversite
İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi	Üniversite
Cumhuriyet İzmir Bürosu Gazetecisi	Medya Kuruluşu
Yeni Asır Gazetesi Haber Sorumlusu	Medya Kuruluşu
İnciraltı ve Bahçelerarası Tabiatını Güzelleştirme ve Değerlendirme Derneği Üyesi	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütü
Balçova Arsa Mağdurları İnsani Dayanışma Derneği Üyesi	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütü
İzmir Barosu Kent ve Çevre Komisyonu Üyesi	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütü
Ege Çevre ve Kültür Platformu Derneği Üyesi	Diğer Sivil Toplum Örgütü
Ege Mahallesi Mülk Sahibi Hanehalkı	Mahalle sakini
Ege Mahallesi Kiracı Hanehalkı	Mahalle sakini
Bahçelerarası Mahallesi Mülk Sahibi Hanehalkı	Mahalle sakini
Korutürk Mahallesi Kiracı İşyeri	Mahalle sakini
* İzmir Valisi ve İzmir Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanına ait deşifreler görüşmelerden değil kamuya açık toplantı ses kayıtlarından elde edilmiştir.	

APPENDIX F:

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Penpecioğlu, Mehmet
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 20 October 1981, İzmir
Marital Status: Married
email: mpembeci@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MRP	METU Regional Planning	2007
BS	DEU City and Regional Planning	2003
High School	İzmir Selma Yiğitalp High School	1999

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2009-Present	METU City and Regional Planning Department	Research Assistant
2008-2009	T.C. Ministry of Public Works and Settlement	City Planner

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

1. Penpecioğlu, M. "Kapitalist Kentleşme Dinamiklerinin Türkiye'deki Son 10 Yılı: Yapılı Çevre Üretimi, Devlet ve Büyük Ölçekli Kentsel Projeler" Birikim, sayı: 270, (2011)
2. Penpecioğlu, M. "Yeni Bölgeselcilik ve Denizli: "Yerel Endüstriyel Gelişimi ve Dönüşümü Yeniden Düşünmek" Praksis, 2009/3, sayı 21, (2010)
3. Penpecioğlu, M. & Romano, Y. "From Poverty in Turn to New Poverty: A Scrutinize to Changing Dynamics of Urban Poverty in Turkey", Toplum ve Demokrasi, cilt: 2, sayı: 5, (2010)
4. Penpecioğlu, M. & Bayraktar, U. "Başka Bir Kentsel Gelişme Tahayyülü Mümkündür: Özgün Bir Yerel Liderlik Tecrübesi Olarak 1977-1980 Arası Ankara Belediyesi Ali Dinçer Dönemi" Mulkiye Journal, cilt: 32, sayı: 261, (2008)

HOBBIES

Cinema, Poetry, Fishing, Football, Jogging

APPENDIX G:

TURKISH SUMMARY

Kentsel mekanın üretimi kapitalizmin toplumsal, ekonomik ve mekansal dinamiklerini yeniden üretmek amacıyla siyasal olarak inşa edilen bir süreçtir. Bu siyasal süreçte, devlet ve sermaye tarafından kentsel siyasa ve planlama önceliklerine ilişkin hegemonik-ideolojik bir güç inşa edilir. Kentsel gelişme projeleri (KGP) siyasal olarak inşa edilen hegemonik projeler olarak böylesi bir hegemonik-ideolojik gücün oluşturulmasında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu yönüyle KGP, kentsel siyasa ve planlama süreçlerine ilişkin öncelikleri yeniden tanımlayan ve siyasal olarak inşa edilen hegemonik projeler olarak incelenebilir.

Bu doktora tezinde KGP, yeni merkezi iş alanları, rant odaklı kentsel dönüşüm projeleri, turizm merkezleri, korunaklı ve lüks konut alanları ve alışveriş merkezleri gibi kapitalist kentsel gelişme örüntülerini kapsayacak şekilde genel bir tanımlama olarak kabul edilmektedir. KGP bu tür mekansal gelişme örüntülerini üreten, siyasal olarak inşa edilen hegemonik projeler olarak sermaye birikim ilişkilerini yeniden üretmektedir. Ancak KGP'nin siyasal inşası sadece kentsel mekanın üretimi ve sermaye birikim süreçleri arasındaki yapısal ilişkinin analiz edilmesiyle incelenemez. KGP'nin siyasal inşasını incelemek için; projelerin yaşama geçirilmesi sürecinde devlet ve sivil toplum aktörlerinin rolleri, işbirliği veya çatışma ilişkileri ve bu aktörlerin hegemonik-ideolojik üstyapısal güçleri (hegemonik söylemler ve eylemler, meslek odaları ve üniversitelerle işbirliği ilişkileri, medya gücünün kullanımı ...vb.) ve zorlayıcı-yasa yapıcı mekanizmaları (yeni yasalar, mevcut yasalarda değişiklikler, projeye özel yasalar, kanun hükmünde kararname ...vb.) nasıl örgütledikleri ve harekete geçirdikleri ortaya çıkartılmalıdır. Tez bu kapsamda bir araştırma yapmak için öncelikle kuramsal bir çerçeve oluşturmuş, dünyadan ve Türkiye'den seçilen bazı KGP'nin siyasal dinamiklerini yazın taraması ile incelemiştir. Kuramsal çerçeve ve yazın taraması sonucu başlangıç savları elde edilmiştir. Bu savların geçerliliği, tezin örnek olay incelemesi olan İzmir'den Yeni Kent Merkezi (YKM) ve İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi (İTM) Projeleri üzerine yapılan incelemeden elde edilen ampirik veriler ışığında araştırılmış ve bu savlar yeniden ele alınmıştır.

Kentsel siyaset yazınında kentsel gelişmenin siyaseti üzerine farklı kuramsal yaklaşımlar bulunmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımlar tezin ikinci bölümünde eleştirel bir değerlendirmeye tabi

tutulmuş ve araştırmaya temel oluşturacak yeni bir kuramsal yaklaşım oluşturulmuştur. “Kentsel Rejim” kuramı ve “Büyüme Koalisyonları” gibi çoğulcu ve Weberci yaklaşımlar kentsel gelişmenin aktör-odaklı boyutlarına vurgu yapmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımlar KGP’nin arkasındaki kapitalist ekonomik yapıyı, sermaye birikim ilişkilerini, sınıf çelişkisini, hegemonya inşası ve mücadelesini ve devletin bu süreçlere nasıl müdahale ettiğini ihmal etmektedir. Diğer yandan kentsel gelişmenin siyasetine yönelik “Marksist Coğrafya” temelli yaklaşımlarda bulunmaktadır. Bu Marksist yaklaşımlar da kentsel mekanın üretimi ve sermaye birikimi süreçleri arasındaki yapısal ilişkiye vurgu yapmakta, KGP’nin siyasal inşasına ekonomik belirlenimci bir çerçeveden yaklaşarak siyasal-ideolojik üstyapısal dinamikleri, devletin rolünü ve sosyo-siyasal ilişkileri indirgemeci bir şekilde ele almaktadır. KGP’nin siyasal inşasını araştıracak bir kuramsal çerçeve; hem çoğulcu ve Weberci yaklaşımların aktör-odaklı iradi açıklama çerçevesini, hem de Marksist coğrafya yaklaşımlarının ekonomik belirlenimci/indirgemeci çerçevesini aşmalıdır. Tez bu amaçla Lefebvre’den esinlenmiş neo-Gramscici bir kuramsal yaklaşım oluşturmuştur. Bu yaklaşım; Gramsci’nin “hegemonya” ve Lefebvre’nin “mekanın üretimi” kavramlarının nasıl ilişkili olduğunu ve bu kavramların bir sentezinin KGP’nin siyasal inşasını incelemek için nasıl bir eleştirel çerçeve sağladığını ortaya koymuştur.

