

**URBAN TRANSFORMATION
IN İZMİR/BAYRAKLI DISTRICT**

**A Thesis Submitted to
the Graduate School of Engineering and Sciences of
İzmir Institute of Technology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
in Architecture**

**by
Burcu TÜRKMEN ÇELEBİ**

**September 2018
İZMİR**

We approve the thesis of **Burcu TÜRKMEN ÇELEBİ**

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tonguç AKIŞ

Department of Architecture, İzmir Institute of Technology

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ela ÇİL

Department of Architecture, İzmir Institute of Technology

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fehmi DOĞAN

Department of Architecture, İzmir Institute of Technology

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adile ARSLAN AVAR

Department of City and Regional Planning, İzmir Institute of Technology

Asst. Prof. Dr. Burkay PASİN

Department of Architecture, İzmir University of Economics

27 September 2018

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tonguç AKIŞ

Supervisor, Department of Architecture
İzmir Institute of Technology

Prof. Dr. Şeniz ÇIKIŞ

Head of the Department of Architecture

Prof. Dr. Aysun SOFUOĞLU

Dean of the Graduate School of
Engineering and Sciences

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank sincerely to my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tongu Akıř who encouraged me by his patience, tolerance and knowledge. Working with him was a great experience.

I would also like to thank the rest of my thesis committee: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ela il, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fehmi Doęan, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adile Arslan Avar and Assist. Prof. Dr. BurKay PasiN for their constructive criticisms.

I express my thanks to the members of Urban Transformation Committee in the Chamber of City Planners İZmir Branch. Our travels to the urban transformation areas and the studies of the committee were very beneficial for my thesis.

I offer my thanks to Architect Hasan Topal. His valuable knowledge and opinions contributed to my study.

I specially thank to my parents Yosma & Kemal Trkmen for their endless trusts and supports. Their beliefs encouraged me in this long process. I would like to express my deepest thanks to my husband Nuri elebi for his continuous support, encouragement and unconditional help. Additionally, I would like to thank my aunt Nuran Trkmen. She trusted me from the beginning to the end of my study.

I would also like to express my special thanks to my colleague Perin n who is in the same thesis process as me. Her supports, criticisms and suggestions were very meaningful.

ABSTRACT

URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN İZMİR/BAYRAKLI DISTRICT

This academic study investigates the urban transformation practices and their effects on the urban life and on the citizens of Bayraklı region of İzmir. Since the urban transformation practices in Turkey have accelerated particularly in recent years, these practices have been assessed and evaluated by analyzing a number of cases both from throughout the world and from Turkey. The purpose of the thesis is to consider and criticise the rapid urban transformation practices in the context of the housing question, neoliberal urban policies and urban actors of construction sector. Through these perspectives, this study aims to construct a multi-dimensional approach considering the urban transformation of Bayraklı district in İzmir.

The focus of the thesis dwells not only on the urban transformation areas in Bayraklı, but also on the spatial alterations in the central business district as well as the shore design works carried out in the district. Firstly, the decision of moving the city center from Konak to Bayraklı is considered by this study to be a significant improvement for the city of İzmir. Additionally, the master plan of the new city center prepared by an international urban design project competition in 2001 is perceived by this thesis as an important input to comprehend the urban transformation process of this particular district. Lastly, the shore design works concerning the area produce a noteworthy effect on the region. Therefore, such a spectrum of physical and social implications and actors related to them constitute the scholarly concern of this thesis.

Keywords: urban transformation, production of urban space, rebuilding, critical urban theory, urban phenomenon.

ÖZET

İZMİR/BAYRAKLI BÖLGESİ'NİN KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

Bu akademik çalışma Bayraklı bölgesindeki kentsel dönüşüm uygulamalarını ve bu uygulamaların kent yaşamı ve kentliler üzerindeki etkilerini araştırır. Türkiye’de, kentsel dönüşümün özellikle son yıllarda hız kazanması nedeniyle Türkiye’den ve dünyadan özel örnekler inceleme ve değerlendirmeye alınmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, tezin amacı hızlıca beliren kentsel dönüşüm uygulamalarının konut sorunu, neoliberal kentsel politikalar ve inşaat sektörünün aktörleri kapsamında değerlendirilmesidir. Bu bakış açısıyla, çalışma Bayraklı’daki kentsel dönüşümün çok katmanlı bir eleştiriyle değerlendirilmesi fikrini kurmayı amaçlar.

Bu tezin odaklandığı nokta Bayraklı’daki kentsel dönüşüm alanlarının yanı sıra Bayraklı’daki merkezi iş alanı ve kıyı tasarım çalışmalarıdır. Yeni kent merkezinin Konak’tan Bayraklı’ya taşınması fikri İzmir için çok önemli bir gelişmedir. Buna ek olarak, merkezi iş alanının nazım imar planlarının, 2001 yılında düzenlenen uluslararası bir proje yarışmasıyla hazırlanması bu bölgenin kentsel dönüşümünü kavrayabilmek için önemli bir kentsel kaymadır. Kıyı tasarım çalışmaları da Bayraklı bölgesi için yeni ve etkili mekansal değişikliklerdendir. Bu fiziksel ve sosyal uygulamalar yelpazesi ve onların aktörleri bu çalışmanın akademik olarak dikkat çekmek istediği konulardır.

Anahtar kelimeler: kentsel dönüşüm, kentsel mekanın üretimi, bina yenileme, eleştirel kent teorisi, kent olgusu.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	x
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Problem Statement	1
1.2. Aim of the Study	4
1.3. Methodology	5
1.4. Structure of the Thesis	6
CHAPTER 2. AN OVERVIEW OF THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION	8
2.1. Urban and its Theories	8
2.2. Urban Transformation	11
2.3. Critical Urban Theory	15
2.4. Actors in Urban Transformation	19
2.4.1. People: Right to the City	20
2.4.2. Institutions: Political Agents, Governments and Decision Mechanisms	22
2.5. Critical Examples of Urban Transformation	24
2.5.1. Example of Barcelona, Spain	24
2.5.2. Example of Berlin, Germany	27
2.5.3. Example of Palestine/Israel	30
2.6. Conclusion	33
CHAPTER 3. URBAN TRANSFORMATION PRACTICE IN TURKEY	35
3.1. 1950s: <i>Gecekondu</i> Problem in Turkey	36
3.2. 1980s: Neoliberalism in Turkey.....	38
3.3. 2000s: Formation of Contemporary Construction Sector in Turkey	39
3.4. Actors of Contemporary Urban Transformation of Turkey	44
3.4.1. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization	45
3.4.2. Metropolitan and Local Municipalities	49

3.4.3. Contractors	52
3.4.4. Designers	57
3.4.5. Dwellers	58
3.5. Conclusion	61
CHAPTER 4. CASE STUDY: EXAMINATION OF BAYRAKLI DISTRICT	
IN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF İZMİR ...	63
4.1. History of İzmir and Bayraklı District	65
4.2. Recent Developments in İzmir and Bayraklı District	72
4.3. Urban Transformation of İzmir and Bayraklı District	84
4.3.1. The Master Plan of the İzmir New City Center and the	
International Urban Design Idea Competition for the Port District	
of İzmir	85
4.3.2. The Central Business District of Bayraklı	89
4.3.3. The Shore Design Works in İzmir	95
4.4. Conclusion	104
CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION	106
REFERENCES	110

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
Figure 1. Rebuilding in Bostanlı, İzmir	12
Figure 2. The Olympic Port of Barcelona	25
Figure 3. Berlin Wall in Potsdamer Square	27
Figure 4. Berlin Wall After Demolition in Potsdamer Square	28
Figure 5. Potsdamer Square After Transformation	29
Figure 6. Sony Center in Potsdamer Square After Transformation	29
Figure 7. The Map of Beersheba	30
Figure 8. A Bedouin woman sit on demolished structure of a house	31
Figure 9. Urban Transformation Area of Fikirtepe	48
Figure 10. Urban Transformation Area of Fikirtepe	48
Figure 11. The Final Situation of Fikirtepe	49
Figure 12. Urban Transformation Area of Bayrampaşa	51
Figure 13. The Ataköy Coast (Old Power Mill Land)	56
Figure 14. The Cancelled Blumar Design Project	56
Figure 15. TOKİ Park Design Project	57
Figure 16. The Area of the Case Study	64
Figure 17. İzmir Port, 1875s	65
Figure 18. İzmir Port Today	65
Figure 19. İzmir City Map	66
Figure 20. Turkish Districts on the Hillside of İzmir, 1880	68
Figure 21. Kramer Palace and Waterfront, 1890	68
Figure 22. Bayraklı District in 1930s	70
Figure 23. Bayraklı District in 2010s.....	70
Figure 24. Urban Transformation Map of İzmir	73
Figure 25. Urban Transformation Map of Kadifekale and Yeşildere	75
Figure 26. Urban Transformation Area of Uzundere	76
Figure 27. Urban Transformation Design Project of Uzundere	77
Figure 28. Urban Transformation Area of Ege Neighborhood	77
Figure 29. Urban Transformation Area of Örnekköy	78
Figure 30. Urban Transformation Area of Ballıkuyu	79

Figure 31. Urban Transformation Design Project of Ballıkuyu	79
Figure 32. Urban Transformation Map of Bayraklı	80
Figure 33. Bayraklı Urban Transformation Area	81
Figure 34. The Gecekondu Settlements in Bayraklı	81
Figure 35. Walking Platform, City Lift and Foot Bridge of the Design Project	82
Figure 36. The Green Corridors of the Design Project	82
Figure 37. Urban Transformation Area of Aktepe and Emrez Neighborhoods.....	83
Figure 38. The Gecekondu Settlements in Bayraklı	83
Figure 39. Urban Transformation Area of Güzeltepe	84
Figure 40. The Master Plan of the İzmir New City Center	86
Figure 41. İzmir Alsancak Harbour Region-Halkapınar-Salhane-Bayraklı-Turan Coastal Area	87
Figure 42. Jochen Brandi's Project	88
Figure 43. The New Central Business District	89
Figure 44. Martı and Sunucu Plaza	90
Figure 45. Tepekule Convention Center	91
Figure 46. Folkart Towers	91
Figure 47. Gecekondu Near Folkart Towers	92
Figure 48. Girl dwelling in gecekondu near Folkart Towers	92
Figure 49. Bayraklı İZBAN Station (Railway)	94
Figure 50. Adnan Kahveci Crossover Road, Altınyol	94
Figure 51. The Shore Design Works in İzmir	96
Figure 52. Sunset Platforms in Bostanlı	97
Figure 53. Footbridge Design Project on Bayraklı Seashore	98
Figure 54. Footbridge on Bayraklı Seashore	98
Figure 55. Café and Port on Bayraklı Seaside	99
Figure 56. City Beach, Banks and Picnic Areas on Bayraklı Seaside	99
Figure 57. People on Cycle Path of Bayraklı Seashore	100
Figure 58. Footbridge on Altınyol	100
Figure 59. Basketball, Beach Volley Courts and Sports Areas	101
Figure 60. People using Playground under the Adnan Kahveci Crossover Road	101
Figure 61. People using Shoreworks	102
Figure 62. Paragliding in Bayraklı	102
Figure 63. The Design Project of Mithatpaşa Square	103

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
Table 1. The Evolution of Urban Regeneration	13
Table 2. Urban Transformation Areas in İzmir Defined by Urban Transformation Law	74

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Statement

Urban transformation is a dynamic situation that includes multi-dimensional aspects varying by state, city, district or neighborhood scale. Therefore, urban transformation needs to be examined together with its relationship of global, national, local actors and everyday life. When the current condition of dwelling inadequate to survive, urban transformation be an option or sometimes a struggle.

The concept of *transformation* in modern urban context has emerged and discussed for the first time with industrialization at the beginning of the 20th century. Many philosophers started to bring forward the issue of the insanitary and overcrowded living conditions of labor class, i.e., Friedrich Engels¹ criticized these physical and socio-economic conditions in *The Housing Question*. After the Second World War, urban transformation became widespread, since the war-torn European cities had to be reconstructed. Several terms—and definitions—have appeared, such as *renewal*, *resettlement*, *rehabilitation*, *redevelopment*, *revitalization*, etc., to fill in the conceptual gap in the field of urban transformation. At the same time, these terms alone revealed the variety of understanding and conceptualization of urban transformation after 1960 (Duman and Coşkun, 2015).

Urban transformation has a specific connotation and implementation for each and every city. Therefore, it is difficult to have a single definition for this particular concept. Namely, urban transformation is the practice of to renewal, revitalization and/or rehabilitation in a part of or the whole settlement area (Duman and Coşkun, 2015).

In Turkey, urban transformation has mostly been under the influence of its European counterparts, and the meaning of this term evolved in that sense. The main problem is to insert irrelevant meanings and relate them to the practice of urban

¹ Friedrich Engels is a philosopher and known as the constituent of Marxism along with Karl Marx. *The Housing Question* was written in 1872, and it is quite a significant text for urban studies.

transformation in Turkey. It causes urban transformation as a practice to deviate from its aim. For example, in Turkey, the rebuilding of unsubstantial constructions can turn into an urban transformation project as an urban practice. However, reconstructing a single building on a single plot cannot be considered as an *urban* transformation project, for urban transformation is a practice in its totality, which regenerates the places that do not provide their residents with the sufficient physical, environmental, and socio-economic conditions (Akkar, 2006).

In this thesis, urban transformation is handled as an “urban phenomenon.” Henri Lefebvre introduced this term in his book *Urban Revolution*. This particular term and the overall discussion in the book are the basic theoretical framework of this study. The so-called rural-urban dichotomy, the virtual subject of urban rather than city, global and private terminology of Lefebvre formed the scientific perspectives in the thesis. This common and dialectical perspective also constitutes the basic reference points of critical urban theory.

Urban is a dynamic concept that can change in relation with time and/or space. For this reason, the theories of urban space and its production should be examined in order to understand the urban and its effects. The current concept of urban can be identified by taking many criteria into consideration such as employment structure, economic activity, population density, etc. Particularly, as a result of industrialization, the function of urban spaces changed and this change influenced the concept of urban. The other focal point is *the critical urban theory* which criticizes the urban knowledge produced by market-oriented perspectives. This thesis and the critical urban theory are in line with the idea of a more democratic, equalitarian and sustainable urbanization process. The critical urban theory with its multi-dimensional view of examining actors and objects develops the main perspective for constructing the theoretical framework of this thesis.

Through this theoretical framework, we can criticize urban transformation regarding its meanings created by the different types of practice throughout history. Presenting the urban actors of urban physical transformation and analyzing them through specific examples are the focus of this study to understand the urban transformation controversies. On the global scale, the thesis considers the actors as *people* and *institutions*. In this thesis, it is preferred to represent the *institutions*, while the term *people* stands for the excluded who are the inhabitants of the locations subject to urban transformation in general. Here, *users*, *common people*, *messes*, etc. can be

defined as the *excluded* actors of the urban transformation process. Their roles are examined via the umbrella term, *the right to city*. The term *institutions* are utilized to define *politic agents*, *governments* and *decision mechanisms* that possess more authority than *users* in the urban transformation process.

On national scale, this thesis investigates urban transformation via the phenomena of *gecekondu* and internal migration. *Gecekondu* is a Turkish word that defines the shantytowns. In the following chapters, I use this word when I mention the shantytowns in Turkey. The phenomenon of *gecekondu* is the main reason of irregular, if any, urbanization and is in connection with internal migration and urban transformation. In Turkey, the *gecekondu* settlements are observed in most cities. For this reason, many settlement areas may be the case of urban transformation in Turkey.

Another dominant factor affecting the urban transformation practice is the construction sector. The construction sector has a major role regarding the national economy of Turkey (Balaban, 2011). For this reason, urban transformation is basically encouraged to increase the income of the construction sector. Thus, this thesis claims that the urban actors should be examined by analyzing *gecekondu*, internal migration and construction sector in a dialectical method.

The actors of urban transformation are categorized in Turkey through a different division than the world as this study presents. According to their authorization levels, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (national level of authority), metropolitan municipalities and municipalities (local authorities) and contractors (enterprises) can be defined as the authorities in the urban transformation process of Turkey. Urban designers, architects and dwellers are in a struggle to join this dialectical process.

After assessing the theoretical framework of urban transformation on global and national scales, the urban transformation areas in İzmir were analyzed. Bayraklı district is chosen among these areas due to its being in a rapid transformation process recently. It is a quite unique urban patch that is critical in following the impacts of newly forming construction sector within its practice. Local authorities in this particular field perform an original case. There is a *gecekondu* zone spreading over a wide area in Bayraklı. Some parts of those settlement areas were determined as the urban transformation area by the municipality. The main part of this transformation is generated from the central business district area. The old storage buildings and factories were transformed into high-rised commercial and residential buildings and shopping malls in the *new* central

business district in Bayraklı. There are other developments concerning some parts of Bayraklı as well: the international competition, the master plan of municipality and the shore design works. Although these partial physical and economic implementations seem to affect only their close surroundings, these developments transform the everyday life of Bayraklı district as a whole. For this reason, this district has a significance to be analyzed from a multi-dimensional perspective. However, the current practices exhibit that these three categories of developments are considered by the authorities as three completely independent implementations by themselves. This thesis investigates the reasons behind this division between the aforementioned implementations.

1.2. Aim of the Study

Urban transformation can be observed in many cities of Turkey. This thesis examines this transformation process of Turkey, and analyzes the urban transformation practices to understand the background of this process. This study aims to examine and present the concept of urban transformation, how it is practiced in Turkey and how this urban process develops within the scope of the case study of Bayraklı district. The concept of urban transformation is examined through relevant examples and related actors from the world, since they also prepared the base of urban transformation process of Turkey.

In Turkey, the urban transformation practices are mostly comprised of the rebuildings of unsubstantial structures. This type of transformation does not include a multi-dimensional background study. For this reason, the consequences of such urban interventions are presented through the lenses of varying actors.

The case study of this thesis consists of the transformation process of Bayraklı district. Most of the studies on urban transformation were conducted in Bayraklı, for this district has a significant place on the urban transformation map of İzmir. The main consideration of this study is that the three areas of urban intervention in the district, which are the *gecekondu* settlement areas, the central business district area, and the Bayraklı shoreline, have to be handled in a way that will establish a dialectical relation among themselves.

1.3. Methodology

The literature involving the key concepts (urban, urban transformation, critical urban theory) which provided this thesis with a conceptual field is reviewed. Books and journals/periodicals as well as the publishings of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and The Chamber of Architects İzmir Branch are scanned and utilized. News, blogs & webpages were examined when needed. These digital sources also give significant info about recent developments. Laws, statistics and lists were used to enhance the reflect the characters of urban actors.

The first key element of literature included in the thesis is the concept of *urban*. Theoreticians have been trying to define this concept in their own ways, thus, *urban* do not have a single definition. Lefebvre is one of the most significant theoreticians on this matter. Thus, his urban theory and the other theories related to the case are studied. *The critical urban theory* is examined specific to the studies of Neil Brenner. The concept of *the right to the city* is analyzed through the work of Peter Marcuse. Those works develop the theoretical framework.

Upon the decision of the case study was made, the master plans of the new city center were collected from İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. A copy of the competition report was accessed through the archive of the Chamber of Architects İzmir Branch. Additionally, the Shore Design Works Department of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality is presently working on the shoreline of İzmir; their study called “The Report of Design Strategies” was a source for this thesis regarding the implementations on the shore area.

An individual interview was conducted with Hasan Topal (Architect), who worked in İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (1999-2008), in the Chamber of Architects İzmir Branch (2008-2016) and in the Chamber of Architects (2016-2017), to hear his opinions about the new city center.

The urban transformation areas—Güzeltepe, Bayraklı, Narlıdere, Karabağlar, Aşık Veysel-Seyhan urban transformation areas and Uzundere Mass Housing Area—were visited together with the members of the Urban Transformation Committee in the Chamber of City Planners İzmir Branch on 23 May, 2015. A group interview with the users of these areas was conducted.

I attended the 11th Urban Transformation Summit (*11. Her Yönüyle Kentsel Dönüşüm Zirvesi*) in the Chamber of Architects İzmir Branch on 10 May, 2018. There

were several speakers from different occupational groups talking about urban transformation. I mentioned this summit further in related parts of this thesis.

The shore design works were also examined within the context of this study. Throughout the writing process of the thesis, I found the chance to observe and experience the recent transformation period of Bayraklı shoreline and to take photographs of the completed parts of the design work.

The writing process of this thesis took approximately three years. Since urban transformation is a contemporary issue and a never-ending process, there were many changes occurred in the case study area while I was still studying on the thesis. Thus, individual observation and examination of the area on a regular basis provided the study with significantly important data concerning the rapidly changing agenda of Bayraklı. I work in an architecture firm as a profession. This is also makes me updated in urban legislation.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the study. In this chapter, the problem statement and the aim of the study are presented to give a brief idea about the urban transformation issue in Bayraklı. The methodology and the structure of the thesis are also given in this chapter.

Chapter 2 dwells on the general analysis of the concept of urban transformation on the global scale. The terms of *urban*, *urban transformation*, *housing question*, *critical urban theory* as well as the urban actors are the main focuses of this chapter. Several examples are discussed and criticized to shed light on different case studies.

In Chapter 3, urban transformation process of Turkey is discussed historically. The main reasons of urban transformation that are internal migration and *gecekondu* are explained. The significance of construction sector in the national economy is analyzed and the relations between this with the actors of urban transformation in Turkey are exhibited. At the end of the chapter, all these determinants of urban transformation are discussed together.

Chapter 4 analyzes the case of Bayraklı from the perspective of urban transformation process that is introduced in the previous chapters. The history of İzmir and Bayraklı, the urban transformation area of Bayraklı, the master plan and the

international competition, the central business district and the shore design works are discussed in this chapter. These issues are also juxtaposed in the conclusion part of this chapter.

Finally, the whole study is concluded with further remarks along with the limitations of the study in Chapter 5. The critical evaluation of the area and the thesis are presented in this last chapter.

CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION

In this chapter, the concept of urban transformation is analyzed on a global scale regarding the discussions on the concepts of *urban* and *critical urban theory*. First of all, the term urban is examined by relevant theories. Then, the critical urban theory is examined as a guiding framework to generate the concept of urban transformation. Afterwards, urban transformation is criticized conceptually and its meaning is explored to realize its usage in the world. This functional usage is later compared to Turkey. Through these analyses of urban transformation, urban actors are determined as the *people* and the *institutions*. In this way, the actors are divided into two categories in this chapter. This division is made by favoring the users, and these two categories are analyzed in terms of their approaches toward urban transformation. The first title, *people*, is examined through the concept of *the right to the city* and focuses on the users. The second title, *institutions*, includes the government, political agents and decision mechanisms. Urban transformation is examined in terms of the power relations the actors have between one another and their effects on the transformation process in a dialectical approach. Finally, urban transformation practices are analyzed through the actors of the chosen examples from the world. These spatial examples are chosen from Spain, Germany and Palestine/Israel to reflect and understand various actors, roles and their impacts.

2.1. Urban and its Theories

Urban cannot be identified as a fixed concept. Many theoreticians examine the concept of urban with different approaches throughout the history. Urban is a dynamic term and a concept that can change with relation to time or space. For this reason, urban theories are analyzed via the approaches of several theoreticians toward the definition of urban. It is accepted that the word “urban” began to be used together with the term “civilization” (Ertürk, 1997). In Latinian languages, the civilization was derived from the word *civitas*, which meant *urban*. The conceptual change of urban has been

proceeded historically. The near-synonymous words of *cite*, *polis*, *medine* and *kent* were used in the past time, while at the present time, the words of *bourg*, *ville*, *city* and *urban* are also used interchangeably. Besides, the defending wall and institutional castle had a significant role to identify the urban in the past. For instance, some philosophers identified urban as *human settlements surrounded by walls* in the Middle Age (Demirer, 1999). However, the current concept of urban can be identified by taking many criteria into consideration such as employment structure, economic activity, population density, etc. Especially, the function of urban spaces was changed due to industrialization and this situation affected the concept of urban with regard to its meaning. Many disciplines such as sociology, history, geography, ecology, etc. defined urban via different approaches.

According to Keleş, the urban theory generally has two main purposes. First one is to examine how cities are formed, how they develop and how urban planning affects these development processes. The second one is to show the way of realizing the predetermined objectives and the rules that should be followed (Keleş, 1972). So, it is the combination of research and formulating the norms concerning the urban.

The first urban sociology theories dwell on the separation of urban and rural (Tekeli, 1982). The definitions of urban are determined by the difference of urban and rural in this theory. Ferdinand Tönnies conceptualizes this theory as *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 2000). According to Tönnies, *gemeinschafts* are the small, homogeneous and confidential communities that are generated from the same racial, ethnical and cultural traits with intimate and warm relationships between people. On the contrary, *gesellschafts* are the heterogeneous and differentiated communities in terms of race, ethnicity, socio-economic status and culture system. According to this conceptualization, *gemeinschaft* is rural and *gesellschaft* is urban (Bal, 1999).

Proceeding with Max Weber, he argues that a real urban community can come to existence by coming into the forefront of trade relationships. What is more, the concept of urban must have a place, a castle, a market-square, autonomous legal order, a unity, confederation form and independence (Karaman, 1998). Therefore, Weber conceptualizes urban as an economic and political organization. According to Weber's definition regarding the economy, in urban realm, people earn their living through trade, rather than agriculture (Aslanoğlu, 1998).

On the other hand, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels consider urban as a settlement where the division of work is more visible than the rural. They define urban

as the places that gathered of producing tools, capital goods, necessities and high pleasures. They suggested that urban arisen from industrialization and the increasing population can find job in an urban settlement (Keleş, 2000).

Henri Lefebvre examines urban by means of exploitation, division of labor and reproduction. He defines urban community as it is based on industrialization (Lefebvre, 2003). Because of the production tools' being at the hands of the capitalist, the labour is exploited. The exploitation is experienced in the urban realm more conspicuously. Lefebvre argues that urban planning will not be enough when it is only the physical aspects that are considered worthy of planning. Apart from that, daily relations and social life should also be studied and valued, for social relations are produced in the urban realm. Lefebvre explains urban with regards to space, daily life and production relations (Türk, 2015). According to him, space becomes a commodity in the capitalist society. Capitalism is transformed from the system of producing goods in the space to the system that produces the space as its source. The relations of biological production, production of labor and production of social relations should be considered in capitalism (Lefebvre, 2007). Besides, Lefebvre is critical to the notion of rural-urban dichotomy. According to him, the phenomenon of urban is actually dominant in both realms. Rural and urban are not two distinct poles, but evolve dialectical.

According to Manuel Castells, urban is a social product that is produced by the conflict of social benefits and values. The conflict that produces the urban has a political context and significance. It is related to the relationships between authorities and working class in the urban space. The concept of urban and urbanization essentially has an ideological context. Castells identifies urban by the concept of collective consumption (Castells, 1997). The main function of urban system is the process of consumption. Consumption is considered as the key factor of the definition of urban. It is necessary for the reproduction of labor and is gained in the urban realm.

David Harvey establishes a relation between the accumulation of capital processes and space. Harvey uses urban space to explain the relations of capitalist production and consumption (Aslanoğlu, 1998). In this regard, the reason of increasing the importance of urbanization can be explained by increasing the demand to the industrial products. Harvey attaches importance to social organizations, non-governmental structures and he is strongly against the authority of the state (Şengül, 2001).

Gideon Sjoberg divides societies into three groups: primitive society, feudal society and industrialized urban society. He mentions that all these societies have an urban character, but only urban societies are in feudal and industrialized society. According to Sjoberg, technological developments are the most important factor to determine the urban types and he claims that ecological base, technology and complicated social organizations are necessary to generate urban life (Ökmen, 2003).

The urban theories of Tekeli, Tönnies, Weber, Sjöberg, Castells, Lefebvre, Harvey, Marx and Engels are given above. It can be obviously seen that urban does not have a fixed definition. The concept of urban changes depending upon time and place. Since it has a dynamic character, the role of actors and their significant impacts on urban struggle have to be analyzed in a dialectical approach within historical context.

2.2. Urban Transformation

The generation, transformation and/or destruction of the built environment and cities is as old as the history of humanity. However, it can be accepted that urban transformation as a modern concept appeared in the beginning of the 20th century. After the Industrial Revolution, many philosophers were concerned about the subhuman conditions of the labor class in the big European cities and discussions began on the improvement of the built environment and cities. In 1960s, the variety of practices can be seen under the name of urban transformation in Western cities. These are named as the practices of *renewal*, *resettlement*, *rehabilitation*, *redevelopment*, *revitalization*, etc. The common term for urban transformation is *kentsel dönüşüm* in Turkish language.

Urban transformation can be defined as an extensive vision and an action that can solve the urban problems, and provide the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of a changing area with a solution (Thomas, 2003). According to the context of the practice, the terms used instead of “transformation” change in foreign countries as renewal, resettlement, rehabilitation, redevelopment, revitalization (Şahin, 2015). When the urban transformation of the cities in Turkey is examined, the practices here can be defined as “renewal” (*yenileme*) projects (Türkün, 2015).



Figure 1. Rebuilding in Bostanlı, İzmir.
(Source: Photo taken by the author, 2018)

A rebuilding example in Turkey can be seen in Figure 1. The dwellers empty the building to be demolished soon, and the contractor puts up his advertisement poster. It reads that “The urban transformation of this building is conducted by *Fırat Beyazıt İnşaat*.” How can the rebuilding of a *single* building exemplify *urban* transformation? This photo shows the ironic side of the urban transformation practices in Turkey. Urban transformation in Turkey will be criticized in the third and the fourth chapters in a more detailed manner.

When analyzing the urban transformation examples in the world, forming a general framework has a significant role in comparing them with each other more easily and effectively. There is a strict and determinant separation in the urban transformation examples of the past 30 years between Turkey and the world. This separation began with the physical transformation of Western countries, but it influenced many parts of the world. Because of this, the necessity of this theoretical framework became more critical. The evolution of urban regeneration used in this particular framework is seen in Table 1 (Şahin, 2015):

Table 1. The Evolution of Urban Regeneration
(Source: Stöhr, 1989 and Lichfield, 1992)

Period Policy Type	1950s Reconstruction	1960s Revitalization	1970s Renewal	1980s Redevelopment	1990s Regeneration
Major Strategy and Orientation	Reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities often based on a 'masterplan'; suburban growth.	Continuation of 1950s theme; suburban and peripheral growth; some early attempts at rehabilitation.	Focus on in-situ renewal and neighbourhood schemes; still development at periphery.	Many major schemes of development and redevelopment; flagship projects; out of town projects.	Move towards a more comprehensive form of policy and practice; more emphasis on integrated treatments.
Key Actors and Stakeholders	National and local government; private sector developers and contractors.	Move towards a greater balance between public and private sectors.	Growing role of private sector and decentralisation in local government.	Emphasis on private sector and special agencies; growth of partnerships.	Partnership the dominant approach.
Spatial Level of Activity	Emphasis on local and site levels.	Regional level of activity emerged.	Regional and local levels initially; later more local emphasis.	In early 1980s focus on site; later emphasis on local level.	Reintroduction of strategic perspective; growth of regional activity.

In the table, the evolution of urban regeneration and urban transformation was examined in terms of a) major strategy and orientation, b) key actors and stakeholders, and c) spatial level of activity. The policy types according to the time periods are reconstruction in the 1950s, revitalization in the 1960s, renewal in the 1970s, redevelopment in the 1980s, and regeneration in the 1990s. In the 1950s, the strategy was the reconstruction of older areas of towns and cities or the extension of suburban areas. The actors were national and local government, private sector developers and

contractors of this process. The practices were done on local and site scale. In the 1960s, the general approach of the 1950s continued. The peripheral growth continued in suburbs and early rehabilitation practices were tested. In this period, there was a searching of balance between public and private sectors. Besides, the regional activities emerged. In the 1970s, the renewal practices on neighborhoods began and development at the periphery continued. The determinant actor of this period was the private sector. The practice area was regional and local. In the 1980s, many large scale and symbolic land improvement projects were practiced. The actors were private sector, and new special agencies and partnerships. The practices were on project scale in the early 1980s, then expanded to local scale. In the 1990s, the strategy changed to a more comprehensive form. The partnerships became dominant in this period. Strategic approaches and regional practices were more prevalent.

The study of Asuman Türkün, “*Kentsel Dönüşümü Yeniden Düşünmek* (Rethinking of Urban Transformation),” mentions three steps after the industrialization. Every city has a unique urban transformation process that has been generated with relation to its historic, economic and political developments. Urban space is always transformed by the power relations between civil and public authorities dialectically. Common traits are seen in the transformations of cities around the world when radical incidents occur on a global scale. After the industrialization, three significant transformation steps appeared according to these radical changes.

The first step of transformation dated back to the 19th century. At that time, ideology of development, capitalist made of industrialization and urbanization process were experienced in modernity. These processes were effective in the United States and the European cities which witnessed the rapid industrialization at first hand. The second step of transformation appeared after the Second World War in different cities which had different needs. The war-torn cities were rebuilt and reconstructed according to the needs of societies, but mostly of capitalism. Besides, many rental and social dwellings were constructed at that time. The late industrialized cities experienced the mass migration. The unsuccessful politics of not producing social dwelling caused large shanty areas. The third step of radical transformation coincided with the economic crisis in the late 1960s and the strong effects of neoliberalism in the 1980s. The world has changed in this globalization process, and urban space has been reconstructed over its setting with new qualities added to it. The urban space became the tool of accumulation and capital formations. The big scale urban transformation projects have been used to

compensate the economic recession in many cities of the world. This urban transformation politics have not been experienced only in the housing areas. Besides that, central business districts, historic places and public spaces have also been transformed (Türkün, 2015).

2.3. Critical Urban Theory

Critical urban theory insists on a more democratic, equalitarian and sustainable type of urbanization and criticizes authority on the city, inequality, injustice and exploitation. The concept of critical urban theory is not only descriptive but also has a social and theoretical content that is derived from social philosophical movement of Hegel, Marx and Western Marxist approach of Age of Enlightenment.

Critical urban theory is examined by Neil Brenner in his study “What is Critical Urban Theory?”. It is commonly attributed to a group of academicians and leftist writers such as Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Manuel Castells and Peter Marcuse (Merrifield, 2012). Critical urban theory rejects the urban knowledge based on statistics and market-oriented approaches. Brenner explains critical urban theory as follows:

Rather than affirming the current condition of cities as the expression of transhistorical laws of social organization, bureaucratic rationality, or economic efficiency, critical urban theory emphasizes the politically and ideologically mediated, socially contested and therefore malleable character of urban space - ... (Brenner, 2012).

Over the last three decades, urban transformation has become more prevalent in developing countries. In the world, several urban transformation projects are being applied. Several examples of these projects that will provide the thesis with different conceptual approaches are analyzed. Before analyzing these practices, the remarks of Friedrich Engels regarding the housing question are examined, because he is the first urban Marxist in history. His opinions are significant to clarify housing question today (Merrifield, 2012). Although the conditions are different from one another in different countries, the main problem of the cities has not changed. This continuous problem will be seen by analyzing Engels.

In the world, certain transformations are developing in politics, economy, social environment, technology, city and human behaviors. Housing question emerged by the industrialization in Europe, and discussions of urban transformation began. Housing

question is known as the inadequate, unsanitary and overcrowded houses which were used by the labor class in the 19th century, and it is important to examine housing question in this thesis in terms of being the starting point of urban transformation. Although cities are the struggle field of this study, all these constitutions should be examined as a unified perspective. Although times have changed, the main problems of capitalism reach the present day as well.

Housing question appeared in modern cities since these cities had to change because of rapid industrialization. However, the planning of the cities was not in accordance with the new conditions. Housing prices and the economic value were increasing rapidly in the central districts of the modern expanding cities. At the same time, there were not enough dwellings to provide the labor who work in the factories with shelter, and this increased the economic value of the houses. However, the houses could not reciprocate to the changing conditions, and it caused a decrease in the value of the central districts because of their ambiguous situations. Therefore, the houses were demolished in these towns, and new shops, storages and official buildings were built. Consequently, the labor force had to dwell far from the city center and the old labor houses and their plots became overpriced (Engels, 1872).

The consequences of possessing land and property for the labour class can be explained as follows:

“..., Indianapolis, November 28, 1886: “In, or rather near Kansas City we saw some miserable little wooden huts, containing about three rooms each, still in the wilds; the land cost 600 dollars and was just enough to put the little house on it; the latter cost a further 600 dollars, that is together about 4,800 marks (£ 240) for a miserable little thing, an hour away from the town, in a muddy desert.” In this way the workers must shoulder heavy mortgage debts in order to obtain even these houses and thus they became completely the slaves of their employers; they are bound to their houses, they cannot go away, and they are compelled to put up with what ever working conditions are offered them” (Engels, 1872).

The production of mechanical power increased much more than the manual labor due to the consequences of the Industrial Revolution. Moreover, before the Industrial Revolution, there was more spare time for the working class, and it meant that they could think over the current issues, allocate time to science, art and philosophy. Proudhon² thinks that property is detrimental, because property conduces to unemployment, surplus production and bankrupt. At the same time, for him, family is blessed, and conjugal community and manners are irrevocable. Engels criticizes this

² Pierre Joseph Proudhon is a French economist and philosopher who lived between 1809-1865.

Proudhonist approach. Engels aims to enlighten the labor and the labor force, while Proudhon suggests keeping labor community in the warmth of family, against the urban struggle events. He eliminates the role of ruling class and class distinctions in the modern society.

Engels underlines this point of view and attributes the labor forces to the land issues as urban level. He believes that this could prevent the formation of modern revolutionary class. The claim of Müllberger³ quoted in Engels' "Housing Question" is as follows:

"We do not hesitate to assert that there is no more terrible mockery of the whole culture of our lauded century than the fact that in the big cities 90 per cent and more of the population have no place that they can call their own. The real key point of moral and family existence, hearth and home, is being swept away by the social whirlpool.... In this respect we are far below the savages. The troglodyte has his cave, the Australian aborigine has his clay hut, the Indian has his own hearth – the modern proletarian is practically suspended in mid air," etc. (Engels, 1872).

According to Engels, this ill-defined opinion is completely a reactionist approach. Modern labor class has to be separated from the traditional formations and attachments. For him, they have to become without property to be independent. He considers this transformation as the most important circumstance of intellectual liberation. At the present time, the conditions show similarities in the world. For example, there are millions of empty houses in the world which are constructed by wrong projections and calculations as there are in the late 19th century. These empty houses should be used by people who need houses and the people who live in bad physical conditions. The housing question is an old, as well as an extant problem, and it has not been solved yet, because the urban authorities generally want to benefit from this problem and this wrong ideology and approach which is generated in the context of capitalism, making all the class inequalities more visible. The related theoreticians together with the Frankfurt School considered critical theory as the criticism of commodification, state, law and the mediations of these as family structures, cultural forms and social-psychological dynamics. According to Brenner, these orientations can be rational and determinant in the improving phase of capitalism. However, they were not enough to analyze the period at the beginning of the 21th century. Critical urban theory and critical social theory intertwined even before by the circumstances of worldwide urbanization (Brenner, 2012).

³ Dr. Arthur Müllberger is a writer who discussed the housing shortage in Germany in the early 1870s.

As in the book “The New Urban Frontier-Gentrification and the Revanchist City”, Smith determines that most of the urban transformation in recent world cities is motivated by *neoliberal urbanization* causing urban inequalities (Smith, 1996). According to the study of Candan and Maltaş, the concept of *entrepreneurship* is the determining factor of competitive opportunities of today’s cities. They discuss in their study that *entrepreneurship* is a solution *or* a problem for cities. Entrepreneurship is the significant factor of the rivalry among the cities. On one hand, it creates attraction centres and increases the rivalry, on the other hand this rivalry leaves city with unsolved problems. Also, this competition creates vicious cycle that attraction centres consumes themselves and needs new ones. Due to this competition, cities had to face with environmental, social and infrastructural problems (Candan and Maltaş, 2014).

Capitalist urbanization process is proceeding to creative destructive progress across the world. There is an inequality in the urbanization geography as well as in the beginning of capitalism. However, when considered in today’s conditions, urban cannot be understood as a determinant area surrounded by defined borders. Today, the impact and the practice of urbanization expands to everywhere in the world. For this reason, the meanings and methods of criticism regarding the subject have to change (Brenner, 2012). The questions about urban cannot be answered by covering the critical theory as a subtitle of family, social-psychology, education and cultural industry. Critical theory is in need of deeper theoretical opinions and tangible and comparative researches to improve and to criticize a rational urbanization perspective (Brenner, 2012).