Eleştirel gerçekçi metodoloji, KGP’nin siyasal inşasını araştırmak için en uygun yöntemsel çerçeveyi sağlamaktadır. Eleştirel gerçekçi yaklaşım hem ampirisizmin ekonomik belirlenimciliğini, hem de yorumlamacılığın aktör-odaklı iradi yaklaşımını aşmakta ve KGP’nin siyasal inşasına ilişkin hegemonik-ideolojik üstyapısal güçleri ve zorlayıcı-yasa yapıcı mekanizmaları araştırmaya en uygun çerçeveyi oluşturmaktadır. Bu yöntemsel çerçeve dahilinde tümdengelimci ve tümevarımcı araştırma stratejileri ve niteliksel ve niceliksel araştırma yöntemleri birlikte kullanılmış ve böylece karma bir araştırma yöntemi benimsenmiştir. Kuramsal çerçeve ve yazın taraması ile KGP’nin siyasal inşasına ilişkin başlangıç savlarının elde edilmesi tümdengelimci araştırma stratejisini yansıtmaktadır. Tezin örnek olay incelemesi ile tümevarımcı bir strateji benimsenmiş, bu çerçevede YKM ve İTM projelerine ilişkin araştırmalarla KGP’nin siyasal inşasına ilişkin belirli karakteristikler ve tanımlamalar çıkarsanmıştır. Araştırma kapsamında İzmir yerel ekonomik yapısındaki değişim ve anket bulguları niceliksel analizlere tabi tutulmuş, ayrıca eleştirel söylem analizi ve derinlemesine görüşme gibi niteliksel araştırma yöntemleri de uygulanmıştır. Eleştirel gerçekçi yöntemsel çerçeve dahilinde tümevarımcı ve tümdengelimci stratejiler ve niteliksel ve niceliksel yöntemler birbirlerini tamamlayacak şekilde birlikte kullanılmıştır.

Dünyanın farklı kapitalist ülkelerindeki KGP'nin siyasal inşası üzerine yapılan yazın taraması tezin üçüncü bölümünde belirtilmiş ve başlangıç savlarının oluşturulmasında önemli rol oynamıştır. Bu kapsamda incelenen projeler; Baltimore Limanı Yeniden Canlandırma Projesi, Londra Liman Alanı Dönüşüm Projesi, Manchester'da Olimpiyat Oyunları kapsamındaki Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi, Berlin'de Potsdamer Platz Merkezi İş Alanı Geliştirme Projesi ve Shanghai'da Lujiazui Merkezi Finans Bölgesi Projesi'dir. Bu KGP'ne yönelik olarak yapılan yazın araştırması, KGP'nin kentsel siyasa-yapım ve planlama süreçlerine ilişkin önceliklerin tanımlanması üzerinde hegemonik bir güç inşa etmenin aracı olarak kullanıldığını ortaya çıkarmıştır. İncelenen 6 KGP'de devlet ve yatırımcı-sermaye aktörleri; "ekonomik büyüme", "yatırım" ve "dönüşüm" gibi hegemonik söylemlerle projelere yönelik farklı toplumsal kesimlerin desteğini, rızasını elde etmeyi hedeflemektedir. Diğer yandan Bu KGP'de yalnızca hegemonya inşa edici söylemsel pratiklerin değil; aynı zamanda kapitalist devletin zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizmalarının önemli bir rol oynadığı da görülmektedir. KGP'ne ilişkin olarak hazırlanan yasalarla kentsel planlama yetkileri yeniden düzenlenmekte, yeni devlet kurumları yapılandırılmakta ve yetkilendirilmektedir. Devletin zorlayıcı araçları olarak kullanılan bu yasa-yapıcı mekanizmalar aynı zamanda yatırımcı-sermaye aktörlerinin KGP'ne yönelik olarak çıkarlarını baskın ve öncelikli kılacak karar-alma süreçlerinin tasarlanmasını da sağlamaktadır. Sonuç olarak, KGP hegemonik söylemsel pratiklerin ve zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizmaların birlikte harekete geçirilmesiyle siyasal olarak inşa edilmektedir. Hegemonik söylemlerin ve zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizmaların kullanımı farklı ülkelerdeki farklı devlet-sivil toplum ilişkilerine göre değişiklik göstermektedir. Sivil toplumun örgütlü ve siyasa yapım süreçlerinde belirli bir güce sahip olduğu batılı kapitalist ülkelerde hegemonik söylemler ve devlet ve sivil toplum örgütleri arasında hegemonya inşa edici işbirliği ilişkileri ön plana çıkarken; sivil toplumun böylesi bir örgütlülüğe ve güce sahip olmadığı ülkelerde hegemonya inşa edici söylemler ve ilişkiler yerine devletin zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizmaları kullanma eğilimi daha fazladır.

Tezin dördüncü bölümünde ise İstanbul ve Ankara'dan toplamda dört KGP'nin siyasal inşası yazın ve gazete haberleri taraması ile incelenmiştir. Bu kapsamda incelenen projeler İstanbul'dan Haydarpaşa Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi, Dubai Kuleleri Projesi ve Ankara'dan Kuzey Ankara ve Güneypark Kentsel Dönüşüm Projeleridir. Bu KGP'ne yönelik olarak yapılan inceleme rant odaklı bu projelerin "ekonomik büyüme", "yatırım çekme", "istihdam sağlama" ve "kentsel dönüşüm" gibi hegemonik söylemlerle inşa edildiğini göstermektedir.