The study of Neil Smith, “New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy” is a valuable source for this thesis to understand the neoliberal urbanization as a significant dimension of urban regeneration. The neoliberal urbanization can be defined by two aspects in the 21st century: a) the inclusion of Asian and Latin American urban experiences to the new urbanism, b) the extensification of gentrification as a global urban strategy. Neoliberal urbanization spreads on a large area of social, economic and geographical changes. These two aspects explain the variety of neoliberal urbanization experience. In 1964, sociologist Ruth Glass identified gentrification as below:

“One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes-upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages-two rooms up and two down-have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period-which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation-have been upgraded once again ... Once this

process of gentrification starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed.” (Glass, 1964).

Glass explains the transformation process which was practiced by the new urban gentry, in the working class quarter. The actors of this process were middle and upper-middle class immigrants of a neighbourhood.

Nowadays, the actors of gentrification are governments, and corporates, and partnerships of government-corporate. In the 1990s, gentrification became an urban strategy throughout the world. In the late 20th century, gentrification filled the gap that occurred because of the ending liberal urban policy and gentrification became a more prevalent tool for the rivalry between the global cities through urban regeneration (Smith, 2002).

2.4. Actors in Urban Transformation

The urban transformation was so far examined in terms of investigating urban, and critical urban theory. This theoretical base will support this study in understanding the practices and analyzing the examples around the world. Actors are the main part of urban transformation that should be considered with the other components. Urban space is the place of the struggle that determines the future of capitalism. According to Harvey, urban space is the “point of collision” (Harvey, 2008). This collision is “between the mobilizations of the deprived, the discontented and the dispossessed, on the one side, and on the other, ruling class strategies to instrumentalize, control and colonize social and natural resources, including the right to the city itself, for the benefit of the few” (Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer, 2012).

In this thesis, actors are divided and categorized as *people* and *institutions*, because one of the main concerns of this study is to examine the urban transformation from the view of users concerning the right to the city. The *institutions* are the political agents, the government and decision mechanisms. These two distinct actors, people and institutions, have been in an urban struggle throughout history. Urban transformation that this thesis aims to examine is shaped by the actions of these actors in a dialectical transformation process.

2.4.1. People: Right to the City

People are defined as dweller, inhabitants, residents and users in this thesis. Users are in a constant struggle to be the determinant actor in the process of urban transformation. The authorities mostly ignore them, because the market-oriented urban transformation practice predominates public welfare in the capitalist world. For this reason, users and their role in urban realm are examined and evaluated through *the right to the city* formulation in this chapter.

In the book “Cities for People, Not for Profit”, is found Peter Marcuse’s article about the right to the city, namely “Whose right(s) to What City?” The term *right to the city* is introduced to underline the people who want *their* right to the city and the conditions of space that the right to the city include. The right to the city is difficult to identify and comprehend, but Lefebvre (1991) explains that transparently in his work “Les Illusions de la modernite” as follows: “... the right to information, the rights to use of multiple services, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in urban areas; it would also cover the right to the use of the center” (Lefebvre, 1991). This thesis defines those citizens as users.

According to Lefebvre, the right to the city is both a *cry* and a *demand*. The right to the city is an urgent need of a community or a group who struggles to survive in urban realm, who is oppressed, excluded, exposed to racism and sexism, and who cannot satisfy even his/her basic needs (Marcuse, 2012). That can be named as a *cry*. Besides, there is a *demand*; this right is claimed by people who are inappreciative by their conditions and who want to improve each of them.

Apart from the right to the city that is offered to a part of community or a group, there is another force who already have this particular right. This group consists of possessors of financial power, property owners, speculators, political agents and media proprietors, but the focus is on communities or individuals who demand this right. These conditions about the right to the city are similar in most of the countries, but it is especially important to focus on Turkey. In the next chapter, these specific actors will be analyzed in the context of Turkey.

Another important issue is the content of what the right to the city is. The unused water, clean air, housing, education, sewerage system, freedom of travel, health insurance and democratic participation are the context of the right to the city. These are

the basic rights, but they are not enough to understand the spectrum of the right to the city. Marcuse clarifies this in his work “Whose Right(s) to What City?” as follows: “It is the right to the city, not *rights* to the city. It is a right to social justice, which includes but far exceeds the right to individual justice”. (Marcuse, 2012)

The communities are not in search of the right to the city for profit. They want to be equal in all dimensions with integrity in the city. They want to use all the opportunities that the city offer, but also they want to produce the city. To live in basic human conditions constitutes only the base of the right to the city. Besides, the right to the city also promises to improve the existing physical and social conditions. However, this cry and demand mostly do not reach to the authorities.

It is considerably necessary to understand and criticize the term *city*, *the right to the city*, and *who* want that right and *what for*. These aspects help us comprehend what happened before and what is happening now in the cities. In recent times, the public spaces in cities have become the center of the political oppositions, because urban people want to show that they are not pleased with the state of affairs. They expose their displeasure by the use of public spaces. These political struggles for the public spaces in various countries should be considered. From 2012, significant social rebellions were experienced in the United States, Pakistan, Turkey, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan and Ukraine. By these urban struggles, many public spaces became the symbol of those demands and rebellions. Tahrir Square in Cairo, Independence Square in Kyiv, Taksim Gezi Park in Istanbul, etc. can be the examples of these symbolic urban spaces. In Istanbul - Turkey, the oppression of the ruling government and demands of communities caused a rebellion in Gezi Park, because the public wanted to obtain their rights on the public space and to take over the reins.

The commoditization of the public space is an urban issue of the cities nowadays. The place of the city and the urban space in the politic life is criticized by Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer as follows: “.... we mean to underscore the urgent political priority of constructing cities that correspond to human social needs rather than to the capitalist imperative of profit-making and spatial enclosure.” (Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer, 2012)

According to Marcuse, the number of properties and the unemployment rates are increasing constantly, as the amount and quality of public services are decreasing, right to free education is being imperiled and life conditions of retired people are getting worser. People are preoccupied with the concerns about their futures regarding

employment, education, access to public services and retirement conditions. It seems that the most important hazard in the future cities will be the gap between the rich and the poor. Around the world, the concept of gentrification expands rapidly by the urban transformation projects. These are the repeating projects which continuously reproduce spaces of luxury consumption. The examples from Dubai, Shanghai and Singapore are important to understand the ways of this kind of urban transformation. In these cities, the gentrification policies become prevalent. Increasing prices of land properties prevent the low income groups from accessing physically and socially to these gentrified places. Accordingly, the inequality between low and high income groups is gradually increasing. Many spaces become inaccessible to low income groups, and the disintegration in cities separates each and every person both in the center and at the periphery from one another.

2.4.2. Institutions: Political Agents, Governments and Decision Mechanisms

The word *institution* is utilized in this study to define the powerful actors of urban transformation process. The political agents, governments, decision mechanisms—authorities in the general sense—regarding urban transformation practice are identified as *institutions*.

The world cities entered into the structural crisis of capitalism in the 1960s and the cities were restructured by the neoliberal policies in the 1980s. This dynamic and unique process is named as globalization, and, by this process, the cities of developing countries became the production area of the international companies because of the cheap labor. Besides, many industrial cities in the West became the consumption areas after the process of deindustrialization. After the 1990s, urban space was restructured over its changing value in this transformational process and it became the most important tool of capital formation and accumulation by rent. For this reason, the big scale urban transformation projects were used to overcome and compensate the economic recession and crisis in many cities (Türkün, 2015).

The construction sector has a dynamic and significant role in national economies with its multiple layers. Taking this into account, there are many examples of forming construction sector as a tool of economy by different governments. In many countries,

supporting policies in favor of construction sector are used to invigorate and balance the national economy. In addition to that, these momentous policies occasionally function as a manipulating tool of political aims. Construction sector is open to improvement, interaction and in close contact with many different sectors. Because of that, it indeed produces employment and economic growth at a certain degree (Balaban, 2011).

Many governments implement supportive policies into effect to stabilize and protect the national economy. For example, Taiwan Government invested big scale constructions to provide economic growth and increase the industrial production during the global economic crisis in the 1970s. In Hong Kong, ten big scale infrastructure projects were practiced to strengthen the economy and to increase the industrial production. In Japan, a private law was made to practice urban transformation projects and an institution was established to enforce this law. There are numerous urban projects in Japan that were conducted because of the economic recession in the 1990s (Balaban, 2011). Big events like the World Cup, the Olympics, etc. also become the tool for urban transformation in world cities.

The growth beyond control in construction sector have caused serious economic, social and environmental consequences, and this may possibly lead to a local or global crisis, e.g., the crisis that broke out in many countries on a global scale at the beginning of 2008. The constructions on public land cause directionless growth in the sector and these lands cannot be sold or rented in the market. Concurrently, economic crises were experienced because of hyperinflation, and low-income citizens could not buy a house because of the high prices of land. In the example of Taiwan, countless buildings were built via wrong urban policies and because of the slowness of the sales, many companies collapsed. In consequence of handing over the public spaces to private investigators, a huge number of houses arose in Tokyo. In the construction sector, because of the inadequacy of the urban policies by the government, the uncontrolled growth is unavoidable and this causes economic, social and environmental problems in Japan as well (Balaban, 2011).

Urban transformation processes appear with the *actors* who operate the construction processes. Governments in particular have the leading power and a determining position in the practice. The determination and the manipulation of the government become critical in the cases that center public spaces. Governments should transform the urban space through the participation of its users. If urban spaces are transformed without the voices of their users being heard, then this process is generally

performed by the active privatizations and financial supports. At this stage, the government and other decision-making authorities may have a significant effect against the privatization and market-oriented transformation of urban land.

2.5. Critical Examples of Urban Transformation

This sub-chapter examines the following examples to understand the actors and the dialectical relationships between them. These examples are chosen from different countries in order to contribute to this study with different aspects. Thus, three examples of urban transformation practices are utilized: The first example is from Barcelona, Spain, and it should be considered in terms of public welfare and the authority of state. The Potsdamer Platz of Berlin, Germany is another example, and private investors are the focal point of this particular one. The third and the last example exhibits the struggle of Bedouin Arabs in Palestine/Israel. It is a significant example to analyze the organizational effort of the users/citizens against ruling authorities.

2.5.1. Example of Barcelona, Spain

The example of Barcelona is chosen as a functional example for this chapter, because the relations of the actors and the urban transformation practice can be considered as state-centered.

Urban planning in Spain can be a significant and instructive reference for the countries which are in a transformation process. Spain responded to the integration process into the European community with an urban transformation project, and considered urban in terms of economy, culture and politics. From the 1970s, transformation of urban texture mostly developed as a platform of Barcelona School, and these accelerating academic studies formed the base of 1982 Barcelona Urban Planning. Two main issues should be considered in the urban transformation process of Barcelona. The first one is that the city plan as a whole has been included into the transformation process with an integrated approach. The second one is the enhancement of participation in favour of users in local governments. Some administrative units were established, and urban projects were introduced to these units. They allowed criticism

and also provided the users with financial support to renovate their houses as the duty of participation (Erkal, 2006).

Throughout the process, the neighborhood units became highly participative and some specific units were established to publicize the projects, providing the public with information about the process. Besides that, financial support was offered to the residents of the concerned transformation areas.

After the Olympic Games city in 1992, the urban transformation process accelerated in Barcelona. On the shore, an Olympic Games village was designed for 1,000 people to dwell after the Olympics. What is more, in the urban plans of Barcelona, the most important issue was the designing of public spaces with a multi-dimensional approach. Open public spaces were designed as an architectural area and the cross-roads have been already designed as public areas (Erkal, 2006).

In the context of urban transformation process of Barcelona, the aim was not the construction of merely singular buildings; it was forming a design language and restructuring the established city. Barcelona becomes an original guide and a basis of urban transformation for other Spanish cities. The relations of the cities between global systems, the enhancement of local values, and growing economic opportunities were witnessed in the urban transformation of Barcelona. Global and national architecture firms and offices work together in coordination for this transformation of Spain. It should be considered in terms of participation of local architecture offices in Turkey and the transformation of Spain should be taken as an original example (Erkal, 2006).



Figure 2. The Olympic Port of Barcelona
(Source: www.raco.cat, 2018)

Oriol Bohigas is a Spanish architect and a prominent actor within the urban transformation process of Spain. He proposed this process to be executed under the guidance of an urban methodology that includes ten items. These are categorized as follows:

1. The city as a political phenomenon
2. The city as domain of the commonalty
3. Tensions and chance as instruments of information
4. The public space is the city
5. Identity
6. Legibility
7. Architectural projects versus general plans
8. The continuity of the centralities
9. Architectural quality between service and revolutionary prophecy
10. Architecture as a project for the city

These statements can be a theoretical guide for transforming cities (Erkal, 2006).

City planners, architects and engineers are the key actors of transformation process. They also have to be in this process before the implementation phase of projects, because their early opinions can prevent the unexpected and undesired results. Designers are more influential in the transformation process of Spanish cities. The Architecture School of Barcelona generated the projects of transformation process in the 1970s, and these constituted the base of the urban plan of Barcelona in 1982 (Erkal, 2006).

Another issue is the effective role of architects in the transformation process of Spain. The engagement of local architects with the world architecture was significantly important. By this means, they got the chance to carry their projects to an international platform. For instance, Guggenheim Museum was designed by Frank Gehry in Bilbao and this building became a center of attraction. At the same time, a convention center was designed by Spanish architects, Federico Soriano and Dolores Palacios by the seaside of Bilbao. Thus, the worlds's attention was redirected from famous and internationally-recognized architects to the local architects of Spain, and they could introduce their work to the international platform of construction sector (Erkal, 2006).

2.5.2. Example of Berlin, Germany

The second example on the actors of urban transformation is Berlin after the merging of the East and the West Germany in 1989. Berlin is a significant example to examine the domination of private capital on the urban transformation and it is different than Spain, because after the demolition of the Berlin Wall, a huge empty space emerged which is called “Potsdamer-Liepziger Squares.” Before the Second World War, Potsdamer Square was one of the central points of Berlin. However, this square disappeared by the construction of the Wall in 1961. The government wanted to remove the traces of the wall, and to make the Potsdamer Square a central point again. After the Berlin Wall was demolished, this area appeared as a huge urban development area and became a focal point. Famous architects all around the world were invited by the German government to produce projects for these empty plots and squares. The government preferred to work with famous architects, because they thought that only they were able to create symbolic structures in Potsdamer-Liepziger Squares, and attract international attention due to their reputation. For this reason, local architects could not participate in the process. As a result, many different projects were designed for this area by the famous architects such as Zaha Hadid, Bernard Tschumi, Norman Foster and Jacques Herzog-Pierre de Meuron (Tuncer, 2006).



Figure 3. Berlin Wall in Potsdamer Square
(Source: <https://potsdamerplatz.de/en/history/>, 2018)

In 1990, the land of the Potsdamer Square was sold to private investors. In this way, the private investors had too much power on this important city center. Although

the rapid privatization of the public space was criticized by the public, it could not be prevented. After the sale of the area, an urban planning competition was organized in 1991. Heinz Hilmer and Christoph Sattler's project won the competition, and this project met the symbolic and economic expectations of the German government. However, the private investors commissioned Richard Rogers to prepare a master plan to after the competition, because they thought that the other project did not propose a vital and beneficial commercial life.



Figure 4. Berlin Wall After Demolition in Potsdamer Square
(Photo taken by Perin Çün, 2012)

Rogers' project was not applied, but it shows the effect of private ownership on the development of city centers. Daimler Benz and Sony are the biggest private investors in Potsdamer Square. They organized two separate architectural competitions to their designated area. In Daimler Benz competition, Renzo Piano's project won, which was the elaborated version of Hilmer and Sattler's project. Besides that, Arata Isozaki's, Rafael Moneo's and Richard Rogers' projects received awards in this competition and their projects were applied for the other singular parcels. In this way, a variety of materials and construction techniques was aimed, but the same variety could

not be applied on the quality of space. In Sony Center competition, Helmut Jahn's project won. This project did not adapt with Hilmer and Sattler's project. This new project had similar spatial organization with the other commercial centers in the world (Tuncer, 2006).



Figure 5. Potsdamer Square after Transformation
(Source: <https://potsdamerplatz.de/en/history/>, 2018)



Figure 6. Sony Center in Potsdamer Square after Transformation
(Photo taken by Perin Çün, 2012)

In the urban transformation process of Potsdamer and Liepziger Squares, the most important point regarding the relevant competitions was that the design approaches separated the squares from the other parts of the city. Citizens cannot use these particular areas because of the pressure of privatization. They can only use the

shopping mall blocks in the area. Another point was the increasing land prices in the city. As a result, the population living in the city decreased, and people preferred to live in the suburbs rather than the city center. In other words, relocation occurred.

2.5.3. Example of Palestine/Israel

After the two examples from European city centers, I want to mention another struggle of Bedouin Arabs against the displacement policy of Israel Government in the Middle East. This example is chosen because of being a significant struggle of users on identity and space. This case underlines the power of users.

The Bedouin Arabs who live in the Negev Desert at the south of Israel/Palestine are the most marginalized and impoverished group of historic Palestine. In 1948 *Nakbah* (“disaster” in Arabic), 70% of Palestinians were driven out of current Israel to Gaza, West Bank and Jordan. The Bedouin Arabs consisted of the rest of Palestinians in Israel who live by protecting their history, identity and traditions (Yiftachel, 2012).



Figure 7. The Map of Beersheba
(Source: <http://mondoweiss.net>, 2018)

After 1948, the Israel Government started to impose Judaism to Bedouin Arabs. They wanted to forcibly make them leave their hometowns. After that, the Bedouins became occupant on their lands according to the urban laws. They could not benefit from the superstructure, water, electricity, healthcare and planning services. The houses were destroyed by the force of local authorities. As a result, poverty, child mortality and crime rates increased in these places. One of the demolished houses can be seen in Figure 8. These enforcements can be explained by the gray space policies of Israel Government. A gray space is excluded spaces deprived of any kind of services. Gray spaces are out of the reach of the state authority and urban planning. These spaces can neither be integrated into the urban district nor be eliminated. By the urban policies, authorities consider gray spaces as crime scenes, contaminated and dangerous areas, while they also tolerate them.



Figure 8. A Bedouin woman sit on demolished structure of a house.
(Source: www.voanews.com , 2018)

Although the Bedouin Arabs constitute a third of the overall population, they do not have an active role in the planning institutions of the Israel Government. The Jewish people always constitute the vast majority. The spatial conflict goes on in terms of its material and symbolic aspects. However, the main breaking point of the conflict was the Beersheba Mosque, which is architecturally significant and was constructed by the Ottomans to serve the local community. After being destroyed by the Israel Government and reconstructed by the Bedouin Arabs several times, the authorities closed the mosque for Muslim worship in 2009.

Against the gray space policies of the government, the Bedouin Arabs went through a radicalization process in search for their roots. This radicalization was a survival struggle and a matter of protection of identity. The main dynamics of identity construction can be explained by three practices. These practices are *sumood*, *memory-building* and *autonomous politics*. *Sumood* is an Arabic word that means “to withstand, to make a stand,” etc. The significant example of *sumood*, can be seen in the struggle to construct new houses together after the demolition of the houses by the authorities. The testimony of Atiya el-Atamin (the committee head in the locality Chashem Zaneh) in a public hearing staged about future plans of Beersheba is as follows:

“... in our rightful Sumood, we have no choice but to break the law ... because the law and its plans come to this place and tried to crease it many years after we were here ... our community belongs to this place, and the place belongs to our community ... even if our houses demolished again, we shall remain on our land ... we cannot ever accept the plan that destroys our only community.”⁴

The second practice is *memory-building*. Around Beersheba, there are 45 Bedouin Arab villages, but the names of these villages are not mentioned on any formal document or map. This is a strategy to make Bedouin Arabs invisible, as if they never existed in those lands. That is why, the Bedouin Arabs began to form and enhance their collective memory to create a base for the identity construction by the practice of *sumood*. They began to improve their collective memories, because their history, identity and culture were attempted to be destroyed. Their historic memories were improved by three forms: Traditional, Islamic and Palestinian. These three forms constituted the base of historic memories of Bedouin Arabs and these forms could not be thought apart. The practices of identity construction can be found in the school books, street names, new mosques around the Naqab, religious dresses and familial relationships (Yiftachel, 2012).

The third practice is *autonomous politics*. The Bedouin Arabs started to engage with political organizations and mobilization. They were in connection with each other in their villages and autonomous institutions had arisen. Non-governmental organizations and organizations that are related with political parties or Arab local authorities appeared. The most significant of these organizations is the Regional Council of the Unrecognized Villages (RCUV). RCUV was established to defend Bedouins against government agencies and to pave the way for the democratic process

⁴ Protocols of special committee to hear planning objections, Southern District, 28 June 2008, p:250.

to control their own lands in 1997. As a result of RCUV's efforts, the Israel Government was forced to recognize 9 out of 45 villages and began to provide those areas with infrastructure (Yiftachel, 2012).

Through this example, the struggle of Bedouin Arabs is examined to understand the role of organized users of the city against the displacement policies by the government. Their identity, traditions, culture and history were wanted to be destroyed. They developed defending tools to protect their past and future. Their common cry that are the voice of the *users* regarding the actor categorization of this study—even a little—is heard.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined the urban transformation on a global scale. The term urban is explained as the first title of this chapter. Urban was analyzed by the different theories and approaches. After this, the critical urban theory was examined historically with the aid of the studies of Brenner. It is the theory that rejects the urban knowledge that is statist and market-orientated.

The urban and the critical urban theory formed the theoretical basis of urban transformation. The practices of urban transformation on a global scale were divided to periods according to the types of practices. These periods were examined to understand the urban practices in the world and in Turkey.

Followingly, actors were divided as people and institutions. *People* were analyzed through the right to the city, since this study believes that this concept should be adopted by the users. If they become aware of their rights to the city, they can be in a struggle against the destructive practices of urban transformation. *Institutions* were determined as political agents, governments and decision mechanisms. Their roles in the neoliberal urban policies were analyzed to see how they make urban a tool of rent. In the end of the chapter, the urban transformation examples in Barcelona, Berlin and Palestine/Israel from the world were analyzed in terms of relations between the actors.

There are countless transformation practices in the world, but it is important to criticize the different aspects of each process in Barcelona, Berlin and Palestine/Israel. The main difference is the role of the state in the foreground of Barcelona. The urban transformation example of Barcelona became an original guide for other Spanish cities.

The relations of the cities with global systems, the enhancement of local values and economic opportunities were observed in the urban transformation of Barcelona. Global and national architecture firms and offices worked in coordination for the transformation of Spain. Neighborhood units were generated to encourage the citizens in participating in this process.

In Berlin, the private investors became the decision-making authority of the transformation process. After the transformation of the square, citizens were not able to make use of any buildings except for the shopping mall, an area of consumption. Consequently, the transformed square was not integrated into the rest of the urban space in the center and the *public* quality of the square became questionable (Tuncer, 2006). Although the aim of urban transformation should be the public welfare, nowadays, it can be clearly seen that the authorities prefer the private profits as leaders rather than public in many urban transformation examples as in Berlin.

The example of Palestine/Israel presented the struggle of the citizens against the government in Beersheba. The Israel Government wants to displace the Bedouin Arabs from their lands. Their houses, memories, identities, beliefs and roots belong to Beersheba. They do not want to leave their roots. For this reason, they are going through a radicalization process. It is an urban struggle for survival and protection of identity.

CHAPTER 3

URBAN TRANSFORMATION PRACTICE IN TURKEY

In the previous chapter, the urban transformation practices in the world were examined. The concept of urban, the critical urban theory and the urban actors were analyzed to understand the base of urban transformation. Several urban transformation examples were chosen to present them within the context of actor relationships. Examination of the urban transformation processes in the world was necessary to understand the urban transformation process in Turkey.

In this chapter, urban transformation of Turkey will be analyzed considering each actor taking part in the process. Turkey went through two major breaking points in urban areas between 1950 and 1980. The first one was in the 1950s; the *gecekondu* problem drastically increased and had strong effects on urban field. The second was in 1980, the military coup in Turkey (Boratav, 2015). When we examine Table 1: The Evolution of Urban Regeneration, we can see the same periodization in the world, only in Turkey, the practices came after. In the world, the reconstruction of older towns became widespread in the 1950s. In the 1980s, large scale projects and symbolic land improvement projects were implemented. In Turkey, the strategies may be similar, but practices came up from behind. These two breaking points brought into existence the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ). This institution has a significant role on the urban transformation of Turkey. After the major earthquakes, the authorization of TOKİ have been expanded by the parliament and the ministry. The other important incident is the growth of the construction sector in the economy of Turkey in the 2000s.

The relation between the construction sector and urban transformation is the major discussion in this chapter. Then, the actors will be presented to understand their roles in urban transformation and construction sector. These actors are categorized as “the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization,” “Metropolitan and Local Municipalities,” “Contractors,” “Designers,” and “Users.” Finally, all these influencing factors regarding the urban transformation in Turkey will be analyzed together in the end of the chapter.

3.1. 1950s: *Gecekonu* Problem in Turkey

The rapid internal migration waves are the main issue that have caused the *gecekonu* problem in the built environment of Turkey. The migration from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia and Black Sea Regions to the western parts of Turkey came into prominence after the Second World War. The rural populations started to migrate substantially in the 1950s and *gecekonu* areas emerged. The population of Turkey had been increasing since 1945, and the rural parts of Turkey did not possess enough employment opportunities to keep the increasing population in their hometowns. Thus, the reasons of migration can be explained in general by unemployment, housing policies, disasters and political unrest (Çakır, 2011); the main issues related to these reasons will be analyzed below.

The result of rapid migration is the increase of population in urban areas. There has not been enough potential of employment because of the mechanization of agriculture and inadequate industrialization in the rurals of Anatolia. For this reason, the people who lived in the rural districts considered migration as a solution. Another important issue is that the government did not actualize the expected land reforms and take precautions against land division. The government were not able to deal with the housing question through an integrated approach and to control the housing rents. Another reason is the natural disasters which damage the houses, schools and hospitals. The people who were affected from these disasters wanted to move away from their hometowns. Additionally, there is a lack of health, transportation, education, etc. services in many rural areas compared to urban environments. Besides, there are not enough social institutions to improve the value judgment of people in terms of knowledge, good manners, culture, etc. The other issue is the political unrest in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions, which forced people to migrate in the 1990s. These are the main reasons of migration leading to *gecekonu* problem in Turkey (Çakır, 2011).

Gecekonu problem has a multifaceted character. The aforementioned reasons should be considered in terms of socio-economic, political and cultural aspects. The people who lived in the Central, Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia have been migrating to the city centers of İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir constantly since the 1950s, only to come across with social and economic problems in the city center as well. The cost of

living—surviving—is too high for those migrants; even the most basic needs such as dwelling in the contemporary city center is too difficult to meet for them. Thus, they have to build their own houses on the empty plots at the peripheries of the city.

The Turkish Government made the first law concerning the squatter houses in 1948. By this law, the government aimed to rehabilitate the squatters and to provide the people with land to build on within the boundaries of Ankara Municipality (Keleş, 2000). The government preferred to legalize the existing *gecekondu* by this law, because they thought that there were not enough houses for these people if their houses were taken away (Kaya, 1989). *Gecekondu* problem could have been prevented, but the ignorance of authorities and following laws which were legislated after 1948 did not let this happen, and the problem has gradually increased. It can be followed by the numbers of the *gecekondu* through years: There were 30,000 squatters in 1948, 50,000 in 1950, 240,000 in 1960 and 430,000 in 1965 (Çakır, 2011).

The *Gecekondu* Law was made in 1966 after a three-year study of the Turkish Government. However, this law did not involve an adequate regulation to solve the basics of *gecekondu* problem. This can be understood from the definition of *gecekondu*. By definition, *gecekondu* is a type of illegal and unauthorized way of building on someone else's—state or private—land. The socio-economic, political and cultural reasons are ignored when this definition is made. The solutionlessness that the law forced the issue to face is because of the superficial attitude of the political authorities. The major dichotomy of the *gecekondu* problem was ignored and the government took temporary precautions via some laws rather than creating multi-dimensional solutions.

It has been experienced that *gecekondu* problem cannot be solved merely via the *Gecekondu* Law. In the 1980s, the repentance laws became widespread. *Gecekondu* and other unauthorized constructions were pushed aside by the zoning repentance laws. The authorities did not focus on the root of the problem; they only benefitted from the *gecekondu* problem as a political tool before elections to pull votes from the residents living in *gecekondu* areas. For this reason, *gecekondu* problem have not been solved until today.

3.2. 1980s: Neoliberalism in Turkey

In the 1980s, Turkey experienced the effects of the neo-liberal policies in the urbanization practice. After the military coup in 1980, Turkey went through a political silence, and the privatizations were imposed by Turgut Özal in an irresistible route. Turgut Özal was the 19th Prime Minister of Turkey in that time. In 1984, three metropolitan municipalities were managed by the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi* [AP]) as the ruling political party. The mayors of these cities started to produce several urban projects. TOKİ strongly influenced this production process at that time; the details concerning this issue will be presented under the following title (3.3).

Under the influence of TOKİ, the number of housing projects conducted in the metropolitan cities swiftly increased. In 1991, Murat Karayağın was the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. Batıkent Cooperative Project started in his term of office and was completed in 1993. In 1994, Melih Gökçek became the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, and he focused on the major luxury housing projects, although there had been a squatter problem in Ankara. It should be highlighted at this point that the urban transformation process, as we know today, started in Ankara⁵ in Turkey.

The law of urban transformation was made after the Marmara Earthquake in 1999, because the results of the rapid urbanization have been witnessed by this tragic disaster. In Turkey, a rapid urbanization process occurred between the years of 1950 and 2000. Between these years, too many people moved to the cities from the rural districts. Rapid urbanization was aimed by the authorities, but the consequences had been not estimated. The buildings were constructed without any control, and there were many buildings which were demolished because of the faulty construction process and the lack of control. The building contractors and other authorities were negligent during these processes.

After the Marmara Earthquake, urban transformation became a popular issue in Turkey, and some urban transformation laws and construction regulations were legislated immediately after the incident. However, there were again deficiencies in these laws; due to them, the main objective of urban transformation was ignored. The primary goal should have been the scientific determination of the transformation area.

⁵ Ankara is the capital and the second most populated city of Turkey.

Under typical circumstances, these areas had to be determined in order of precedence. However, there are many examples in Turkey where the transformation areas were chosen in order to make use of its economic value and reap profit. The required scientific studies, site investigations or socio-economic researches were not applied in these areas. Since urban transformation no longer serves its aim, the transformation practices are perceived as tools of rent increase by the political authorities. The too-fast site studies clearly show the insufficiency in the preparation processes of transformation projects.

3.3. 2000s: Formation of Contemporary Construction Sector in Turkey

TOKİ has a major role in the urban transformation process since it has turned into a figure of authority along with municipalities and the ministry as a result of various regulations made in the 2000s. TOKİ was established in 1984 after the big earthquakes to design enduring and sanitary houses fit for the low and middle income groups and to plan and execute their construction processes. The government aimed to increase the purchasing power of these groups of citizens via offering them the option of mortgage loan.

The qualified dwelling production started to be discussed once again after the Marmara Earthquake in 1999. TOKİ was connected to the Prime Ministry directly in the government of Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) in 2004 and its activity fields changed. TOKİ had a facilitator role in providing the financial support to construction firms before 2003, but in 2004, it was able to produce the urban transformation projects for the squatter areas by the new regulations. In 2005, the realm of authority of TOKİ was expanded by the government. From then on, TOKİ was able to practice renewal projects on archaeological sites upon the request of local municipalities.

The most well-known and effective project of TOKİ is “Sulukule Renewal Project.” The urban transformation projects related to earthquake were executed in 2008. TOKİ’s boundaries of authority were widening gradually. In 2012, the earthquake risk areas were redefined in a more flexible manner by the law No. 6306. As a natural result of that, the practice area of TOKİ expanded as well. When the private investors did not agree with the property owners to transform the disaster-prone areas, TOKİ

could quickly solve this problem by constructing new houses for them far from the city center. In this way, property owners had to live there because of the low cost payment, at the same time, TOKİ would have provided the private investors in construction sector with lands in the city center that had more economic value (Duman and Coşkun, 2015).

In 2011, the city of Van experienced a destructive earthquake. Afterwards, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization was established. TOKİ and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization possessed a wide range of legal power and authority after Van Earthquake. Followingly, the words of “disaster” and “urban transformation” began to be used in the same law that came into force in 2012. This law, aiming the “transformation of disaster-prone areas,” has revealed that it was actually made for real estate development (Duman and Coşkun, 2015).

Before the 2000s, the scope of urban transformation practices in Turkey was the *gecekondu* problem and illegal housing. At the beginning of the 2010s, it can be claimed that the main parameter turned out to be the earthquake risk for Turkey, which is under the risk of natural disasters constantly (Demirdizen, 2015).

In short, almost unrestricted authorization has been given to TOKİ by the government, and TOKİ has taken advantage of the new regulations to construct on public land under cover of *urban transformation*, even though there were not any buildings on these areas before. The types of new constructions are constantly changing, i.e., the trend currently seems to be luxurious gated communities⁶. There are countless housing projects that are gated communities in İstanbul and Ankara. These are constructed under the name of fund raising by the government. Nevertheless, the impact of these projects on construction sector should be analyzed as well. The gated community projects may temporarily invigorate the sector indeed, however, they cause the separation of people since the public areas in the city are not planned to be integrated with these particular projects.

On a global scale, it has been determined that construction sector has a major role in national economies. In Turkey, also the same supporting policies are developed for the growth of construction sector. For the last ten years, it can be seen clearly that the political agents use these policies regarding the construction sector to achieve their political aims in Turkey (Balaban, 2011).

⁶ gated community: a group of houses, surrounded by fences or walls, that can only be entered by the people who live there. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/s%C3%B6z%C3%BCk/ingilizce/gated-community>, last access: 19.05.2018.

Urban spaces in Turkey reflect the historical and periodical context of urbanization of Turkey. By the economic and political ruptures in the 1980s, political and social transformations have begun, and the reflections of these transformations were observed in the housing sector. Urban spaces have turned into devices to achieve the political goals by the political agents. In this direction, urban spaces have been transformed in time.

In 1984, the Motherland Party was in charge in Turkey, and nearly all of the municipalities were governed by the Motherland Party. In that period, they aimed the low income groups and developed policies concerning these groups in particular. The property deeds were provided for *gecekondu* houses, remission of the penalties for violating the zoning laws came into force, and zoning permits were given without any planning. As a result, the government succeeded to influence the majority by these implementations. Urban rents strikingly increased in parallel to the increase of bid rigging in the public biddings, the biddings in energy industry, etc. as well as concession bargaining, privatization, profiteering and siphoning off money from the banks (Boratav, 2015).

According to the study of Balaban⁷, Turkey has lived two growth periods in 1982 and 2002. First, the government turned towards the construction sector to solve economic problems in Turkey after 1980 and developed many policies in this direction. Throughout the country, the number of the construction projects in 1982 was 54,361. In 1988, this number was 139,995. The percentage of investments in construction sector in gross national product was 5.2% in 1982, and this percentage was 7.3% in 1987 (TÜİK). The second growth period started in 2002 after the economic crisis in 2001 and ended in 2008 by the global economic crisis. In 2002, new building count rose from 43,430 to 114,204 in 2006 and to 106,659 in 2007. The percentage of investments in construction sector in gross national product was 3.8% in 2002 and this percentage rose to 4.8% in 2006. Between 2004 and 2007, an annually average of 12% growth in the construction sector became the fastest-growing sector. Additionally, the percentages of employment increased in the construction sector and its percentage in all sectors rose from 6.9% to 7.8% in four years (Balaban, 2011).

⁷ Osman Balaban wrote an article named “*İnşaat Sektörü Neyin Lokomotifî? (Construction Sector is Locomotive of What?)*” for *Birikim* in 2011. This study has been used by many academicians to examine the construction sector of Turkey.

In the 2000s, the government supported growth in construction sector, and developed regulations and followed policies in parallel with this growth. TOKİ provided the building contractors and private investors with affordable credit and financial support to promote housing production. After 1980, private companies constructed dwellings devoted to middle and upper-middle income groups, while TOKİ constructed dwellings devoted to low income groups for the government. Because of this, TOKİ can be considered as the most important actor and a regulator in the transformation processes (Balaban, 2011).

The remission of the penalties for violating the zoning laws (*imar affi*) was another important issue in construction sector in 1984. Squatter houses were transformed to block of flats, and in this context, the number of new building licences increased from 40,000 to 110,000 between the years of 1984 and 1987 (Balaban, 2011).

The governments change, but their approach concerning this issue have been more or less the same until today. The national economy depends mostly on the construction sector and this link causes unplanned and rapid urban transformation in Turkey. In the period of the Justice and Development Party government, urban transformation practices, as things stand, have plenty of deficiencies. The Justice and Development Party was established in 2001, and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is the General President of the party. After 2004, TOKİ was transformed by the new government and gained additional authorization. TOKİ now, by the authority granted to it by the government, is able to take over the public lands free of charge, and transform them to private properties. The urban rents which were obtained in these ways were shared between political agents and building contractors. At this point, remembering the very definition of urban transformation is necessary. Urban transformation is the rehabilitation of inappropriate living conditions by overcoming the economic, physical, social and environmental problems, and the production of quality physical and social environments.

TOKİ has become a unique authorized organization that produce mostly housing projects and generate lands fit for construction. Many regulations have increased the activity area of TOKİ. By the 2010, 450,000 dwellings were constructed by TOKİ and this administration collaborated with most of the municipalities and private companies to conduct urban transformation projects for rent seeking under the name of fund raising. After 2003, public lands were sold or assigned for housing and urban projects on different scales. Thus, political agents attained to their aims. The government gave

abundant power to the Ministry of Finance to work in collaboration with TOKİ and to make the sales; most of the TOKİ projects were implemented under the umbrella of the Ministry of Finance. After 2002, under cover of urban transformation, most of the projects were conducted through irregular and unrestrained plan organizations. The regulations were not made for the immediately required areas; they were mostly made to bring the rent-seeking urban projects together with a legal ground. After 2003, most of urban transformation projects were implemented for this aim (Balaban, 2011).

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi) gave the power of legislation to the Council of Ministers (Bakanlar Kurulu) to make executive orders (*KHK - kanun hükmünde kararname*) for six months before the general election in June 2011. In this way, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı) and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (Çevre ve Orman Bakanlığı) were associated by the law No. 636. The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı) and the Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs (Orman ve Su İşleri Bakanlığı) were dissociated by the law No. 644. Erdoğan Bayraktar, the former president of TOKİ, was appointed to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, immediately after the law came into operation (the law No. 648). These laws were prepared without seeking any advise of the public institutions, non-governmental organizations, trade associations and opposition parties. In brief, these laws were made behind closed doors. According to the law No. 648, the ministry would be able to appropriate the authorities of municipalities, and archaeological sites can be zoned for construction. The ministry aimed to increase the dwelling production directly via this law.

Currently, Turkey has been experiencing a political change. There was a presidential election on June 24, 2018 in Turkey. This election brought along some regulations from the past. The remission of zoning penalties came into operation on May 18, 2018, and called as *İmar Barışı*. *İmar Barışı* can be explained as peace of zoning. The government changed the term *remission* with the word *peace*. The other development is the reducing the rate of interests for housing credit. The rate of interests for housing credit was at the top level of last nine years before the election. The rate was reduced to 0.98% from 1.35% by several banks in Turkey. This is the regulation to increase the sales of excess and empty houses in leftover dwelling stock.

3.4. Actors of Contemporary Urban Transformation of Turkey

The urban actors in the world were examined in Chapter 2. They were divided as people and institutions, because this study investigates the ways of being more powerful as *users* in the urban area. The institutions are defined as the powerful actors such as governments and private investors. In Turkey, this situation is not different from the world. Moreover, it can be said that the distinction is more clear between the people and the institutions. On the other hand, the actors can be categorized more specifically in Turkey. It cannot be possible to make this categorization in the world, because there are different operational systems in different countries.

The urban transformation process of Turkey is very multi-faceted since there are many ongoing conflicts coming from the past and have affected today. In addition, ever-changing regulations are very difficult to follow. These issues were examined under the titles of “1950s: The Squatter Housing of Turkey,” “1980s: Neoliberalism in Turkey Through Construction Sector,” and “2000s: Formation of Contemporary Construction Sector in Turkey.” In this sub-section (3.4), the actors will be analyzed in accordance with their relations with each other, for they are essential components of urban transformation in Turkey.

The Marmara Earthquake in 1999 was a terrifying and tragic disaster for Turkey. Many people lost their lives. The earthquake clearly exhibited that many of the buildings were unsafe in Turkey. There was no real control mechanisms to examine the structures during the construction processes. That was why many contractors built weak and unsafe buildings to earn more money using cheap labor and inadequate construction materials. For this reason, building audit firms⁸ were established in 2000 and some new standards were introduced to the construction sector, i.e. Urban Transformation Law entered into force for unhealthy and unsafe buildings after extended studies in 2012. The purpose of all these developments was to obtain a newer, safer and healthier built environment.