Gazetelerde ve televizyonlarda yeralan haberler, reklamlar bu hegemonik söylemlerin yaygınlaştırılmasında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. KGP'ne ilişkin bu hegemonik-ideolojik gücünün oluşturulmasında medya gücü son derece önemlidir. Devlet ve yatırımcı-sermaye aktörleri KGP'ne ilişkin bu hegemonik söylemleri üreterek medya aracılığıyla yaygınlaştırabildiği ölçüde bu projelere yönelik geniş toplumsal kesimlerin desteğini ve rızasını elde edebilmektedirler. İstanbul ve Ankara'daki bu KGP'ne yönelik olarak yapılan incelemeden elde edilen bir diğer saptama devlet ve yatırımcı-sermaye aktörlerinin KGP'nin yaşama geçirilmesinde meslek odaları gibi sivil toplum örgütleri ile işbirliği ilişkileri kurma girişimidir. Bu hegemonya inşa etme amaçlı girişimle, KGP'ne yönelik olarak kilit önemdeki sivil toplum örgütlerinin desteği hedeflenmekte ve böylece projelere muhalif olma potansiyeline sahip sivil toplum kesimleri projeyi destekleyici bir konuma getirilmesi hedeflenmektedir. Tezin dördüncü bölümünde yapılan son saptama ise KGP'de zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizmaların devlet tarafından kullanılma eğilimine ilişkindir. Projeye özel yasalar, mevcut yasalarda değişiklikler, kanun hükmünde kararnameler gibi yasa yapıcı mekanizmaların; hegemonya inşa edici söylemler, eylemler ve "işbirliği" ilişkileri "başarılı" bir şekilde gerçekleştirilemediği koşullarda, yani örgütlü sivil toplum kesimlerinin KGP'ne yönelik olarak desteği, rızası sağlanamadığı durumlarda kullanılma eğilimi artmaktadır. Devlet KGP'ne karşı dava açarak muhalefet eden meslek odalarına ve sivil toplum örgütlerine karşı zorlayıcı yasa yapıcı bir mekanizma olarak projeye özel yasaları ve kanun hükmünde kararnameleri kullanmaktadır. KGP'ne yönelik bu yasa-yapıcı mekanizmalarla mülkiyetin el değişimi kolaylaştırılmakta, kentsel planlama yetkileri yeniden düzenlenmekte ve meslek odalarının muhalefeti devre dışı bırakılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Tezin kuramsal yaklaşımı ve Dünya'dan ve Türkiye'den farklı KGP'ne yönelik olarak gerçekleştirilen yazın taraması çerçevesinde dört başlatıcı sav oluşturulmuştur. Kuramsal çerçeve ve yazın taramasından çıkartılan bu dört sav tezin örnek olay incelemesinin odağını tanımlamaktadır. Aşağıda belirtilen bu dört başlatıcı savın KGP'nin siyasal inşasını ne ölçüde açıkladığı tezin örnek olay inlemesinden elde edilen veriler ışığında değerlendirilmiştir. Tezin örnek olay incelemesini oluşturan İzmir'den YKM ve İTM projelerine yönelik araştırma ile bu savlar yeniden ele alınmış ve geliştirilmiştir.

Başlatıcı Sav 1: KGP, "mekan üretiminin hegemonik projeleri"ni oluşturmaya yönelik girişimlerdir; bu nedenle, kentsel siyasal önceliklerin tanımlanması üzerinde hegemonya inşa etmenin bir mekanizması haline gelmektedirler.

Başlatıcı Sav 2: KGP, kilit karar-alıcıların hegemonik söylemleri, argümanları ve anlatılarıyla siyasal olarak inşa edilmekte ve bu söylemsel pratikler projelere yönelik farklı toplumsal kesimlerin desteğini ve rızasını elde etmek için kullanılmaktadır.

Başlatıcı Sav 3: KGP'nin siyasal inşasında sadece hegemonya inşasının söylemsel pratikleri değil, aynı zamanda kapitalist devletin zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizmaları da (projeye özel yasalar, mevcut yasalarda değişiklikler, kanun hükmünde kararnameler) kilit bir rol oynamaktadır.

Başlatıcı Sav 4: KGP, hegemonya inşasının söylemsel pratikleri ve kapitalist devletin zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizmalarının tamamlayıcı ilişkisi, farklılaşan eklemlenmesi yoluyla siyasal olarak inşa edilmektedir.

Belirtilen dört başlatıcı sav tezin örnek olay incelemesinin odağını tanımlamakta ve bu inceleme kapsamında elde edilecek verileri yorumlamak için bir çerçeve oluşturmaktadır. Tezin örnek olay incelemesi kapsamında İzmir'den YKM ve İTM projeleri seçilmiştir. Her iki projede; İzmir'de devlet ve yatırımcı-sermaye aktörlerinin hegemonik söylemlerinin yoğunlaştığı, en yüksek miktarda yatırımı çekmesi beklenen ve kentin toplumsal, ekonomik ve mekansal dinamikleri üzerinde büyük bir etkiye sahip olması muhtemel KGP'dir. Bu özelliklerinden dolayı İzmir'den bu iki KGP'si seçilmiş ve bu projelerin siyasal inşası; eleştirel söylem analizi, anketler ve yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler gibi çeşitli niteliksel ve niceliksel analiz yöntemlerinin birlikte kullanımı ile araştırılmıştır.

İzmir'de incelenen iki KGP'de baskın/hakim konumda yeralan aktörler, rolleri ve kurdukları/kurmayı hedefledikleri uzlaş-ışbirliği ilişkileri anketler, derinlemesine görüşmeler ve eleştirel söylem analizi ile çözümlenmiştir. YKM projesinde İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Yatırımcılar, İlçe Belediyeleri, yerel sermaye örgütleri ve Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği'ne (TMMOB) bağlı meslek odalarının baskın/hakim konumda olduğu gözlenmektedir. Bu projede İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve İlçe Belediyeleri planlama yetkisine sahip karar-alıcı kurumlar olarak yerilirken, yatırımcılar ve yerel sermaye örgütleri planlama sürecini yönlendirmeyi hedefleyen ve projeye ilişkin hegemonik söylemler üreten ve yaygınlaştıran bir roldedir. TMMOB'a bağlı meslek odaları ise projeye yönelik mesleki desteğin sağlanmasında önemli rol oynamaktadır. Bu projede örgütlü meslek çevrelerinin rızası elde

edilmiştir. Diğer yandan, hükümet yetkililerinin söylemleriyle bu projeye destek verdiği gözlenmiştir. Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları baskın/hakim aktörlerin hegemonik söylemlerini kitle iletişim araçları ile yaygınlaştıran ve projelere yönelik bir “ortak duyu”nun inşa edilmesinde önemli rol oynayan bir konumdadır.

İTM projesinde ise YKM projesine kıyasla daha belirgin ve ön plana çıkan bir “merkezi yönetim-yerel yönetim uzlaşısı-işbirliği” bulunmaktadır. Planlama yetkisine sahip merkezi karar-alıcı Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı’nın yanısıra İzmir Büyükşehir ve Balçova Belediyeleri de planlama sürecini desteklemekte, yönlendirmekte ve hegemonik söylemleri üreterek bu söylemleri yaygınlaştırmaktadır. Ayrıca bu yerel yönetim kurumlarının İzmir’de örgütlü toplumsal kesimlerin rızasının elde edilmesinde KTB tarafından bir “aracı” olarak kullanılmasının hedeflendiği ulaşılan bir diğer saptamadır. YKM projesine benzer biçimde bu projede de yerel sermaye örgütleri hegemonik söylemlerin üretimi ve yaygınlaştırılmasında önemli rol oynamaktadır; bu rol İTM projesinde ayrıca EXPO İzmir Yönlendirme Kurulu tarafından da yerine getirilmiştir. Yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşlarının İTM projesindeki rolü de, YKM projesindeki benzer biçimde hegemonik söylemlerini kitle iletişim araçları ile yaygınlaştırarak projeye yönelik bir “ortak duyu”nun inşa edilmesine katkı sağlamaktadır.