The attitudes of the actors determine and manipulate the construction sector. If they come together to protect the common benefits, everyone will be satisfied with the state of affairs. In the opposite case, the actors that are powerful than the others will

⁸ A building audit firm (*yapı denetim firması*) audits the constructions from the beginning to the end.

protect only their own rights even if this means to damage other actors' rights and existence. This is a dialectical struggle.

The actors are the determinants of the transformation process in Turkey. Analyzing the actors will allow us to comprehend the urban transformation process. These actors will be categorized as "Ministry of Environment and Urbanization," "Metropolitan and Local Municipalities," "Contractors," "Designers," and "Dwellers." These five groups of actors have different roles and effects in the urban transformation process in Turkey.

As a matter of fact, it can be claimed that the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and metropolitan and local municipalities are more powerful than the others, due to having more authority to determine the principles of urban transformation and make laws to regulate the transformation process. The contractors are directly in the practice process. That is why, they are in relation with the users more than the other actors while contractors are in relation with the Ministry of Environment, municipalities, designers and users. Designers generally get in contact with contractors; the process starts with them. Users are the respondents to urban transformation processes. They are the ones who experience and live in the built environment, and are directly affected by the positive and negative sides of the process.

It is observed that power relations are based on economic benefits. All actors have different responsibilities, opportunities, realms of authority and influence areas. That is why they should be analyzed through different perspectives in themselves. By the following sections, their roles will be examined and each actor will be analyzed from a different viewpoint.

3.4.1. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization

The construction sector is the main contributor to the national economy in Turkey. The importance of the urban transformation for the construction sector was presented in the previous section, namely "2000s: Forming Construction Sector Contemporary of Turkey." The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (*Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı*) is the main actor of the sector since it becomes an efficient control mechanism for the construction sector and has several duties to guide its direction.

The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization was established in 2011 after the Van Earthquake. The name of this ministry was “the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement” (*Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı*) before 2011. The working areas of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization are city planning, environmental, and institutional implementations. There is also a unit concerned with urban transformation, namely “the Infrastructure and Urban Transformation General Directorate” (*Altyapı ve Kentsel Dönüşüm Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü*).

The duties of this directorate are regulated by the Article 19 of the law No. 6306 (law on the transformation areas under disaster risk), and are listed below:⁹

- a. General planning, programming, feasibility and management regarding the infrastructure systems of local administrations; determining the methods and principles of researches, projects, building licenses and occupancy permits.
- b. Providing the collaboration and coordination between the local administrations regarding infrastructure set up.
- c. Design projects of infrastructure systems, interchanges and crossover roads; making regulations concerning the infrastructure participation fee.
- d. Improvement, renewal and implementation of shantytowns; determination of the reclamation, transformation, improvement and settlement areas.
- e. Determination of the renewal and relocation areas; determination of the value of dwellings and lands on transformation areas.
- f. Conducting the projects on transformation areas.
- g. Performing similar duties that are appointed by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.

The scope of the duties of the Infrastructure and Urban Transformation General Directorate is very much extended as stated above; it has a very broad working area and authorization regarding urban transformation. The directorate is able to determine the urban transformation areas and to produce projects on *gecekondu* areas. In other words, it has the authority to produce the built environment by itself. The decisions made by the Infrastructure and Urban Transformation General Directorate designate the urban development of the cities.

⁹ The duties of Infrastructure and Urban Transformation General Directorate <http://altyapi.csb.gov.tr/gorev-i-29>, last access: 10.04.2018.

The main purpose of urban transformation should be to construct safe and healthy dwellings along with social reinforcement, green fields, public spaces and infrastructure systems on the areas that are at risk according to the Urban Transformation Law. However, the urban transformation practices possess a vital conflict in Turkey. According to the Urban Transformation Law, if a building is under risk, it must be transformed in situ by the consent of two thirds majority of dwellers. So far, many buildings have been transformed in this way. Unfortunately, this practice cannot be called as urban transformation; it is merely rebuilding since the same infrastructure and planning are still valid. The number of users generally increases after the transformation, and it causes even more inadequate infrastructure, green fields, public spaces and social reinforcement than before.

Another problem is the rule of having the two thirds majority. If the residents of a building obtain the majority of two thirds, they can have their buildings rebuilt by a contractor. For this reason, some contractors buy the property to have the majority in these buildings. In situations like this, the other users of the apartment block are forced to accept the decision and experience the transformation process. Thus, the Urban Transformation Law seems to have some deficiencies for it causes unjust treatment, and that is why this law needs to be regulated again by reconsidering this issue.

The position of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization in urban transformation practices can be seen in several examples. One of these examples is Fikirtepe, which has been an urban transformation area since 2011. However, the constructions have not been completed yet and some of the former residents of the area claim that they are not paid rent allowance. They then submitted a petition to the Ministry, and the Ministry has decided to conduct the projects by itself since they have not been completed yet by the contractors KİPTAŞ¹⁰ and Provincial Bank. The transformation area of Fikirtepe can be seen in Figure 9 and 10. The empty demolished areas, the ongoing constructions and the completed parts are clearly visible in these images. The old and low-rise buildings are located around these areas.

¹⁰ KİPTAŞ (*İstanbul Konut İmar Plan Sanayi ve Ticaret Anonim Şirketi*) was established by İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 1995. The duties of KİPTAŞ are the implementations of development plans and conducting architectural projects.



Figure 9. Urban Transformation Area of Fikirtepe
(Source: www.sozcu.com.tr, 2018)



Figure 10. Urban Transformation Area of Fikirtepe
(Source: www.sozcu.com.tr, 2018)

The final state of Fikirtepe is shown in Figure 11. There are many contractors on the urban transformation area of Fikirtepe and they desire to claim the majority of these areas, for the area is a large rent source for them. They want to get a share as profitable as possible from Fikirtepe. According to the map that is Figure 11, there are three classifications as shown by three colors. The numbers on the parcels indicate the construction companies and their construction areas.

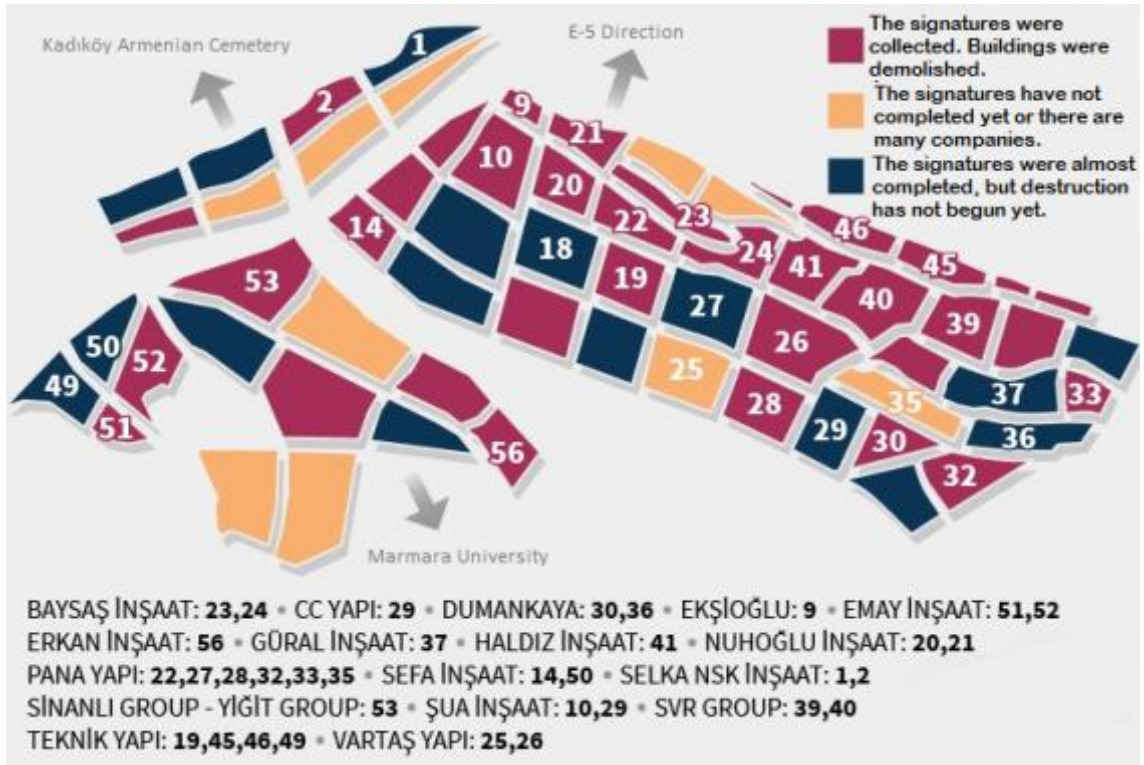


Figure 11. The Final Situation of Fikirtepe
(Source: www.sozcu.com.tr, 2018)

In a newspaper article dated 2018, the recent Minister of Environment and Urbanization, Mehmet Özhaseki states: “The Ministry will be the solution partner in Fikirtepe. The law was made with utmost effort and attention, however, a group of people looked for a gap in the law to turn it into a source of rent. We need a work harder to prevent these things from occurring. The Ministry wants to undo the unjust treatment that the residents of Fikirtepe underwent.”¹¹ However, the urban transformation regulations are made under the control of Ministry. It is indeed vitally important for the authorities to predict the gaps in laws or the adverse outcomes before the transformation practice starts. Otherwise, the consequences will heavily affect the residents, contractors and other users.

3.4.2. Metropolitan and Local Municipalities

Municipalities are established in settlement areas that have 5,000 or more inhabitants in Turkey. Each city and its districts have a municipality according to “the

¹¹ Harita: Fikirtepe’de Son Durum (Map: The Final Situation in Fikirtepe), <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2018/ekonomi/harita-fikirtepede-son-durum-2219182/>, last access:10.04.2018.

Municipal Law.” Article 73 defines “urban transformation and development areas” by a change in Law No. 5393 of the Municipal Law in 2010. “Urban transformation and development” is achieved by preparing and conducting a transformation project according to this law. Metropolitan municipalities conduct studies on the built environment. Local municipalities can also conduct projects on the transformation and development areas, but only if metropolitan municipalities assign them authority to do so.

Municipalities are another main actors of urban transformation. They coordinate the relationship between users (right owners) and contractors. The rights of the users must be protected by the municipality. The urban transformation area must not be transformed only according to the decision of a contractor. For instance, the authorities may think that the city of İzmir is in need of investment, but they should not determine all the conditions with regards to the investor/contractor. The benefit of the users should be considered as well, i.e., municipalities may organize competitions for these areas in order to decide on the best option concerning the area and the benefit of its users.

The perception of a (metropolitan) municipality toward the urban transformation process can be observed in the example of İzmir. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality organized an international competition for the port district of İzmir in 2001, when the mayor of the metropolitan municipality was Ahmet Piriştina. He was one of the main actors of this competition; his viewpoint of the city as well as its users and designers/planners had come to existence through this competition. It was also a step toward the preparation of the master plans. Hasan Topal, who is presently a member of the Chamber of Architects, and former Head of the Chamber, worked in İzmir Metropolitan Municipality with Piriştina as the manager of Planning Zoning (*İmar Planlama*) between the years of 1999 and 2004, and as assistant secretary general between 2004-2008. He was also one of the reporters in the aforementioned international competition. As Topal states, the attitude of the mayor at that time determined the future of the city. As a result of the competition, several objectives came to the fore, such as turning İzmir into a rival city to its foreign counterparts, generating new attraction centers in the city, increasing the public use and providing the connection with the city center and the shoreline. After the passing of Piriştina, Aziz Kocaoğlu became the new mayor. Unfortunately, those objectives were ignored by the new administration and many opportunities were presented to private investors to attract capital to the city of İzmir.

Another example is the Bayrampaşa Urban Transformation Project in İstanbul. This project is conducted by Bayrampaşa Municipality and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Naser Şimşek, the Vice President of Bayrampaşa Municipality, pronounced this project as an in-situ transformation project. The transformation area is known as old Bayrampaşa Prison in İsmetpaşa District. The area is 195,350 m² and the construction area is 600,000 m². The project was conducted again by KİPTAŞ. Within the scope of Bayrampaşa Urban Transformation Project, 2,300 dwellings, a hospital, a mosque, a school, a square, a culture and arts center, an underground car park, sport halls, bikeways, walking trails and shops were constructed. According to Şimşek, the project will “add value to Bayrampaşa because it is a social project. The dwellings were not constructed for profit, they are used by the former residents of the area whose dwellings were destroyed due to urban transformation” (Hürriyet, 2018).



Figure 12. Urban Transformation Area of Bayrampaşa
(Source: www.hurriyet.com.tr, 2018)

The new buildings are shown in Figure 12. While some of the inhabitants of Bayrampaşa supported this transformation, some of them collected signatures for objection. Because they think that these new buildings will become a *prison* for them. In spite of the statement of the Vice President, some of the citizens are not pleased with the life conditions offered to them in these new high-rise buildings, which are quite the opposite of their life styles.

The priority of the municipalities should be the citizens of their districts, for the main duty of municipalities is to serve them. Regarding the example of Bayrampaşa, the

transformation area is valuable and the area is a rent source. The municipality considers the transformation project as a valuable investment on an old prison area. However, a part of the citizens disagree with that, stating that the new project is not suitable for their lifestyles, and they cannot live comfortably in these new dwellings. This is because they are used to living in low-rise dwellings and they like spending time in between the semi-private spaces in front of their houses, socializing with neighbors and building solidarity networks. They cannot live on in the new environment. That is to say, the municipality should be aware of the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the situation and create alternative solutions for them.

3.4.3. Contractors

Another actor of the urban transformation process is the contractor. Contractors can also be named as investors since cities need capital to transform and contractors are enthusiastic about being in that transformation process. For instance, the city of İzmir is at the beginning stage of such a transformation process at the moment, and it is rich in opportunities attracting contractors. Generally, an investor/contractor carries out business in the construction sector by seeking profit, because the laws and regulations about urban transformation present them many opportunities to do so. The main reason for this is to attract capital to developing cities. However, this often causes the contractors to have unlimited authorization, i.e., master plans are changed according to the projects that will yield higher amount of profit in the urban transformation area. For this reason, there have to be some objectives to follow regarding the site conditions, quality of the environment, rights of the users, etc. in the urban transformation practices. These objectives are essential for the all actors of urban transformation processes.

The Ministry of Environment and municipalities are able to control other actors. Therefore, they have the authority to oblige all contractors to follow the rules. The priority of all the actors should be the city and the users.

It is necessary to recognize the major construction companies in Turkey, because construction sector constitutes the main part of the national economy. There are many companies in different cities of Turkey. In this study, the list of the companies is taken from the ENR Journal. The construction sector journal ENR (Engineering News Record) promulgated the list of 2017 Top 250 International Contractors. The list is

sorted according to the income rates of contractors that are earned in foreign countries. There are 46 companies in that list from Turkey. These are listed according to their grading number as follows;¹²

38. Renaissance Construction (Ankara)
42. Polimeks İnşaat Taahhüt ve San. Tic. A.Ş. (İstanbul)
72. ENKA İnşaat ve Sanayi A.Ş. (İstanbul)
76. TAV Construction (İstanbul)
78. Yapı Merkezi İnşaat ve Sanayi A.Ş. (İstanbul)
79. Alarko Contracting Group (İstanbul)
85. Limak İnşaat Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. (Ankara)
86. ANT Yapı Sanayi ve Ticaret CJSC (İstanbul)
92. GAP İnşaat Yatırım ve Dış Ticaret (İstanbul)
98. Universal Acarsan Healthcare & Hospital Construction (Gaziantep)
105. NATA Construction Tourism Trade and Industry co. (Ankara)
109. MAPA İnşaat ve Ticaret A.Ş. (Ankara)
110. Çalık Enerji San. ve Tic. A.Ş. (Ankara)
112. Tekfen Construction and Installation co. inc. (İstanbul)
125. Sembol Uluslararası Yatırım Tarım Peyzaj İnşaat (İstanbul)
128. Doğuş İnşaat ve Ticaret A.Ş. (İstanbul)
130. Kuzu Group (İstanbul)
134. Yüksel İnşaat co. inc. (Ankara)
140. Onur Taahhüt Taşımacılık İnşaat Ticaret ve Sanayi (Ankara)
151. Nurol Construction and Trading co. inc. (İstanbul)
154. Gülsan Construction (Ankara)
156. İLK Construction (İstanbul)
158. Eser Contracting (Ankara)
162. GAMA (Ankara)
165. STFA Construction Group (İstanbul)
166. TEPE İnşaat Sanayi A.Ş. (Ankara)
167. Kayı İnşaat Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. (İstanbul)
168. ESTA İnşaat Sanayi Lojistik ve Dış Tic. A.Ş. (İstanbul)

¹² ENR's 2017 Top 250 International Contractors, <https://www.enr.com/toplists/2017-Top-250-International-Contractors-1>, last acces: 14.03.2018.

175. İC İctas İnşaat Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. (İstanbul)
176. Aslan Yapı ve Ticaret A.Ş. (Ankara)
186. METAG İnşaat Ticaret A.Ş. (Ankara)
187. SMK Group (Ankara)
190. AE ARMA-Elektropanç (İstanbul)
194. SUMMA Turizm Yatırımcılığı A.Ş. (Ankara)
196. Bayburt Grup A.Ş. (Ankara)
200. Anel Elektrik (İstanbul)
206. Yenigün Construction Industry and Commerce inc. (Ankara)
216. Gürbağ Group (Ankara)
223. Cengiz Construction Industry & Trade co. inc. (İstanbul)
224. KOLİN İnşaat Turizm Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. (Ankara)
225. DEKİNSAN Grup İnşaat A.Ş. (Ankara)
226. MAKYOL İnşaat Sanayi Turizm ve Ticaret A.Ş. (İstanbul)
233. Zafer Taahhüt İnşaat ve Ticaret A.Ş. (Ankara)
239. Polat Yol Yapı Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. (İstanbul)
244. CABA İnşaat Enerji Turizm Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. (Ankara)
250. MBD İnşaat Sanayi Turizm Mühendislik ve Tic. (Ankara)

These companies constitute a large part of construction sector in Turkey. They construct projects both in foreign countries and in Turkey. There are 22 companies from İstanbul, 23 companies from Ankara and one company from Gaziantep. There is no company from İzmir in this list. This situation shows that İzmir still remains behind when compared to İstanbul and Ankara in the construction sector. So far, the city has been experiencing the urban transformation processes more slowly. Nevertheless, the urban transformation projects are increasing in number in İzmir, too. Some of the large-scale companies of İzmir are: Folkart İnşaat, Ümsan İnşaat, Atılgan İnşaat, Zabitçi İnşaat, Gözde Grubu, Tekno İnşaat, Avcılar İnşaat, Katal İnşaat, İNKA İnşaat, Kuryap İnşaat, İZKA İnşaat, Günkön İnşaat, Tanyer İnşaat, Çolakoğlu İnşaat, Biva Mimarlık, Erkaya İnşaat.

The future of the cities change by the dialectical relations between central and local authorities. All actors are a part of this transformation process either in an interactive or passive way. Contractors are generally among the active ones, for they

have the power to generate the future in terms of economic relations. Regulations about economy may occasionally change upon request of contractors.

To present an example of the different attitude of a contractor, I proceed with an event, *İzmir Urban Transformation Summit*, which I attended in person in the Chamber of Architects on May 10, 2018. In the third session, Ali Akalın, the owner of EA Akalın İnşaat, was one of the speakers. He stated that, “We are now conducting a project with Karşıyaka Municipality. According to this project, an urban transformation forest will be formed by the contractors. We will plant two pine trees for each dwelling.”¹³ Firstly, it can be seen as a positive step for urban transformation, but it cannot prevent the problems of concretion in the cities which are transformed rapidly.

There is also an example about a change in regulation, but this time the change is in favor of public welfare. The master plan of Ataköy Coast came out in 1991, and TOKİ awarded the contract in 2010. The intended high-profit project was “Blumar” on a 60,000 m² area (Figure 14). The project site where historical gunpowder factory structures were located belonged to TOKİ. However, the zoned and licensed project was cancelled by decree of court in 2018. Bakırköy Municipality announced that the area will be opened to public as a public park.¹⁴

The old gunpowder factory land is the only part of the coast that people can reach to the sea in Ataköy. Therefore, this area is essential to maintain the access of the public to the coast. In fact, the real reason behind the cancellation of this project is different. The Blumar Project planned seven blocks, each 80 m. high. It was to be conducted by Çelebician A.Ş.; TOKİ rented this area to them for 49 years for 6 million TL per year. İstanbul 8th Administrative Court cancelled this project, deciding that it is illegal rent. The Court requested the details of the bidding process from TOKİ; however, did not receive an answer, and cancelled the mega project.¹⁵

¹³ *İzmir Urban Transformation Summit in all Aspects* was organized by the Management Plus Consulting & Training in İzmir Chamber of Architects on 10.05.2018.