Projelere yönelik baskın/hakim aktörlerin konumları, uzlaşısı-işbirliği ilişkileri ve rolleri bu çerçevede şekillenmektedir. Araştırma kapsamında ulaşılan sonuçlardan biri de bu kurumların/kesimlerin projelerin siyasal inşasındaki rollerinin birbirleriyle etkileşimden izole, tekil, ilişkisiz olarak araştırılamayacağıdır. Başka bir deyişle iki proje de basitçe kapitalist devletin veya sermayenin projeleri olarak kuramsallaştırılamaz. Her iki projenin siyasal inşasında/kurgusunda farklı kurumların/kesimlerin karşılıklı etkileşimi, organik ilişkileri, işbirlikleri ve mücadeleleri bulunmakta bu ilişkiler projelerin siyasal inşasında rol oynamaktadır. Projelerin siyasal inşasında/kurgusunda baskın/hakim konumdaki aktörlerin konfigürasyonunu “siyasal toplum + sivil toplum” olarak Gramsci’nin “bütüncül devlet” kavramına referansla tanımlamak mümkündür. Projelerin arkasındaki kapitalist güçler bir yandan sivil toplumu diğer yandan da siyasal toplumu örgütleyerek projeleri yaşama geçirecek toplumsal zemini inşa etme hedefindedir. Bu hedef YKM projesinde göreceli olarak daha “başarılı” bir biçimde yerine getirilirken İTM projesinde “başarı” sağlanamamaktadır.

Mülkiyet örüntüsü ve mülkiyetin el değişimi projelerin kurgulanmasında özellikle planlama sürecini etkileyen bir karar-alma dinamiği olarak rol oynamaktadır. YKM proje alanında büyük ve küçük özel mülkiyetler ve kamu mülkiyetlerinin birlikte bulunduğu karma bir mülkiyet örüntüsü bulunmakta, henüz mülkiyetin el değiştirmesine yönelik herhangi bir eğilim gözlenmemektedir. Bu alanda büyük mülk sahibi yatırımcı kesimlerin planlama sürecinde alınan kararlarda etkili olduğu, küçük mülk sahibi kesimlerin aynı etkiye sahip olmadığı gözlenmektedir. YKM alanında küçük mülkiyet örüntülerinin bulunduğu alanlar “özel planlama alanı” olarak tanımlanarak projenin genel içeriğinin dışında farklı kentsel dönüşüm projeleriyle geliştirileceği ve bu çerçevede bu alanlara farklı müdahale mekanizmaları geliştirileceği görülmektedir. İTM alanında ise küçük özel mülkiyet örüntüsü mülkiyetin büyük yatırımcılara doğru el değiştirmesiyle dönüşmektedir. İTM alanında 2006 yılından itibaren yaşanmakta olan bu dönüşüm; Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı’nın büyük yatırımcı kesimlerin de talepleri ve baskılarıyla planlama sürecini hızlandırmasına neden olmuş; küçük mülk sahibi kesimlerin de çıkarları çerçevesinde örgütlenerek Bakanlık ile ilişkiler kurmasını tetiklemiştir.

Projelere yönelik farklı toplumsal-sınıfsal kesimlerin desteğinin, rızasının elde edilmesinde hangi hegemonik söylemlerin kullanıldığı eleştirel söylem analizi ile ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Yapılan anketler ve derinlemesine görüşmelerle bu söylemlerin farklı kesimlerce ne ölçüde ve nasıl benimsendiği, içselleştirildiği araştırılmıştır. YKM projesinin “yatırım çeken”, “istihdam sağlayan”, “ekonomik açıdan atıl” bir “terkedilmiş çöküntü alanı”nı “kaliteli bir tüketim, çalışma ve yaşam mekanı”na, “modern bir yeni kent merkezi”ne dönüştürülmesi çerçevesindeki hegemonik söylemlerle tanımlanmaktadır. İTM projesi ise “turizm yatırımlarını çekerek”, “istihdam olanakları sağlayacak”, “EXPO” ile “tarım yapılamayan imarı da sorunlu bir alanı İzmir’e kazandıracak” bir proje söylemleri ile inşa edilmektedir. Her iki projede de “ekonomik büyüme”, “yatırım” ve “istihdam” odaklı söylemlerle, Lefebvre’ye referansla bir “soyut mekan” kavrayışının hegemonik konuma getirilmeye çalışıldığı görülmektedir.

Hegemonik söylemlerin benimsenmesi kurum kategorisine ve sınıfsal konumlara göre farklılıklar göstermektedir. Her iki projede de “devlet kurumları”, “yatırımcılar”, “yerel sermaye örgütleri” kategorilerinde tanımlanan kurumların bu söylemleri benimseme ve yaygınlaştırma eğiliminin daha yüksek olduğu; “TMMOB’a bağlı meslek odaları”, “üniversiteler” ve “diğer sivil toplum örgütleri”nin ise daha düşük olduğu görülmektedir. Bu

eğilimler İTM projesine yönelik olarak daha belirgin bir biçimde gözlenmektedir. Diğer yandan, projelere rıza göstererek, destek vermek sınıfsal konuma göre farklılaşmaktadır; bu çerçevede “işveren büyük sermaye”, “işveren küçük sermaye” ve “nitelikli işgücü ücretli” olarak tanımlanan kesimlerin büyük çoğunluğunun her iki projeye de destek verdiği görülmektedir. Projelere göreceli olarak daha düşük oranda destek verme eğilimi emekli, işsiz, öğrenci ve yevmiyeli çalışan kesimlerde yaygındır. Projelere destek verme durumu ile sınıfsal konum arasındaki ilişki, gelir düzeyi ile bağlantılı olarak da gözlenmektedir. Üst gelir grupları projelere daha yüksek oranlarda destek verirken orta-düşük gelirli kesimler göreceli olarak daha düşük oranlarda destek verdiği ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Anket yapılan kişilerin gelir düzeyi azaldıkça projelere karşı olma ve projeler hakkında fikri olmama eğilimi ağırlık kazanmaktadır.

Hegemonik söylemleri benimseyerek projelere destek verme, rıza gösterme eğilimi; mülk sahibi yada kiracı olma durumuna göre de değişim göstermektedir. Ayrıca, anket yapılan insanların büyük çoğunluğunun kendi yaşadıkları/çalıştıkları semtlerde/mahallelerde/kentsel alanlarda kurgulanan projeler hakkında bir farkındalık ve görüş oluşturma eğilimi içerisinde olduğu gözlenmiştir. Kentin başka bölgelerinde/semtlerindeki projelerle ilgili fikir geliştirme, görüş oluşturma eğilimleri sınırlı kalmaktadır. Projelere yönelik olarak rıza gösterme dinamiği; sınıfsal konuma, mülk sahipliğine, yaşanan/çalışılan yere bağlı bir nitelik göstermektedir.

Projelere destek verilmesinde etkili olan ve bir “ortak duyu” inşa etmeyi hedefleyen bu hegemonik söylemler aynı zamanda; kentsel planlamanın önceliklerinin ve planlamada “kamu yararı”nın tanımlanması üzerinde “hegemonik bir güç” oluşturma aracılığıyla değerlendirilebilir. Hegemonik söylemlerle bir tür “rıza oluşturma kapasite” inşa etmeyi ve bu temelde farklı toplumsal-sınıfsal kesimlerin projelere yönelik desteğini, rızasını elde etmeyi hedefleyen aktörler siyasal toplum ve sivil toplum yapılarının bir konfigürasyonu ile oluşmakta, bu yapı içerisinde devlet kurumları, yatırımcılar ve örgütlü sermaye çevreleri, yerel ve ulusal medya kuruluşları, üniversiteler ve örgütlü diğer toplumsal kesimler yer alabilmektedir.