¹⁴ *TOKİ Ataköy'deki 2 milyar TL'lik gayrimenkul projesini iptal etti. Arazi park olarak İBB'ye kiralandı.* (TOKİ cancelled the project of 2 billion Turkish Liras. The land was rented to İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality as a park.),

http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/951779/TOKi__Atakoy_deki_2_milyar_TL_lik_gayrimenkul_projesini iptal_etti..._Arazi_park_olarak_iBB_ye_kiralandi.html, last access: 05.04.2018

¹⁵ *Ataköy'e Müjdeli Haber* (The Good News for Ataköy), <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/atakoye-mujdeli-haber-40500043>.



Figure 13. The Ataköy Coast (Old Power Mill Land)
(Source: www.yapi.com.tr, 2018)

The only part of the coast in Ataköy that is accessible by public as well as the old gunpowder factory buildings can be seen in Figure 13.



Figure 14. Cancelled Blumar Design Project
(Source: www.yapi.com.tr, 2018)

The new public park project designed in 2018 can be seen in Figure 15. The project will be conducted by İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. There are registered historical gunpowder factory buildings constructed in the 1700s. These buildings will be protected and renovated, the green spaces will be designed, and a 2 kilometer long pedestrian way will be added along the shore. İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality will

run a restaurant, a café and social facilities in this area and transfer the half of the profit to TOKİ. The maintenance and management will be done by İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality.



Figure 15. TOKİ Park Design Project
(Source: www.yapi.com.tr, 2018)

3.4.4. Designers

All actors of urban transformation must work in collaboration, especially with the designers. City planners, architects and engineers are the most important actors of urban transformation process, because they determine and change the course of events with their work. Designers must play the most active role in urban transformation. The public and private authorities must understand that it is essential to be remain in communication with “The Union of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB)” at all phases to determine the direction of transformation processes correctly.

Architectural competitions are important tools for urban transformation. Designers should demand to organize more competitions for achieving projects, and contractors should support the innovative ideas on the city that are necessary for a livable and quality environment.

Some of the urban transformation projects are designed thinking only inside the parcel boundaries. However, the transformation cannot be only parcel-based. In the example of Barcelona, the urban transformation purpose was to restructure the established city, not only to construct some buildings. In other words, all the new

projects should be in compliance with one another, as well as the built environment in general and the users. The potential problems concerning pedestrian ways, transportation, spatial connections in the city, infrastructure, green fields and public spaces should be solved by designers before the construction on the urban transformation area starts. Unfortunately, these design principles are not applied in the new city center of İzmir. The high-rise buildings and shopping malls are designed in the area without solving the infrastructure and transportation problems. The public spaces and green fields are inadequate. These problems will be analyzed in more detail in the fourth chapter.

By the rapid urban transformation projects, most of the designers generate new design principles to satisfy the needs of both the users and contractors. For example, “Levent Loft Project” was designed by Tabanlıoğlu Architects in İstanbul in 2006. The project was a unique example of loft buildings. The industrial characteristics of loft buildings are high ceilings, open plan, bare structure and large windows. Levent Loft Project has these four characteristics in each type of houses (Işıkkaya, 2015).

Designers’ approach to urban transformation and their position in this process are important to be analyzed. Because their approach can be more professional and their business can be more urban and user-centered. Consequently, many designers express their opinions on urban transformation in Turkey. Architect Doğan Hasol states on an online TV channel that, “Urban transformation should not turn into a *gentrification* process.”¹⁶ Urban transformation as a practice seems to be made use of in order to get rent from the urban land. Although it should be implemented for public welfare, it serves as a tool of gentrification.

3.4.5. Dwellers

The sub-chapter 2.4.1 “People: Right to the City” in the second chapter provided a basis for dwellers’ perspective, because being aware of the concept of right to the city

¹⁶ *Doğan Hasol Kentsel Dönüşümü Mimar Gözüyle Yorumluyor* (Doğan Hasol is criticizing the Urban Transformation as an Architect), http://emlakkulisi.tv/izle/nerede/dogan_hasol_kentsel_donusumu_mimar_gozuyle_yorumluyor-6270.html, last access: 05.04.2018.

Doğan Hasol was working in Chamber of Architects of İstanbul between the years 1965-1966, and in the journal of Mimarlık between the years 1966-1969. In 1968, he was assigned of the establishment of *Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi* (Building Information Center) with a group of his friends.

should be the main purpose of the dwellers. If people raise coconsciousness regarding *whose* right, what right and what city they are talking about, they can struggle for it too. Lefebvre (1991) used the terms “cry” and “demand” to describe the right to the city: “A cry out of necessity and a demand for something more.” According to this definition, in this section (3.4.5), dwellers are analyzed through the distinction of cry and demand in Turkey. Dwellers are also inhabitants, residents, users and etc.

Dwellers can be described as *everyone* living in the city. They cannot be separated from the other actors, because the others are also the users of the city. However, their expectations are diverse and different from each other. A homeless person, for instance, expects a home as a user of the city, and it is a necessity to stay alive. A property owner wants more rights from an urban transformation project, because he/she wants to live in better conditions. This can be a *demand for something more*. On the other hand, contractors, authorities, political agents, etc. are also the users of the city, but their demands very often restrict the rights of other users in Turkey. That is why they should be more aware of the importance of transformation projects, and that gaining profit does not have to be the primary aim of these projects or these actors themselves.

The property owners, tenants and homeless people are generally excluded from the urban transformation process in Turkey. On the contrary, they in particular should be in the process from the beginning since their living spaces are destroyed and transformed, and they should have the right to speak about it. It can be claimed that property owners are more indicative in this process, because reconciliation between the property owner and the constructor is the first step for urban transformation. It is known that the majority of urban transformation projects displace property owners and tenants. They are obliged to live in another place that is unfamiliar in terms of their daily habits and lifestyles.

Everyone has a right to the city. Urban transformation practices typically cause change in public spaces such as urban squares, historical places, parks, or shorelines that many users utilize and are accustomed to specific versions of them. These spaces have many different users throughout the day, and all of them have the right to speak about these parts of the city and demand something in particular. In order to make their voices heard in an impactful way, the users need to be organized, gather together under the roofs of urban platforms, associations, non-governmental organizations, etc., and work collectively and collaboratively. They need to be aware of their rights and

responsibilities for their city and protect it from unwanted and false applications of transformation.

The urban transformation examples about users vary; actually, dwellers can be mentioned on many urban transformation examples. The chosen example, “Kuruçeşme-Dere District” is about the cry of the residents. Kuruçeşme-Dere District is a small shantytown in Buca, İzmir, which accommodates internally displaced people migrated from the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia due to terror. Their living conditions are very bad in this shantytown. Generally, two or three families share a house; bathrooms are outside of houses; walls are not plastered. The residents of Kuruçeşme-Dere District had to face the accusations of being opportunist invaders for the reason of not being the owners of the areas on which their houses are located. However, in this case, this cannot be the primary issue. The main problem starts with the reasons of their rural to urban migration. In the example of Kuruçeşme-Dere District, there is a reality of forced migration. The relation of dweller and *gecekondu* is original. *Gecekondu* dwellers produce their own houses. Those people came to Buca, İzmir, because they had to run away from their hometowns. They had to abandon their villages to stay alive.

In this area, the municipality wants to destroy the *gecekondu* houses within the scope of an urban transformation project, and relocate the people to the mass housing units built by TOKİ. According to the urban transformation studies in this area, people found a Neighborhood Platform to make their voice heard in the 1990s. The representatives of this platform meet regularly with local authorities. Their demand is not to be a property owner; they just want shelter, a roof over their heads. The solution that the municipality offers is relocation, but the residents will have to pay for the new houses and they cannot afford them. They add that renting is also not a solution for them, because the families are very crowded and nobody wants to rent their houses to them. In this case, these people will either become homeless or they will build new *gecekondu* houses somewhere else. This platform is an important example of urban socialization. The residents of Kuruçeşme-Dere District want to participate in the urban transformation process and they became organized to achieve this aim.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I analyzed and criticized the urban transformation process of Turkey in terms of three periods and participating actors. These three periods were summarized by the breaking points that have shaped the urban transformation of Turkey.

First of all, the 1960s were discussed in terms of the squatter housing of Turkey. The main reason of the squatter housing is migration from the rural districts to the city centers. People started to migrate by the 1950s in Turkey because of several reasons such as unemployment, housing policies, disasters and terror. By rapid migration, the squatter housing problem appeared in more developed cities like İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. The government made the first law in 1948 to control the squatter areas. However, this law and the others that were made after 1948 could not solve the problem since the authorities used this problem as a political tool.

Secondly, the 1980s were treated in terms of the effects of neoliberal policies on the construction sector. Turkey went through a military coup in 1980, and after that, privatization was started by the Prime Minister Turgut Özal. Housing projects were accelerated by the mayors. In 1999, Turkey experienced the Marmara Earthquake and it caused a disaster of epic proportions as a result of the irregular urbanization in İstanbul. After this earthquake, the urban transformation process started in Turkey in real terms.

In the third sub-section, I discussed the 2000s and the formation of contemporary construction sector in Turkey. The main actor of the construction sector was TOKİ at the beginning of 2000s. In 2011, Turkey lived a second big disaster; the Van Earthquake. After the Van Earthquake, the government expanded the realm of authority of TOKİ to a large extent. Using its authority, TOKİ started to construct large scale urban transformation projects, and these projects varied in the progress of time. TOKİ also implemented luxury housing projects for fund raising purposes.

The last section of this chapter covered the actors of contemporary urban transformation in Turkey. Five actors were analyzed by their relations with each other. These are the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, metropolitan and local municipalities, contractors, designers and users. They have different roles and authorities in the urban transformation practice. They dialectically live and also affect

the urban life as well as exhibiting an urban struggle. Their relations with each other along with their individual attitudes determine the nature of urban transformation.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: EXAMINATION OF BAYRAKLI DISTRICT IN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF İZMİR

Many urban transformation projects are being practiced presently in İstanbul, Ankara and other cities of Turkey. These transformations have all come to existence in quite a short span of time, and this rapid transformation process caused social, economic and urban problems. The city of İzmir can be considered to be more fortunate compared to İstanbul and Ankara due to the slower pace of transformation practices in the city. The power struggles between the municipalities and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization is one of the reasons of this relatively *mild* nature of urban transformation in İzmir. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and most of the district municipalities are managed by the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* [CHP]) in İzmir, and the political view of that party is opposite to the government and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.

İzmir, like any other city in the world, should not be transformed abruptly, because the city is more valuable than urban profits. The urban transformation experiences of other cities are known by the users in İzmir, and that cumulative knowledge has become really beneficial for İzmirian people. Although İzmir has been going through this transformation process rather slowly, the large scale urban transformation projects have recently started to be practiced there too, as in İstanbul and Ankara. The reason behind the increasing urban transformation projects in İzmir can be explained by the increasing migration rate from İstanbul to İzmir. According to İstanbul TÜİK data, 16,129 people migrated to İzmir from İstanbul in 2016, and for justifiable reasons: extreme loss of (urban) green and public spaces, replacement of quality urban spaces with solid, concrete, closed structures, high cost of living, inadequate public transportation system, overcrowdedness.¹⁷

¹⁷ *İstanbul'dan İzmir'e beyin göçü hızlandı.* (The brain drain accelerated from İstanbul to İzmir.) <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/istanbuldan-izmire-beyin-gocu-hizlandi-tuik-40509952>, last access: 20.05.2018.

Apart from the migration of people, construction firms are also moving their business to İzmir. Since İstanbul has reached the peak in terms of the amount of construction practiced in the city, investors started to expand their business to İzmir. The completed highway between the two metropolitan cities also had an influence on this decision.

Bayraklı District is chosen as the case study in this thesis, because this district is exposed to different urban transformation examples that the city of İzmir is not used to. The word *transformation* is not used only for the transformation areas which are determined by the municipalities and the Ministry. The construction of high-rise buildings, the shore design works and the urban transformation areas all exemplify the transformation in Bayraklı.

This chapter includes the history of İzmir and Bayraklı, the transformation areas which are determined by the Ministry and the municipalities, and the case study which focuses on Turan-Salhane-Halkapınar Districts in Bayraklı. The area of the case study can be seen in Figure 16:

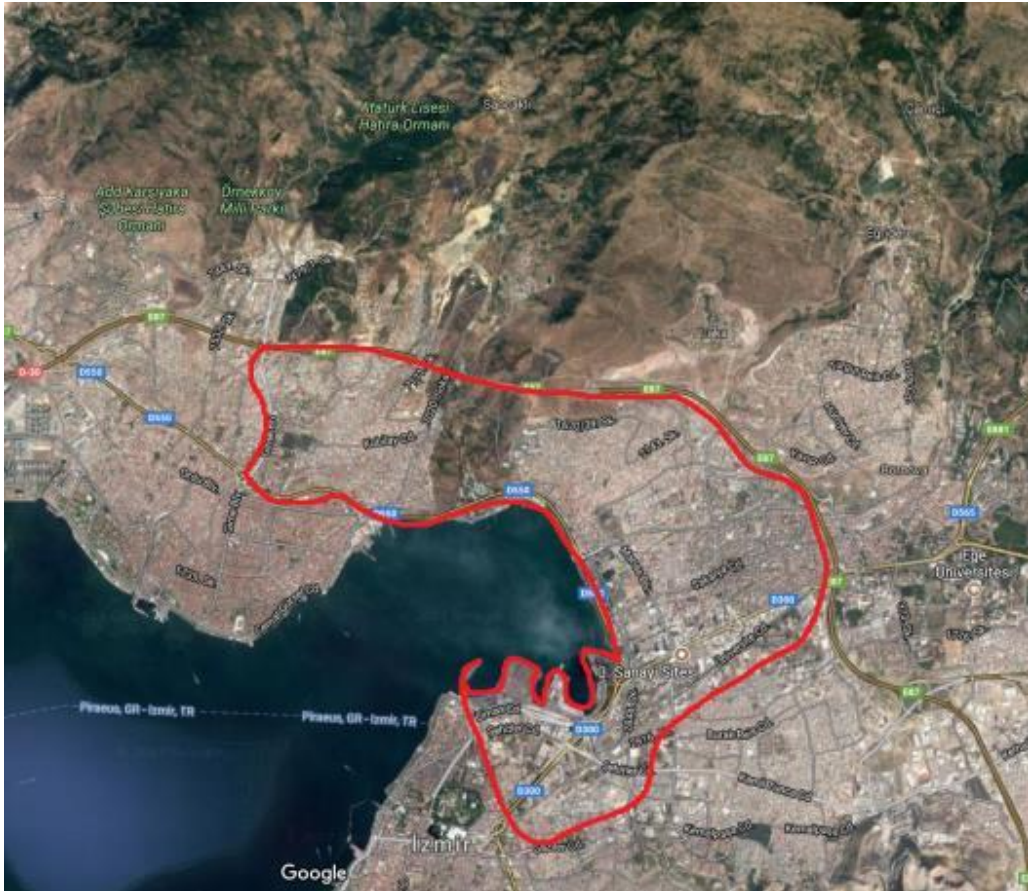


Figure 16. The Area of the Case Study
(Source: Prepared by the author on Google Earth image, 2017)

4.1. History of İzmir and Bayraklı District

İzmir has a history of 8500 years according to the excavation works conducted in Bayraklı. Bayraklı is a significant location due to being the earliest settlement area in İzmir. The city of İzmir is the third biggest city of Turkey and the most important port city after İstanbul. The greater part of agricultural products are exported from the İzmir Port that can be seen in Figure 18.



Figure 17. İzmir Port, 1875
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)



Figure 18. İzmir Port today
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

İzmir is located by the Aegean Sea. The population of the city is 4 million people in 2017, and its surface area is 12,000 km². The districts of İzmir are: Aliağa,

Balçova, Bayındır, Bayraklı, Bergama, Beydağ, Bornova, Buca, Çeşme, Çiğli, Dikili, Foça, Gaziemir, Güzelbahçe, Karabağlar, Karaburun, Karşıyaka, Kemalpaşa, Kınık, Kiraz, Konak, Menderes, Menemen, Narlıdere, Ödemiş, Seferihisar, Selçuk, Tire, and Torbalı (Figure 19).



Figure 19. İzmir City Map
(Source: www.wikiwand.com/tr, 2017)

In this study, the history of İzmir will be examined from the beginning of the Republican Period, and the urbanization process will be presented to shed light on the present urban transformation practices in İzmir.

The fires and earthquakes that were experienced several times in İzmir constitute a great part of the housing problem and squatter process. Especially, the fire in 1922, namely the Great Fire of Smyrna, destroyed most parts of the city. 14,004 out of the 42,945 houses burned down. Infrastructure systems were disabled; education and health services came to a stopping point. The central business district burned down almost completely. The population decreased approximately by half. The solution of the housing problem was quite challenging, on the other hand, the political power wanted to create “a new modern city” upon the proclamation of the republic. Thus, the planning studies were conducted between the years 1923-1938.

According to the studies, roads, avenues, and parks were designed and built. On the other hand, new houses were built, and the lands of the municipality were put up for sale, being promoted with the slogan of “Affordable and Quality Houses” to solve the housing problem. İzmir was affected from the population mobility both positively and negatively while the new city was being constructed in this period.

The fire in 1922 is the determinant factor of housing problem. The other factor is the location of İzmir, which was the reason for preference for migration. İzmir has been an attractive city for Muslim and Non-Muslim people since the Ottoman era. İzmir has been in relation with other countries and cities because of its port, roads and seaways. By these opportunities, İzmir became a central location in terms of economic and social structure, especially after the 17th century. When these circumstances are taken into account, the reasons of migration to İzmir can be understood.

In İzmir, the Turkish districts were placed on the hillside of the city, and the Levantine, Armenian and Greek districts were on the flat lands of İzmir (Figure 20). This separation of settlement locations shows that people were divided according to their socio-economic conditions; the poor lived on the hillsides, and the rich lived on the flat parts in general. This way of urban settlement continued until the end of the War of Liberation, the Balkan Wars, and the Treaty of Lausanne. After these developments, the urban settlement issue in İzmir became more complicated because of the new migration waves and population mobility. After the War of Independence, İzmir seemed attractive for people who want a new life and who escape from the occupation of İzmir. This migration wave caused a housing problem, since many people came to İzmir all at once, and making use of the authority gap, they built houses without any planning and/or permission.

Until 1950, the main reasons for informal housing were fires and earthquakes. After the 1950s, industrialization caused the rural to urban migration, and the squatter problem increasingly continued. İzmir was also affected from this process. The migrants came from the rural areas to the city center, because agriculture was replaced by the industrialization in Turkey. The people that were after the employment opportunities in factories migrated to the cities for a new life and better life conditions. Unfortunately, they could not find what they were looking for. In the city, the migrants lived their lives in a very similar poverty to their formal lives, because they had built squatters in the city, and many squatter settlements were generated by these groups of rural to urban migrants. Their lives were maintained in the city parallel to their daily routines in their

hometowns. They spent their time mostly in front of their houses with neighbors; they built solidarity networks and ties of fellow-townsmanship in order to hold on to the city.



Figure 20. Turkish Districts on the Hillside of İzmir, 1880
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)



Figure 21. Kramer Palace and Waterfront, 1890
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

Until the 1980s, the migrant population was seen as a source of cheap labor, and potential voters for political parties. That was why the governments did not handle the squatter settlements as a serious housing problem. Instead, they pulled votes from the *gecekondu* districts of migrants in return to giving land titles to squatter houses and providing them with infrastructure. In 1966, the Squatter Law (*Gecekondu Kanunu*) came into force. By this law, the squatters that have infrastructure were transformed to legal neighborhoods and claimed their land titles. Their informal and illegal status was

legalized by the state. In this way, some of the squatter areas benefitted from this law, and some of them were demolished by the government.