Anket yapılan mahallelerde yaşayan/çalışan ve projeye rıza gösteren kesimleri iki kategori dahilinde değerlendirmek gerekmektedir. İlk olarak projelere yönelik “yatırım”, “istihdam” odaklı hegemonik söylemleri doğrudan benimseyen, içselleştiren ve görüşlerini ifade

ederken bu söylemleri yaygınlaştıran, yeniden üreten kesimler gözlenmiştir. Projelerin yapılacağı alanda yaşayan veya çalışan bu kesimler; projelere yönelik olarak bu baskın/hakim söylemleri planlamada etkili aktörlerin açıklamaları aracılığıyla kitle iletişim araçlarından düzenli ve sık bir biçimde takip etmekte, “rıza oluşturunca kapasite”nin hedeflediği çerçevede bir “ortak duyu”yu benimsemekte ve söylemleriyle baskın/hakim görüşü yaygınlaştırmakta, yeniden üretmektedir. Projelere yönelik olarak aktif bir biçimde rıza gösteren bu kesimler çoğunlukla projelere yönelik olarak çıkarları temelinde örgütlenmiş ve örgütleri aracılığıyla karar-alıcılarla ilişki kuran, projenin yapılacağı alanda mülk sahibi olan ve projeye yönelik baskın/hakim görüşleri kitle iletişim araçlarından sıkı bir biçimde takip eden kişilerden oluşmaktadır.

İkinci olarak ise, projelere yönelik olarak bilgi ve farkındalık düzeyi düşük, baskın/hakim söylemleri içselleştir(e)meyen, bu söylemleri projelere yönelik oldukça sınırlı görüşleriyle yeniden üret(e)meyen kesimlerin varlığı gözlenmiştir. Projelerin yapılacağı alanda yaşayan ve/veya çalışan bu kesimler kendi gündelik yaşamları üzerinde oldukça büyük bir etkiye sahip olacak bu projelere yönelik olarak düşük düzeyde bilgi sahibi olan, farkındalık geliştir(e)memiş, çıkarları temelinde örgütlenme eğilimi düşük ve projelere yönelik haberleri kitle iletişim araçları üzerinden takip etmeyen veya oldukça düşük bir sıklıkta takip eden, çoğunluğu kiracı olarak projelerin yapılacağı alanda veya çevresinde yaşayan, çalışan kişilerden oluşmaktadır. Bu kesimler projelere yönelik olarak baskın/hakim söylemleri yaygınlaştırmamakta, bu söylemleri yeniden üretmemekte ve projelerle ilgili olarak çoğunlukla gündelik yaşamlarına ilişkin barınma odaklı kaygıları ön plana çıkarmaktadırlar. Ancak; projelere yönelik aktif bir biçimde rıza göstermeyen, her ne kadar barınma ve geçim gibi yaşamsal öncelikleri çerçevesinde reaksiyon göstererek projelere yönelik düşük bir farkındalık düzeyine sahip olsalarda bu kesimlerin yaşadıkları veya çalıştıkları mahalledeki aktif rıza gösteren kesimlere entegre olma ve bu kesimlerle birlikte hareket etme eğilimlerinin de yüksek olduğu gözlenmiştir. “Rıza oluşturunca kapasite”nin üzerlerinde “aktif rıza” inşa edemediği bu kesimler düşük bir farkındalık düzeyiyle pasifte olsalar, projelere yönelik rıza gösteren kesimlerle birlikte hareket etme eğilimindedirler. Bu çerçevede bu kesimlere projelere yönelik “pasif rıza gösteren kesimler” tanımlaması yapılabilir. Aktif rıza ve pasif rıza gösterme eğilimleri mülk sahibi veya kiracı olma durumuna; proje alanında, çevresinde yada tamamen dışarısında başka bir bölgede yaşama veya çalışma durumuna; eğitim durumuna ve sınıfsal konumlara göre değişiklik gösterebilmektedir. Diğer yandan, YKM projesinin gerçekleştirileceği alanda ve çevresinde yaşayan, çalışan kesimlerin

çoğunluğu İTM projesine yönelik oldukça düşük bir farkındalık düzeyine sahiptir. Aynı durum İTM projesi için de geçerlidir. Bu çerçevede projelere yönelik aktif ve pasif rıza gösterme eğilimi yaşanan, çalışılan yere bağlı olarak da değişmektedir. Projelere yönelik rıza oluşturma, destek elde etme mekana bağlı bir nitelik göstermektedir.

Rıza oluşturunca kapasiteyi inşa eden hegemonik söylemlerin yaygınlaştırılması ve bir “ortak duyu” haline getirilmesinde hangi mekanizmalar kullanılmaktadır? Araştırma bu çerçevede üç ortak mekanizma çözümlemiştir. Yapılan kurum anketleri her iki projeye ilişkin olarak; (1) kitle iletişim araçlarında yer alan haberler, (2) yerel ve merkezi yönetim kurumlarının ve proje alanlarında yatırım gerçekleştirecek inşaat şirketlerinin bu haberlerde yer alan açıklamaları ve (3) hazırlanan YKM nazım imar planı ve İTM çevre düzeni planı ve bu planlarda yapılan değişikliklerin görüşlerin oluşmasında etkili olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Projeleri destekleyici görüşlerin oluşmasını sağlayan bu ortak etkenlerin yanısıra; İTM projesine yönelik olarak EXPO kapsamında sunulan fotoğraf, yazı ve tanıtımların; YKM projesine yönelik olarak ise AVM-rezidans reklamlarının destekleyici-rıza gösterici görüşlerin oluşmasında önemli rolü olduğu ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Ayrıca; kitle iletişim araçları ile projelere yönelik desteği, rızayı arttırmayı hedefleyen haberler; bir yandan hegemonik söylemleri yaygınlaştırmayı hedeflemekte, diğer yandan ise projelere karşı/muhalef kesimleri İzmir kamuoyu önünde hedef göstermekte, bu kesimleri rıza göstermeye zorlayacak bir baskı ortamı oluşturmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu durumun en iyi örneği İTM projesine ilişkin olarak görülmektedir.

Projelerin “rıza oluşturunca kapasite”leri, projelere ilişkin hegemonik söylemlerin kitle iletişim araçlarında yer bulması ile doğrudan ilişkilidir. “Yatırım” ve “istihdam” odaklı ortak söylemler dışında; YKM projesi için AVM-rezidans reklamlarının bu rıza oluşturma kapasitesinin inşa edilmesinde işlev gördüğü gözlemlenmiştir. İTM projesi için ise bu kapasite EXPO adaylığı ve merkezi yönetim ve yerel yönetimlerin işbirliği durumuna göre şekillenmektedir. Başka bir deyişle; kentin gündemine getirilen proje, AVM-rezidans reklamları, merkezi yönetim ve yerel yönetimler arasında işbirliği, meslek odalarıyla işbirliği yapıldığı ölçüde ve medyada hakim/baskın söylemlerin yer bulmasıyla bir “rıza oluşturunca kapasite” geliştirmekte ve bu kapasite projeler temelinde hegemonya inşa edilmesinde ana unsur olarak rol oynamaktadır.

Projelere yönelik hegemonik söylem ve eylemler hangi toplumsal kesimlerin desteğini, rızasını hedeflemektedir? Bu çerçevede “odaklanılan” ve “genişletilmiş-genel” olarak iki hedefi tanımlamak mümkündür. Hegemonik söylem ve eylemlerin odaklanılan hedefi; şehir planlama ve mimarlık meslek çevreleri, TMMOB’a bağlı meslek odaları ve örgütlü diğer toplumsal kesimlerdir. Hegemonik söylemlerin genel hedefi ise tüm İzmir kamuoyudur. Projelerin rıza oluşturunca kapasitesi öncelikle; mesleki bilgileri ve meslek ideolojisi çerçevesinde projelere karşı/muhafif konumlanma potansiyeli bulunan örgütlü meslek çevrelerine odaklanmakta, bu kesimleri içine alacak bir genişleme-büyüme stratejisi benimsemektedir. Bu çerçevede örgütlü meslek çevreleri önemli bir mevzi olarak ele geçirilmek istenmekte ve bu durum TMMOB’a bağlı meslek odaları ile sağlanan yada sağlanamayan “uzlaş-ışbirliği” ilişkileri çerçevesinde gözlenmektedir. YKM projesinin rıza oluşturunca kapasitesi örgütlü meslek çevrelerinin desteğini, aktif rızasını büyük ölçüde alarak genişleme, güçlenme imkanı bulmuş ve bu durumda projenin yaşama geçirilmesini “kolaylaştırmış”tır. İTM projesinde ise KTB’nın yerel yönetim kurumları ile sağladığı “uzlaş-ışbirliği” ilişkisi örgütlü meslek çevrelerini içine alacak şekilde genişleyememiş, güçlenememiştir. İTM projesinin henüz yaşama geçirilememiş olmasında rıza oluşturunca kapasitenin örgütlü meslek çevrelerinin desteğini alacak şekilde genişleyememesinin, güçlenememesinin rolü büyüktür.

Projeye özel yasa tartışmasında ise; özel yasanın özellikle İTM projesine yönelik olarak gündeme getirildiği ve Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, yerel yönetimler, yatırımcı ve mülk sahipleri ve yerel sermaye örgütlerinin özel yasayı savunan görüşler ortaya koyduğu görülmektedir. İTM projesinin arkasında yer alan bu kurumlar/kesimler; İTM planlamasına özel bir yasanın “EXPO kapsamında hazırlanacağı”nı, “planlama sürecini hızlandıracağı”nı, “planlara dava açılmasını sınırlandıracağı”nı ve böylece “projeyi hızlı bir biçimde yaşama geçirecek” bir mekanizma sağlayacağını belirtmektedirler. Görüşme deşifreleri İTM projesine özel bir yasanın özellikle rıza oluşturma kapasitesinin örgütlü meslek çevrelerini (TMMOB’a bağlı meslek odaları) içine alarak genişleyememesi, güçlenememesi durumunu telafi eden, “yaptırıma dayalı” ve bu açıdan “zorlayıcı”, “yasa-yapıcı” bir mekanizma olarak kullanılma eğilimini ortaya çıkarmıştır. İTM projesine yönelik bir özel yasa yada mevcut yasalarda değişiklikler, kanun hükmünde kararnameler ile sağlanabilecek böylesi bir “zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizma”; toplumsal bir uzlaşının ürünü olmayacak ancak projeyi yaşama geçirmek isteyen kesimler için yasal açıdan “meşru” bir güç sağlayacaktır.

Projelere karşı/muhalif konumda yer alan kesimler ve söylemleri incelendiğinde iki proje arasında önemli bir farklılaşma görülmektedir. YKM projesine karşı olan bir grup siyasetçinin karşı/muhalif söylemleri ideolojik bir içerik taşımamakta ve bu kesimler örgütlü toplumsal kesimlerden geniş katılımlı bir destek göremediğinden dar ve muhalefetleri ideolojik karşıtlık içermeyen bir kesim olarak sınırlıdır. İTM projesine karşı kesimler ise örgütlü toplumsal kesimlerin, üniversitelerden öğretim üyelerinin geniş bir katılımı ile oluşmakta ve karşı/muhalif söylemleri ideolojik bir içerik taşımaktadır. Bu bağlamda, İTM projesine karşı/muhalif kesimlerin yürüttüğü ideolojik içerikli mücadelenin daha güçlü olduğu ve projelerin yaşama geçirilmesine “engel” oluşturan kararların alınmasını sağladığı görülmektedir.

Yapılan kurum anketleri; kurumların projelere yönelik görüşlerinin o kurumlarda çalışan kesimler tarafından benimsenmesinde farklılaşmalar olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Bu farklılaşmanın kurum kategorisine ve anket yapılan kişinin kurum içerisindeki görevine göre değiştiği ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Kurum-içi rıza gösterme eğilimine yönelik olarak yapılan bu saptama derinlemesine görüşmeler ile desteklenmiş ve derinlemesine incelenmiştir. Bu çerçevede görüşme deşifreleri; İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinde YKM nazım imar planına yönelik olarak emsal artışını içeren plan revizyonuna ve Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı’nda İTM için yapılan planlara karşı/muhalif görüşte olan mesleki görevlilerin (şehir plancısı ve mimar) bulunduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Çalıştıkları kurum içerisindeki hakim/yaygın görüşü-kanaati benimsemeyen bu kesimler çalıştıkları kurumların; “planlama aracılığıyla güçlü kesimlere rant aktardığı”nı, “şehircilik ilkelerine ve kamu yararına aykırı” planlar hazırladığını belirtmektedirler. Diğer yandan, kurum içerisindeki hakim/yaygın görüşü benimseyen çalışanlarında olduğu ve bu çalışanların özellikle planlama sürecinde görevlendirildiği gözlenmektedir. Projelere yönelik kurum görüşünü benimsemeyen kesimlerin ise karşı/muhalif görüşte oldukları projede görevlendirilmedikleri yada görevlerinden uzaklaştırıldıkları görülmüştür. Projeleri yaşama geçirmek hedefinde olan kurumların çalışanları üzerinde kurum-içi rıza sağlaması son derece önemli bir stratejidir. Her iki projeye yönelik olarak da kurum-içi rıza gösteren ve göstermeyen kesimler saptanmış, bu eğilimin kişinin kurum içerisindeki görevine göre değiştiği ve meslek alanına yönelik politik-ideolojik yaklaşımı çerçevesinde şekillendiği ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

Derinlemesine görüşmeler kurum/kesim görüşlerinin kendi içlerinde belirli bir tutarlılığa sahip olmakla birlikte farklılıklar, çelişkiler ve karşıtlıklar taşıdığını da göstermiştir. “Yerel

yönetim kurumu”, “merkezi yönetim kurumu”, “yatırımcılar ve mülk sahipleri”, “üniversiteler”, “sivil toplum örgütleri”, “siyasi partiler”, “medya kuruluşları” gibi çeşitli kategorilerde sınıflandırdığımız kurumlar/kesimler bütünüyle tutarlı görüşleri yansıtan kurum kategorileri olarak sınıflandırılmaz. Çeşitli kategorilerdeki kurumlar yalnızca birbirleri arasında değil kendi kategorileri dahilinde de farklı, karşıt görüşlere sahip ve politik-ideolojik mücadele ilişkisi içerisinde olabilmektedir. Belirli kategoriler dahilinde analiz edilen kurumlar/kesimler; ne bünyelerinde çalışan tüm kişilerin kurum görüşüne rıza göstermesini sağlayabilmekte, nede kendi içlerinde farklı, çelişkili ve karşıt görüşlerden muaf olabilmektedir. Aynı kategorideki kurumların farklı, karşıt görüşlerde olma eğilimi İTM projesine yönelik olarak daha güçlüdür. YKM projesine yönelik görüşlerde aynı kategorideki kurum görüşlerinin çelişkisinin, karşıtlığının daha düşük seviyelerde olduğu gözlenmiştir.