In 1979, the squatter policies started to change. Neighborhood initiatives and associations were established. However, by the 1980 coup, the policies were regenerated concerning the people who live in squatter areas. After 1980, the policies were not regulated with collective class consciousness, but mostly on ethnic identity (Eğilmez, 2010). In these years, neoliberal policies had become widespread around the world. The migrants were affected from these policies in Turkey, and it was now even more difficult to live in the cities for them. By the neoliberal policies and their perception of urban space (including squatter areas) as a rent area, construction sector grew up rapidly. Infrastructure services were privatized. The controlling over the rent was removed (Eğilmez, 2010).

Bayraklı

By the 1990s, people migrated from the Eastern and the Southeastern Anatolia because of the concern for their safety due to terror and disasters. At that time, İzmir was listed in the first ten cities to migrate to (Eğilmez, 2010). Bayraklı was one of the districts of İzmir that witnessed a great part of migration.

Bayraklı was separated from Karşıyaka District in 2008, and became a district of İzmir. Bayraklı is surrounded with Karşıyaka on the west, Bornova on the east, and Konak on the south. The district has an important historical value due of being the earliest settlement in İzmir. The earliest settlement is Smyrna (Tepekule Tumulus), and the first researches started by the Bayraklı excavations to examine the site from 1050 BC to 300 BC. After the 4th century BC, there were no settlements on the Bayraklı Tumulus, and the excavation studies pursued to find out historical ruins (Akurgal, 1983).

Bayraklı District is located on the northeastern side of the İzmir Gulf.¹⁸ Geographically, it has been an ideal area for settlement for years, since there was a volcanic formation in the past and that caused the area to have an exciting geographic character covered with juniper and pine trees on the southern slope. Existent Bornova

¹⁸ *Bayraklı Belediyesi Stratejik Planları* (The Strategic Plans of Bayraklı Municipality), <http://www.bayrakli.bel.tr/Upload/files/dokumanlar/2015-2019%20Stratejik%20Plan.pdf> , last access: 20.03.2017.

Plain consists of the shaft from the floodwaters of Melez Stream and Yamanlar Mountain through the centuries.

The historic layers of Bayraklı was better comprehended by the excavations of Smyrna. The first scientific studies were done by Prof. Dr. John M. Cook and Prof. Dr. Ekrem Akurgal between the years of 1948 and 1951. Prof. Ekrem Akurgal pursued the studies uninterruptedly from 1966 to 1993. The studies were conducted by Prof. Dr. Meral Akurgal beginning from 1993. The exciting part of these studies is getting the chance to examine the transition process of a society from feudalism to urbanization.¹⁹



Figure 22. Bayraklı District in 1930s
(Source: www.bayrakli.bel.tr, 2017)



Figure 23. Bayraklı District in 2010s
(Source: www.bayrakli.bel.tr, 2017)

¹⁹ The information about Bayraklı was taken from the 2015-2019 strategic plan of Bayraklı Municipality.

The excavation works present that the history of İzmir goes back to 3000 BC. It is revealed that the first settlement of Bayraklı was in interaction with Troya. The stone foundations, and stone and adobe walls show that interaction. The findings of the ancient İzmir settlement dated 2000 BC exhibit that the culture and civilization of Trojans were affected from the Hittites since they were allies. The Hittite effect on the Aegean can be seen in the warrior reliefs, which were found in Bayraklı, and Karabel in Kemalpaşa, as well as the reliefs of Cybele in Manisa.

The first settlement of İzmir was established on the northeast of the gulf, today's Bayraklı, Tepe Kule according to many researchers. There are also assertions that the first settlement was on the Syplous Mount (Yamanlar Mount today), than it moved to Turan from Tepe Kule. The findings support the scenario of the settlement on Tepe Kule. According to the findings in Bayraklı; the houses were one-roomed, the lower sides of walls were made of stone, upper sides were of adobe, and ceilings were generally made of wood. The bathtubs and earthenware were found almost in each house. The tumulus in Yamanlar show the relics of necropolis. The grave of Tantalos is on the upper side of Bayraklı, at 205 m. height.

Bayraklı was a small neighborhood with a population of 475 in the 1920s, when there were no roads, water, electricity, sewerage and transportation services. 160 people out of 475 were Turkish, while the rest were of Italian, Greek and Armenian origin at that time. Bayraklı was utilized as a picnic area on the seaside. A group of notables from Bayraklı went to Ankara in 1927 to change the administrative status of Bayraklı into county borough. At first, a slaughter house was opened in the district. The sand from Laka Watercourse was sold to contribute to the budget. Followingly, Bayraklı was associated with Bornova because of the complaints about the slaughter house. A community center (*halk ocağı*) was also opened in 1928 where many activities were done and the district was provided with financial aid.

An oil factory had been established in Turan in the late 19th century, and the oil need of Turkish Army was satisfied by this factory during the First World War. The English Eastern and Overseas Company bought that factory, and started to produce oil in 1929. The company made its first production under the trademark of Turyağ. Afterwards, they started to produce soap, detergent and toothpaste.²⁰

²⁰ *Bayraklı Belediyesi Stratejik Planları* (The Strategic Plans of Bayraklı Municipality), <http://www.bayrakli.bel.tr/Upload/files/dokumanlar/2015-2019%20Stratejik%20Plan.pdf> , last access: 20.03.2017.

İzmir started to receive migrants due to the rapid population growth in the 1950s. The migration accelerated following the industrial facilities established after 1965. The first *gecekondu* settlements started to be seen in Kadifekale, then in Bayraklı between 1960 and 1975. There have not been any sort of preventative measures taken by the authorities until today. For this reason, Bayraklı is determined as an urban transformation area by the municipalities in this context. The neighborhoods of Cengizhan, Alpaslan and Fuat Edip Baksı are the determined urban transformation areas in Bayraklı. The studies on the transformation process of Bayraklı are mentioned in the next chapter. These studies were not carried into any practice. The field studies were conducted by the contractor company, while the value of the properties was determined by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality.

4.2. Recent Developments in İzmir and Bayraklı District

In this section, the transformation areas of İzmir and Bayraklı in particular will be examined. These areas are determined by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. Some of these areas have been transformed; in some of them, the studies still continue. These transformation areas are all significant parts of İzmir and their final situation will affect the entire city after the transformation is complete.

The urban transformation practices are carried out according to the law No. 5393/73—the Municipal Law; effective date: 03.07.2005—in İzmir. According to Article 73, the municipality can practice urban transformation and development projects to rebuild and renovate the parts of the city for the sake of the development of the city. The municipality, in this way, produces dwelling and social reinforcement areas, takes measures against the risks of natural disasters, and protects the historic and cultural texture of the city.

The transformation areas in İzmir are shown according to the information on İzmir Metropolitan Municipality's official website²¹ in Figure 24.

²¹ *İzmir Kentsel Dönüşüm Bölgeleri* (Urban Transformation Areas of İzmir), <http://www.izmir.bel.tr/tr/Projeler/kentsel-donusum-gelisim-ve-yenileme-projeleri/1271/4>, last accessed 04.03. 2018.

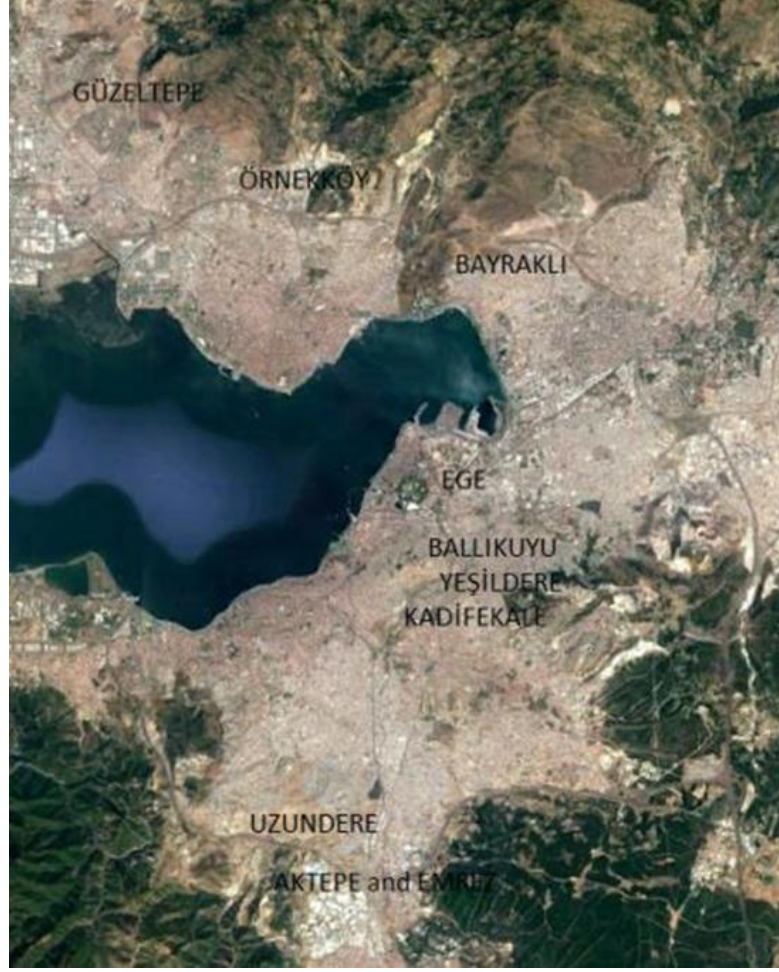


Figure 24. Urban Transformation Map of İzmir.
(Source: Prepared by the author on Google Earth image, 2017)

The urban transformation projects were divided into two sections in 2017 as *completed projects* and *ongoing projects*. The only completed project is Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project. The areas of ongoing projects are Uzundere, Ege, Örnekköy, Ballıkuyu, Bayraklı, Aktepe and Emrez, and Güzeltepe neighborhoods from all around İzmir. The features of these areas are shown below in Table 2. The total project area is 3.540.000 m² and the total population of the neighborhoods is 113,849. The detailed information gathered from the official website of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and my site trip notes in 2015 is presented as follows:

Table 2. Urban Transformation Areas in İzmir Defined by Urban Transformation
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr/tr, 2017)

Urban Transformation Area	Field Size	Ratio of Field Sizes	Population	Ratio of Population	Project Implementer
Kadifekale- Yeşildere	460.000 m ²	13%	20.000	17.5%	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Konak Municipality, TOKİ
Uzundere	320.000 m ²	9%	6.000	5.4%	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality
Ege Neighborhood	70.000 m ²	2%	4.000	3.5%	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality
Örnekköy	180.000 m ²	5%	6.000	5.4%	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Karşıyaka Municipality
Ballıkuyu	480.000 m ²	14%	35.000	30.3%	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality
Bayraklı	600.000 m ²	17%	22.000	19.7%	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality
Aktepe and Emrez Neighborhoods	1.220.000 m ²	34%	20.000	17.5%	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality
Güzeltepe	210.000 m ²	6%	849	0.7%	İzmir Metropolitan Municipality
Total	3.540.000 m ²		113.849		

Kadifekale and Yeşildere

Kadifekale is declared disaster prone by Cabinet Decree No. 15319 (1978) for the first time. The disaster prone status of the area was re-announced in 1981, 1998 and 2003, based on the geological surveys made between 1962 and 2005. The disaster area contains ten neighborhoods—nine from Kadifekale, and Yeşildere district. The total

area is 460.000 m² with a population of 20,000. 2300 buildings were evacuated, discarding the landslide risk. The transformation project was conducted by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Konak Municipality, and TOKİ.



Figure 25. Urban Transformation Map of Kadifekale and Yeşildere
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

Kadifekale is a historically significant part of İzmir. By Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project, the silhouette of Kadifekale has become visible again after the demolition process of the *gecekondu* neighborhoods. A city forest of 20,000 trees is also formed in the evacuated disaster prone area as part of this project.

In 2015, I visited the relocation area of Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project, Uzundere, with the members of the Chamber of City Planners İzmir Branch. Some of the former residents of Kadifekale had moved to Uzundere TOKİ apartment buildings and started to live there. According to my notes taken on the site trip, it is clear that although Kadifekale has gained a new spatial character, the people are not pleased to move to Uzundere. The new apartment units were sold by monthly installments, but most of the families could not afford them. Uzundere is also far away from the city center unlike Kadifekale, and public transportation serving there is not adequate at all. Because of this new location far from the city center (Konak), the people lost their jobs that were mostly in Konak. According to Nezir Olur, the mukhtar of TOKİ Uzundere neighborhood, there is a ground subsidence in the area, the buildings

are unqualified and the lifts are defective. He states that the municipality will not pay attention to these problems.

Uzundere

Urban transformation of Karabağlar district includes major parts of Uzundere and Yurdođlu neighborhoods. These areas are 32 ha. in total, and 6,000 people live there. The studies started with the determination of the existing situation. Meetings were organized with the right owners to inform them about the transformation project, and the expectations of right owners were heard. Next, the studies about the urban design and architectural projects will be completed, and the meetings will begin with the right owners. With Karabağlar-Uzundere Urban Transformation Project, in-situ transformation is aimed to protect the social cohesion. According to the existing zoning plan, affordable, sanitary and safe dwellings and workplaces will be offered within the scope of the project. The dwellings will be designed as 2+1 and 3+1 with six different types of flat blocks. Central heating system will be used for energy efficiency, and modern facades will be designed to provide sunlight control. All infrastructure will be renewed. Vehicle roads and parking areas as well as recreation areas, parks and playgrounds will be designed. The open and green spaces will occupy 21% of the whole area. Community centers, commerce spaces and bazaars will be designed in the service area of municipality. Special project areas (*özel proje alanı*) will be planned to make this area a center of attraction. Uzundere will become integrated with greenery.



Figure 26. Urban Transformation Area of Uzundere
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

Figure 26 shows the urban transformation and development area of Uzundere. The picture above (Figure 26) exhibits the old squatter areas, while Figure 27 shows the designed apartment blocks after the transformation.



Figure 27. Urban Transformation Design Project of Uzundere
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

Ege Neighborhood

Urban transformation studies of Ege neighborhood in Konak are conducted by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, and the studies started with the determination of the present condition in a total 70.000 m² area with 4,000 inhabitants. The area can be seen in Figure 28. The meetings with the right owners and the consultative committee directed the studies after the determination of the right ownerships. The studies about urban design and architectural projects were completed, and the meetings with the right owners began. By the urban transformation project of Ege neighborhood, in-situ transformation is aimed to protect the social cohesion.



Figure 28. Urban Transformation Area of Ege Neighborhood
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

Courtyard houses will be produced between 31 m² and 114 m² according to present usage. Workplaces will be designed between the range of 15 m² and 74 m² on the ground floors of dwellings and for the service area of municipality. Parking areas will be designed in the basements of dwellings. All infrastructure will be renewed. A

culture center will be designed on the square. Aya Yani Ligaria Church will be reconstructed and refunctioned. Large communal and green areas will be generated.

Örnekköy

The determination of project boundaries was completed in Örnekköy neighborhood in Karşıyaka. The studies were approved by Karşıyaka Municipality and İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2011. The total project area is 180.000 m² accomodating 6,000 people. In Örnekköy Urban Transformation Project, all parcels were determined and their ownership status were collected. The land studies and the determinations about dwellings were completed. Survey studies about the right owners were conducted. The information obtained there includes ethnic characteristics, number of family members of households, status of tenancy/property ownership. The measures of the buildings that were in the transformation area were checked. The photographs were taken and the information such as the number of trees or outbuildings was collected. All the gathered information was transferred into a database.



Figure 29. Urban Transformation Area of Örnekköy
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

Ballıkuyu

The urban transformation studies in Ballıkuyu are conducted by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. The studies started with the determination of the current state in Ballıkuyu neighborhood, Konak. The area is 480.000 m², and 35,000 people live

there. The topography is very steep, and the structuring is very poor because of the unplanned and non-projected buildings. The studies about the right ownership, urban design and architectural projects still continue. The extensive project area can be seen in Figure 30. The density of the buildings and the compelling topography are also shown in this figure.



Figure 30. Urban Transformation Area of Ballıkuyu
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)



Figure 31. Urban Transformation Design Project of Ballıkuyu
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

The urban transformation project concerning Ballıkuyu is planned to be conducted in stages. The first stage includes dwellings and commerce buildings as seen in Figure 31. These projects are designed according to the lifestyles and the needs of the local community.

Bayraklı

The determined areas are Cengizhan, Alpaslan and Fuat Edip Baksı neighborhoods in Bayraklı. The total area is 600.000 m² with 22,000 inhabitants. It is the second largest urban transformation area in İzmir after Aktepe and Emrez neighborhoods according to the data of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality.



Figure 32. Urban Transformation Map of Bayraklı
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

The map in Figure 32 presents the urban transformation and development areas of Bayraklı and its Cengizhan, Alpaslan and Fuat Edip Baksı neighborhoods, which are included in the transformation area. Figure 33 shows a general view of the buildings in these neighborhoods.



Figure 33. Bayraklı Urban Transformation Area
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)



Figure 34. The Gecekondu Settlements in Bayraklı
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

The expectations of people were found out via survey studies and meetings with the neighborhood associations. The studies about the right ownership, urban design and architectural projects will be completed, and the meetings will begin with the right owners. With Bayraklı Urban Transformation Project, in-situ transformation is aimed to protect the social cohesion. Approximately 8,000 dwellings will be constructed between the range of 50 m² and 152 m², and workplaces will be designed between 32 m² and 184 m² on the main roads and on ground floors of the apartment blocks. Vehicle roads will be designed across 30 m. and 17 m., and pedestrian roads will be designed between the green corridors. All infrastructure will be renewed; parking lots and garages will be planned. The inhabitants of the area will be able to have access to the sea easily through moving walks and a pedestrian bridge. Urban squares and observation terraces will be designed. Solar panels will be placed on the moving walks to produce clean energy.

Artificial Şelale Stream will be regenerated. Catchment areas will be designed to collect rain water to sprinkle the grass and Bayraklı district will meet the sea.

The urban transformation project aims to bring together Bayraklı with the sea by a “walking platform” and a “foot bridge.” The platform and the bridge can be seen in Figure 35. The planning of green corridors intends not to lose the airflow coming from the sea, as shown in Figure 36.



Figure 35. Walking Platform, City Lift and Foot Bridge of the Design Project
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)



Figure 36. The Green Corridors of the Design Project
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

Aktepe and Emrez

The studies in this area are conducted by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. Gaziemir urban transformation studies started with the determination of the existing

situation in Aktepe and Emrez neighborhoods. These studies were carried out in a 1.220.000 m² area, accommodating 20,000 people. It is the largest urban transformation area in İzmir. The overall view of this area can be seen in Figure 37. Meetings were organized with the right owners in order to understand their expectations. The studies about the right ownership, urban design and architectural projects still continue.



Figure 37. Urban Transformation Area of Aktepe and Emrez Neighborhoods
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

İzmir Metropolitan Municipality organized a national competition for the urban design and architectural project studies in Aktepe and Emrez. According to the results of this competition and the demands of citizens, the master plan studies and architectural projects are being conducted.

Güzeltepe

Güzeltepe is located on the northeast of Çiğli District. The area is 21 hectare where the buildings are mostly used as dwelling. The project boundaries here were determined and the studies began to exhibit the present situation.

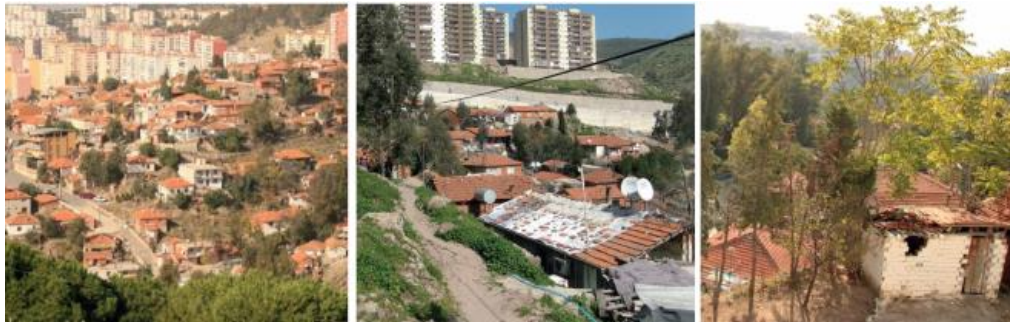


Figure 38. The Gecekondu Settlements in Güzeltepe
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)



Figure 39. Urban Transformation Area of Güzeltepe
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

According to my site trip notes (2015), urban transformation area of Güzeltepe includes 260 parcels and there are 849 residents. When compared with other urban transformation areas, the number of the users is much less and the right ownerships are not problematical. The *gecekondu* settlements are located on a valley.