Sonuç olarak; devlet kurumları, üniversiteler, TMMOB’a bağlı meslek odaları, medya kuruluşları ...vb. tüm kesimler hem birbirleri arasında hemde kendi içlerinde projelere yönelik farklı, karşıt görüşlerin ifade edildiği ve (Gramsci’ci anlamda) bir “mevzi savaşı”nın vücut bulduğu politik-ideolojik “mücadele alanları”dır. Projeleri yaşama geçirmek isteyen, devlet ve sermaye içerisindeki kapitalist güçler; bu “alanlar”daki mücadeleyi baştan kazanmış olarak yola çıkmaz; tersine bu “mücadele”yi kazanabilmek için medya, üniversite, sivil toplum örgütü, TMMOB’a bağlı meslek odası gibi “alanlar”da kendi çıkarlarına hizmet edecek örgütlenmeler ve etkinlikler göstererek “mevzi savaşı”nın galibi olmaya uğraşırlar.

YKM projesi yerel siyasi gücü (hükümete kıyasla) yüksek bir yerel yönetim kurumu tarafından ve yine yüksek düzeyde bir kurum-içi rıza ile yaşama geçirilmektedir. Bu projenin hazırlanması aşamasında yatırımcılar, yerel sermaye örgütleri, bazı üniversite öğretim üyeleri ve örgütlü meslek çevreleri ile belirli bir uzlaşma-işbirliği-birlikte çalışma ilişkisi geliştirilebilmiştir. Diğer yandan kitle iletişim araçları baskın/hakim aktörler tarafından etkili bir biçimde kullanılmış, proje alanında yaşayan/çalışan kesimlerin aktif rızası, geri kalan toplumsal kesimlerinde büyük bölümünün pasif rızası alınabilmektedir. Bu koşullar altında projenin “rıza oluşturuvcu kapasite”si güçlü bir konuma ulaşmış, proje herhangi bir “zorlayıcı-yasa yapıcı mekanizma”nın desteğine gerek kalmadan yaşama geçirilmeye başlamıştır. YKM projesi (İTM’ye kıyasla) güçlü “rıza oluşturuvcu kapasite”si sayesinde “mekan üretiminin hegemonik projesi” olabilmış ve özellikle son 10 yıllık süreçte İzmir’de kentsel siyasa ve planlamada önceliklerin yeniden tanımlanması üzerinde hegemonik bir güç odağı olarak belirlemiştir.

Bu tablo İTM projesinde ise oldukça farklıdır. Yerel siyasi gücü kısıtlı (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ne kıyasla) olan bir merkezi yönetim kurumu tarafından (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı) ve düşük düzeyde bir kurum-içi rıza ile yaşama geçirilmeye çalışılan İTM projesinde; “rıza oluşturunca kapasite”nin zayıflamasına neden olan bu unsurları telafi etmek için yerel yönetimlerle uzlaşi-birlikte çalışma ilişkileri geliştirilmiştir. Bu çerçevede, Bakanlık planlamanın farklı aşamalarında Büyükşehir Belediyesi ile birlikte karar alarak, Büyükşehir ve Balçova Belediyelerinin bu projenin arkasında olduğu yönünde bir kamuoyu algısı yaratmayı hedeflemiş ve bunda da başarılı olmuştur. Ancak örgütlü toplumsal kesimlerin (özellikle meslek odaları, bazı sol-sosyalist partiler ve sendikalar, çevreci sivil toplum örgütleri ve bazı üniversite öğretim üyeleri) desteği, rızası sağlanamamış bu kesimlerin çoğu projeye karşı/muhalif ideolojik içerikli bir mücadeleye girişmişlerdir. Bu koşullar altında “rıza oluşturunca kapasite”nin örgütlü meslek çevrelerini ve örgütlü toplumsal kesimlerinin de bir bölümünü içine alacak şekilde genişleyemediği, güçlenemediği gözlenmektedir. İTM projesini yaşama geçirmek için EXPO kapsamında bir özel yasa hazırlanmasına yönelik söylemleri ve girişimleri de “rıza oluşturunca kapasitenin zayıflığı”nı telafi etmek üzere kurgulanmış bir “zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizma”nın harekete geçirilme eğilimi olarak yorumlamak mümkündür. İTM projesinin siyasal inşasında “hegemonik kapasite”nin (rıza oluşturunca kapasite) değil ancak “zorlayıcı mekanizmanın” (projeye özel yasa) etkin olacağı gözlenmektedir. Halen İTM projesinin yaşama geçirilememiş olmasında bu projeye inşa edilen “rıza oluşturunca kapasite”nin zayıf olmasının önemli rolü bulunmaktadır. Bu projeye karşı/muhalif kesimlerin ideolojik içerikli mücadelelerini devam ettirme eğilimlerinin sürmesi durumunda bu projeye özel bir “zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizma”nın projeyi yaşama geçirmek üzere tasarlanması beklenmektedir.

Araştırmanın doktora tezine temel oluşturacak teorik düzeydeki temel katkısı; Gramsci'nin “hegemonya” kavramının, Lefebvre'in “mekanın üretimi” kavramıyla ilişkili bir şekilde kentsel gelişmenin siyaseti alanında operasyonel hale getirilmesidir. Bu amaçla “rıza oluşturunca kapasite” kavramı geliştirilmiştir. KGP'ne yönelik toplumsal desteğin ve rızanın arttırılmasını amaçlayan hegemonik söylemlerin ve eylemlerin bir bütünü olarak tarif ettiğimiz “rıza oluşturunca kapasite” projelerin siyasal inşasında önemli rol oynamaktadır. “Rıza oluşturunca kapasite” kavramı “zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizma” kavramıyla desteklenmiş, projelerin siyasal inşasında hegemonik kapasitelerin ve zorlayıcı

mekanizmaların kapitalist sınıflar tarafından birbirlerini tamamlayıcı bir biçimde harekete geçirildiği vurgulanmıştır.

Tezin örnek olay incelemesi kapsamında elde edilen veriler başlatıcı savların yeniden değerlendirilmesini, geliştirilmesini sağlamıştır. Bu çerçevede dört sonlandırıcı sav ulaşılmıştır. Aşağıda belirtilen bu dört sonlandırıcı sav araştırmanın temel bulgularını Lefebvre'den esinlenmiş neo-Gramscici kuramsal yaklaşım çerçevesinde yorumlamakta ve KGP'nin siyasal inşasının ortaya çıkartılmasına yönelik bir katkı sağlamaktadır.