4.3. Urban Transformation of İzmir and Bayraklı

All of the urban transformation areas of İzmir were listed and analyzed in the previous sub-chapter (4.2). These areas are all determined by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization based on the Urban Transformation Law. This section discusses the urban transformation of Bayraklı district in the context of urban transformation of İzmir.

The squatter area covers a huge part of Bayraklı. However, critical transformations are presently being practiced in Bayraklı without considering this problematic area. All of the transformation processes should be handled as a whole by the authorities. Instead, they are being conducted individually. This observation and a concern born out of it was the starting point of this thesis.

In this section, Turan-Bayraklı-Salhane-Halkapınar districts will be analyzed in the context of urban transformation of İzmir. There are three main levels which will generate the context of this section. First, a competition was organized by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2001, namely “International Urban Design Idea

Competition for the Port District of İzmir.” This competition will be analyzed to see the present situation of the Port District, because the preparation process of the master plans was also based on this competition. Here at this level, this thesis will compare the master plans of the districts with the projects that were placed in the competition.

The second level is the central business district that had been determined by the aforementioned master plans. In other words, Bayraklı area is being planned as the new central business district. In this context, high-rise buildings are being constructed and a rapid change is observed in this area. At the third level, the “Shore Design Works in İzmir” will be analyzed. These works aim to strengthen the connection between the users of the city and the sea. Bayraklı is one part of the project area since it has also a coastline. Thus, within the scope of the “Shore Design Works,” Bayraklı district will be handled in detail in the thesis.

4.3.1. The Master Plan and the Competition

İzmir Metropolitan Municipality organized an international competition to obtain ideas about the renewal of the port district of İzmir in 2001. The port district of İzmir needed to be redesigned for the new city center and to become a trademark on the international arena. Urban spaces and an architectural character for the port district had to be developed, and the city of İzmir had to build a contemporary and novel image. Besides these, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality wanted to benefit from the competition to prepare the master plans of the area.

In this section, this competition, namely the “International Urban Design Idea Competition for the Port District of İzmir” will be examined regarding the master plans of the port district. The purpose of examining the competition is to investigate the principles of an international competition on the master plans as well as comparing the preliminary objectives of the metropolitan municipality right after the competition to the present situation of the district after fifteen years.

There were 133 applicants from foreign countries and 211 applicants from Turkey for the competition; but only 136 of them sent their projects. The members of the jury were Doğan Kuban, Ahmet Gülgönen, Hande Suher, Jordi Farrando, Kok Leong Chia, Raci Bademli and Romi Khosla.

and the competition was to bring to the fore the İzmir Port among other international ports, and to make the new city center the port district of İzmir.

The port district of İzmir was planned as the new city center since it was one of the nearest districts to the old city center. The area between Turan and Alsancak is 550 hectare. The aim of the new city center was to decrease the density of the current city center. For that purpose, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality organized an international urban design project competition in 2001. The key concepts of the competition were the physical structure of the city, transportation model, identity of the city, historical references, and open space system. According to these concepts, transformation of the port district was planned to turn the area into a tourism and trade center in the long term (Erdik and Kaplan, 2009).



Figure 41. İzmir Alsancak Harbour Region-Halkapınar-Salhane-Bayraklı-Turan Coastal Area (Source: International Urban Design Idea Competition for the Port District of İzmir. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2001)

The project of Jochen Brandi from Germany received the 1st prize as the result of the competition. According to the final report of the competition, this project created a model for the future of İzmir. Within the scope of Brandi's project, high rise buildings were planned to provide large and open public spaces. The building density of district was decreased and balanced with the density of historical city center. Besides, the project emphasized Bayraklı as an archaeological site, and proposed a starting point for

the urban development of the area as a symbolic historical space. In the project, there were also various solutions for pedestrian ways, cycle paths and green spaces. The areas for sports activities were designed.



Figure 42. Jochen Brandi's Project
(Source: Ege Mimarlık, 2002)

Consequently, in spite of making use of a few objectives of the competition projects, most of them were not actually applied. For instance, bringing together the district with the sea became quite a challenge. At the present time, the relation of the shoreline with Bayraklı District cannot be provided even through the master plans, because the Altinyol Highway physically and irreversibly separates the two areas. In addition to the highway, the ground level rails of the local train (İZBAN) also should have been under the ground at Turan, Bayraklı and Salhane stations. Turan Station particularly obstructs the access to the shoreline.

The issue of high rise buildings is no different. According to Hasan Topal, the reporter of the international competition, it was aimed that all high rise buildings were

constructed in the new city center and there only. However, it can be observed that there are many high rise building constructions in the several parts of İzmir and it causes irregular development at the moment.

4.3.2. The Central Business District

The district between the backside of Alsancak Port and Turan was determined as the new city center by the master plan prepared by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2003. The abovementioned competition project was utilized to prepare this plan. The functional purpose of the 471-hectare area including Turan on the north, Salhane on the east and Alsancak on the south, is tourism and trade. Turan is determined as a tourism district predominantly. On the west of the district, small-scale tourism management can be carried out and housing function could be kept as it is. What is more, there are places of entertainment on the shoreline of Turan. Salhane district, on the other hand, is determined as the new central business district, and the functional use of that area includes commercial buildings, business and convention centers, hotels, and shopping centers. Its surrounding areas are determined as administrative center districts.

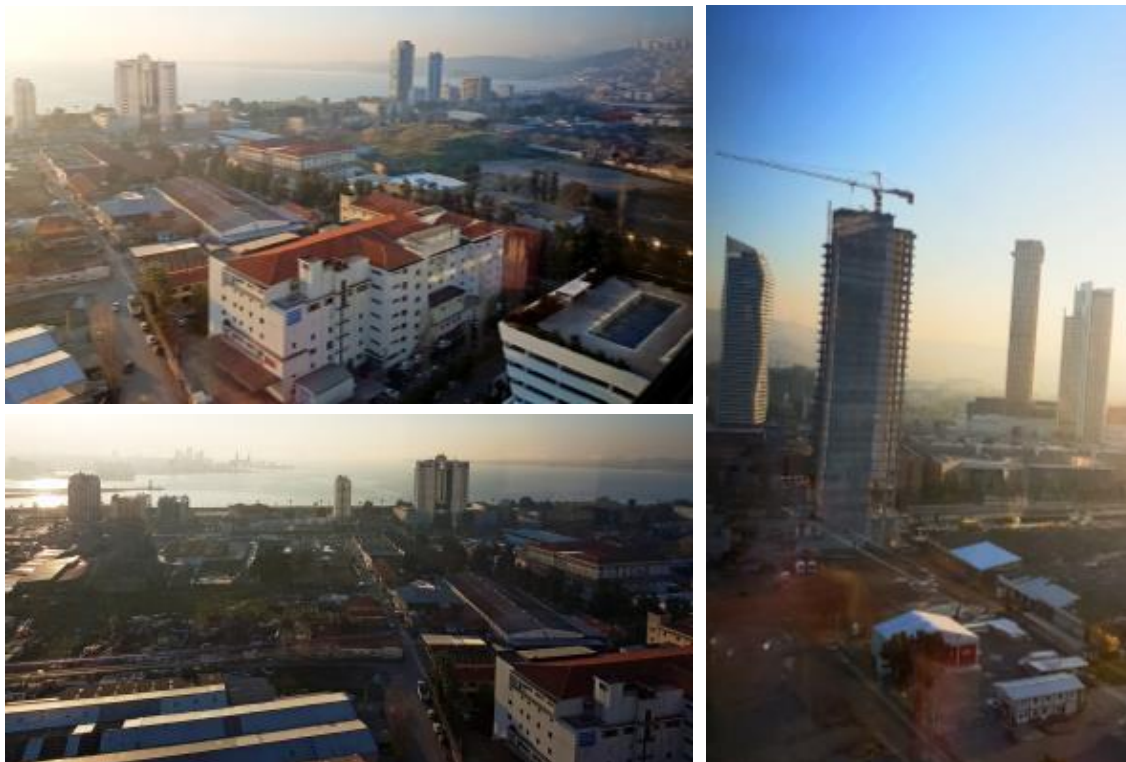


Figure 43. The New Central Business District
(Source: Photos taken by the author, 2018)

Some scholars depicted Bayraklı Tumulus (the first settlement area of İzmir) is an important starting point to plan the administrative center districts on the north. On the south of the Tumulus, tourism and culture buildings can be constructed up to the sea.

In many sources, especially on the newspapers and/or journals, this district is launched as the “Manhattan of İzmir.” It means that in the future, it will share a similar character and appearance with Manhattan in terms of the density of high rise buildings. According to the urban anthropologist Elizabeth Greenspan, “the new meaning of Manhattanization is turning a city into a playground for the wealthiest inhabitants, even as it forgets about the poorest.” (Greenspan, 2016).

In order to support the touristic and commercial uses of the new central business district, the constructions of high-rise buildings proceed quite rapidly. Some of these buildings are Tepekule Convention Center, the Folkart Towers, Megapol Tower, Bayraklı Tower, Martı and Sunucu Plazas, Ege Perla and Mistral Tower. In addition to these, some administrative buildings such as the Courthouse and the buildings of several newspapers like Hürriyet and Milliyet are located in this area.



Figure 44. Martı and Sunucu Plaza
(Source: Photo taken by Author, 2017)

Tepekule Convention Center, constructed between the years of 1998 and 2006, is one of the oldest high rise buildings in İzmir (Figure 45). It was designed by the Chamber of Mechanical Engineers.



Figure 45. Tepekule Convention Center
(Source: ekin-proje.com, 2017)

The Folkart Towers is one of the uncommon projects in İzmir (Figure 46). It has been discussed a lot in recent years because of their being the highest buildings in İzmir, thus, being promoted as a symbol of İzmir in advertisements. The building is located on the old tobacco storages; the land was bought from the Privatization Administration (*T.C. Hazine ve Maliye Bakanlığı Özelleştirme İdaresi Başkanlığı*). The construction process of the twin towers were completed between 2011-2014.



Figure 46. Folkart Towers
(Source: Photos taken by the author, 2017)

Another controversial topic about the Folkart Towers is the value of the land they are built on. According to a newspaper article dated 2014, the Ministry made a change in the planning of the land of Folkart Towers. The land was transformed to 2nd and 3rd degree business district by the Urban Transformation Law, because the land owner stated that there were buildings at risk in the area. By this change, the value of the land increased all of a sudden 20 times more than its original price (250-300 million TL instead of 40 million TL). The planning change was made by the Ministry, not İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (Sözcü, 2014).



Figure 47. *Gecekondu* near Folkart Towers
(Source: <https://farch.yasar.edu.tr/>, 2018)



Figure 48. Girl dwelling in *gecekondu* near Folkart Towers
(Source: <http://www.pictame.com/media/>, 2018)

Although İzmir Metropolitan Municipality organized the international competition to be a guide to the master plans in 2001, which included the new city center, today's practices show that the ideas in the competition project were not utilized. There is a serious pressure on the city of İzmir by the investors from the other cities and foreign countries. For this reason, İzmir needs a trade center. One of the objectives of creating a new city center is to gather high rise buildings in that particular area. However, there are many high rise buildings being constructed in many different parts of the city, even without infrastructure studies being conducted and social reinforcement being provided. Such uncontrolled developments will surely *transform* the city, yet in a different, undesired direction.

Before the relocation of the central business district, the main part of this area (especially Salhane area) was inactive and not used, only including some storage buildings. For this reason, it is necessary to improve that area and planning studies should be carried out for this aim. Design principles should be improved specifically for such an important district of İzmir, and public welfare should be prioritized over everything else. However, the current situation shows that the studies do not go beyond short term planning attempts. On the contrary, the planning strategies have to be extensive to direct the future of İzmir. Short term planning strategies and individually designed *urban* projects drive cities into chaotic situations. This fact is mostly ignored in the city of İzmir as well; many buildings are constructed without considering their relations with their close surroundings, the users of the area, traffic, greenery, the sea, etc.

The new city center has to provide strong connections with the citizens in İzmir. The transportation and traffic problems have to be solved, by taking into consideration the pedestrian and vehicle density. The relation of the sea with the new city center should be provided, and adequate areas have to be created for green spaces and cultural areas.

The relation of the sea with Bayraklı is interrupted by the railway. A new study has not been done to analyze the spatial requirements of the area when the rail construction for İZBAN was conducted. If the railway had been placed underground, the relation between Bayraklı district and the sea would not have been lost, and the unity of green fields, the sea and the city center could have been provided. Because of the railway, the vehicular roads and pedestrian ways also became narrower. The

pedestrian ways particularly do not provide the users with the minimum width required. The current situation of the railways is shown in Figure 49.



Figure 49. Bayraklı İZBAN Station (Railway)
(Source: www.bayrakli.bel.tr, 2017)

The connection between Bayraklı and Bornova districts is provided with Adnan Kahveci Crossover Road on the Altınyol Highway. The construction of this crossover road has started in 2015, and it was opened to use in 2016 (Figure 50).



Figure 50. Adnan Kahveci Crossover Road, Altınyol
(Source: Photo taken by the author, 2017)

4.3.3. The Shore Design Works

The shore design works are another significant part of the urban transformation of Bayraklı since the ways of getting in touch with the sea for the district are designed by these works. The shore design works contain four districts. I aim to present them with a multi-dimensional approach.

İzmir Metropolitan Municipality has aimed to strengthen the relation between the İzmirian people and the sea on an urban scale. For this purpose, a design strategy plan has been prepared by the metropolitan municipality. Encouraging the participation of the İzmirians is the main purpose of this study. In addition to that, İzmir Culture Workshop was organized in 2009. Later, İzmir Design Forum was gathered. By these organizations, the strategies of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality have been clarified.

The quality of life wanted to be enhanced by the shore design works in İzmir, and the relation between the city/citizens and the sea is one of the primary determinants concerning the quality of life in İzmir. Based on the discussions in the design forum, some strategies have been determined to be applied in the urban design projects. The first one of them is to improve the quality of new central business district between the Alsancak harbor and Turan. The second one is to increase the variety of functions on the coastline to attract the attention of the İzmirians.

The design works regarding the coastal regions are divided according to four districts by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality: Mavişehir – Alaybey, Alaybey – Alsancak, Alsancak – Konak, and Konak – İnciraltı districts. The shore designs works are conducted by the project leader Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli, and the project coordinators Nevzat Sayın, Zuhâl Ulusoy, Tevfik Tozkoparan and Mehmet Kütükçüoğlu. İlhan Tekeli is a city planner and sociologist, and he was born in İzmir. According to the statement of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, the shore design works are carried out by more than one hundred voluntary architects, urban designers and industrial designers, who know İzmir very well, have lived or worked in İzmir for some time during their lives.

In my opinion, although the main design strategy was to increase the participation of the users, the aforementioned studies could not come into contact with them as much as it had been desired, because the users were not actually involved in the process. In order to fix this, some specific strategies related to the participation issue

must be developed by the partnership of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and trade associations. In this manner, many people can contribute to the process apart from the architects, landscape architects and engineers. The users should be a part of this process, meeting with professionals at workshops, panels, etc., and the strategies should be developed to include them into the process.



Figure 51. The Shore Design Works in İzmir
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

Mavişehir – Alaybey:

Mavişehir – Alaybey shoreline is the first district of the shore design works series of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. It includes the area beginning from Sasalı (the Wild Life Park and Sasalı Bird Sanctuary) reaching out to the Alaybey Shipyard. Mehmet Kütükçüoğlu is the project coordinator of this district. He has taken part in several competitions in İzmir before, such as İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Opera House Architectural Competition Project and International Urban Design Idea Competition for the Port District of İzmir. The project team of Mavişehir – Alaybey district does not want to erase the existing shore culture, rather they aim to improve it and create a quality and enjoyable physical environment. The team suggests a continuous pedestrian road and a cycle path from Sasalı to Alaybey. Landscape design will be done using rocks and reeds for Gediz Delta which also includes the bird sanctuary. The planning works of the first district consist of Mavişehir Ferry Port, the

marina district, Bostanlı footbridge, Karşıyaka Sailing Club, and proposes wooden piers, service units, skateboard tracks, playgrounds, and open-air cinemas.

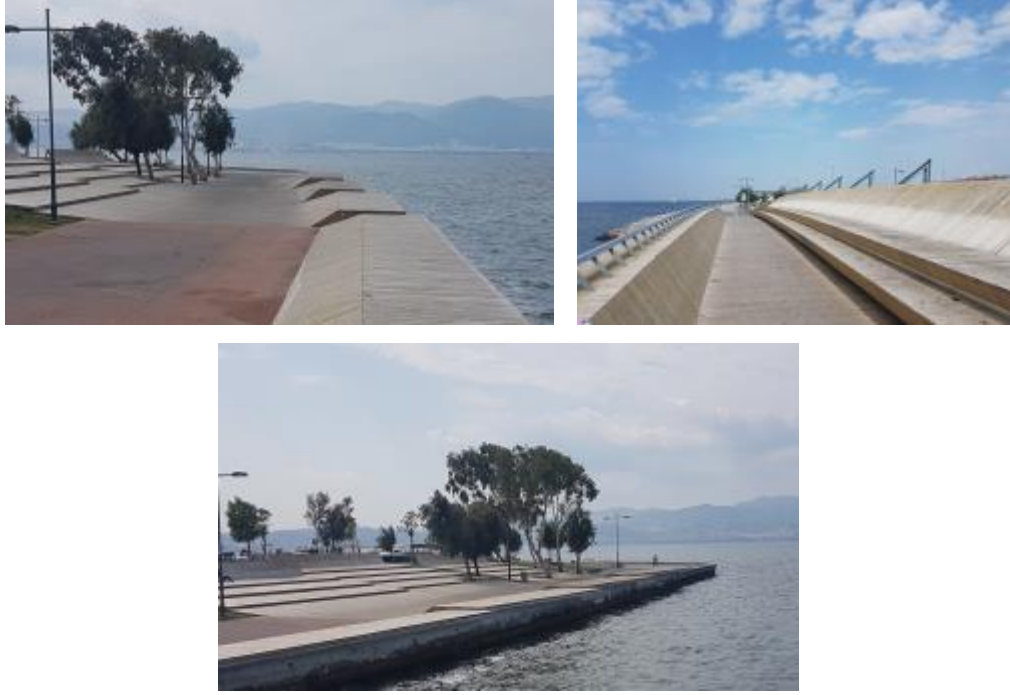


Figure 52. Sunset Platforms in Bostanlı
(Source: Photos taken by the author, 2017)

Turan – Alsancak (Bayraklı):

The second district covers an area from Alaybey Shipyard to Alsancak Harbour, which includes the new city center and the Ancient Smyrna settlement. The project coordinator is Prof. Dr. Zuhul Ulusoy, whose field of study is urban design, urban transformation and design education. According to the planning decisions of Turan – Alsancak team, tourism is determined as the main use in Turan. In Salhane, public buildings, central business districts, shopping centers and recreational spaces are planned. The area behind the harbor will be designed as tourism and commercial spaces, and there are specific planning areas. The determining factor of the design works in this area is Bayraklı and its spatial character as the new city center. Some of the design application ideas are: city lift, artificial islands, footbridge, shuttle line, city beach, picnic areas, service units, sea square, playgrounds, demonstration areas, gastronomy center and a ferry port. The shore design works of Bayraklı are almost completed (Figures 53 and 54).



Figure 53. Footbridge Design Project on Bayraklı Seashore
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)



Figure 54. Footbridge on Bayraklı Seashore
(Source: Photo taken by Author, 2018)



Figure 55. Café and Port on Bayraklı Seashore
(Source: Photos taken by the author, 2018)

A café and a port in front of that café were constructed by Bayraklı shore by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, as seen in Figure 55.



Figure 56. City Beach, Banks and Picnic Areas on Bayraklı Seashore
(Source: Photo taken by the author, 2018)

The shore of Bayraklı is the most sheltered and the lowest part of the Gulf of İzmir. For this reason, beaches, sea stairs, sunbeds and wooden terraces were constructed to bring together the İzmirians with the sea (Figure 56).



Figure 57. People on Cycle Path of Bayraklı Seashore
(Source: Photo taken by the author, 2018)

A 43 kilometer-long cycle path in total was designed on the shoreline of İzmir. 7 km. of this cycle path is on the Bayraklı shore (Figure 57). The connection between the center of Bayraklı district and the seashore was provided by a footbridge, as seen in Figure 58, which was constructed before the shore design works.



Figure 58. Footbridge on Altınyol
(Source: Photo taken by the author, 2018)



Figure 59. Basketball, Beach Volley Courts and Sports Areas
(Source: Photos taken by the author, 2018)



Figure 60. People using Playground under the