Sonlandırıcı Sav 1: KGP, devlet ve kilit sivil toplum aktörlerinin projelerin gerçekleştirilmesi sürecindeki işbirliği ilişkisiyle hegemonik-ideolojik söylemsel pratikleri ve zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizmaları harekete geçirebildikleri takdirde **“mekan üretiminin hegemonik projeleri”** haline gelirler.

Sonlandırıcı Sav 2: KGP, devlet ve yatırımcı-sermaye aktörlerinin “ekonomik büyüme”, “yatırım”, istihdam” ve “kentsel dönüşüm” odaklı hegemonik söylemleri ile siyasal olarak inşa edilmektedir. KGP'nin bu güçlü kapitalist aktörleri; hegemonik söylemler ve meslek odaları, üniversiteler, çevreci sivil toplum örgütleri ve medya kurumları gibi kilit sivil toplum kesimleri ile işbirliği-uzlaş ilişkileri geliştirerek projelere ilişkin **“rıza oluşturunca kapasite”**ler inşa etmeyi amaçlamaktadırlar. Bir KGP'nin rıza oluşturunca kapasitesi; öncelikli olarak bu tür örgütlü sivil toplum kesimlerinin rızasını elde etmeyi hedeflemekte, bunu başarabildiği ölçüde kentsel siyasa ve planlamanın öncelikleri üzerinde hegemonik bir güç oluşturmaktadır. KGP'de kapitalist aktörler güçlü bir rıza oluşturunca kapasite inşa edebildiği takdirde hegemonik bir güç kazanır. Rıza oluşturunca kapasitenin gücü; hegemonik söylemlerin benimsenmesine, planlama yetkisine sahip yönetim kurumunun yerel siyasi gücüne, merkezi ve yerel yönetim işbirliği ve kurum-içi rıza düzeyine, yerel sermaye fraksiyonlarının koordine ve örgütlü hareket edebilme kapasitesine ve kitle iletişim araçlarına hakim olunabilmesine göre değişim göstermektedir.

Sonlandırıcı Sav 3: KGP'nin siyasal inşasında sadece hegemonya inşasının söylemsel pratikleri değil, aynı zamanda kapitalist devletin yasa-yapıcı mekanizmaları (yeni yasalar, projeye özel yasalar, mevcut yasalarda değişiklikler, kanun hükmünde kararname) kilit bir rol oynamaktadır. Devlet kurumlarının muhalif sivil toplum kesimleriyle (meslek odaları, üniversiteler, çevreci sivil toplum örgütleri ...vb.) işbirliği-uzlaş sağlayamadığı sosyo-siyasal

bağlamlarda projeye özel yasalar yaptırıma dayalı, zorlayıcı ve yasal açıdan “meşru” bir güç temeli olarak empoze edilir. Bu çerçevede tezin örnek olay inlemesinin ortaya çıkardığı gibi, projeye özel yasalar **“zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizma”**lar olarak işlev görmektedir ve KGP’ne yönelik başarılı bir rıza oluşturunca kapasitenin inşa edilemediği koşullarda bu mekanizmaların kullanılma eğilimi daha fazladır. KGP’nin siyasal inşasında devlet, güçlü bir rıza oluşturunca kapasitenin eksikliğini projeye özel yasalar, kanunun hükmünde kararname, mevcut yasalarda değişiklikler gibi zorlayıcı yasa yapıcı mekanizmaları tasarlayarak ve yürürlüğe koyarak telafi etmeye çalışır.

Sonlandırıcı Sav 4: KGP, rıza oluşturunca kapasiteyi oluşturan hegemonik söylemler, eylemler ve işbirliği ilişkilerinin ve zorlayıcı mekanizmalar olarak işlev gören yasa-yapıcı müdahalelerin birbirini tamamlayıcı ilişkisi, farklılaşan eklemlenmesi ile siyasal olarak inşa edilmektedir. Tez kapsamında elde edilen veri, KGP’nin siyasal inşasında hegemonik-ideolojik söylemsel pratiklerin ve zorlayıcı yasa-yapıcı mekanizmaların eklemlendiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. **“Rıza ve zorun farklılaşan eklemlenmesi”** farklı kapitalist kentlerde farklılaşan devlet-sivil toplum ilişki örüntülerine göre farklılık taşımaktadır. Sivil toplum aktörlerinin örgütlü ve güçlü olduğu sosyo-siyasal bağlamlarda devlet KGP’ne ilişkin hegemonik-ideolojik bir güç inşa etmeye ihtiyaç duyar. Ancak sivil toplum kesimlerinin örgütsüz ve güçsüz olduğu, devletin baskıcı ve zorlayıcı gücünün yüksek olduğu sosyo-siyasal bağlamlarda devlet KGP’ni yasalar aracılığıyla doğrudan empoze edebilir. Dolayısıyla hegemonik ve zorlayıcı mekanizmaların eklemlenmesi devlet ve sivil toplum arasındaki ilişkiye göre farklılaşmaktadır. Türkiye’de metropoliten kentlerin sosyo-siyasal bağlamında hem rıza oluşturunca kapasiteyi oluşturan hegemonik söylemler, eylemler ve işbirliği ilişkileri, hemde zorlayıcı mekanizmalar olarak işlev gören yasa-yapıcı müdahaleler rol oynamaktadır. KGP’nin siyasal inşasında, bu hegemonik kapasiteler ve zorlayıcı mekanizmalar birbirini tamamlayıcı biçimde birbiriyle eklemlenmektedir.

KGP’nin kapitalist hegemonyasına karşı nasıl mücadele edilebilir ? Böylesi bir mücadelede yalnızca KGP’ne ilişkin imar planlarına dava açarak gerçekleştirilemez. KGP’nin hegemonyasına karşı mücadele etmek için karşı-hegemonya projeleri üretmek ve bu projelerle toplumun adil, eşitlikçi, yaşanabilir, bütünleştirici ve mekanın kullanım değerini ön plana alan anti-kapitalist kentlerde yaşama tahayyüllü zenginleştirilmelidir. Böylesi karşı-hegemonya projelerinin, anti-kapitalist kentsel gelişme ütopyalarının üretilmesinde üniversitelere, meslek odalarına ve toplumcu sivil toplum örgütlerine önemli bir rol

düşmektedir. Karşı-hegemonya mücadelesinin örgütlenmesi için bu kesimlerin örgütlü, koordineli ve birlikte mücadele etmesi gerekmektedir. KGP'nin kapitalist hegemonyasına karşı mücadele edecek bu sivil toplum kesimleri aynı zamanda medya gücünü kullanarak geniş toplumsal kesimlerin mücadelelerine destek vermesini sağlamak durumundadır. Gramsci'nin "mevzi savaşı" olarak tanımladığı bu mücadelenin ilerici-devrimci sivil toplum güçleri tarafından kazanılması, ancak bu türden bir toplumsal mücadele ile mümkündür.

APPENDIX H:
TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

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YAZARIN

Soyadı : Penpecioğlu
Adı : Mehmet
Bölümü : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

TEZİN ADI The Political Construction of Urban Development Projects: The Case of İzmir

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: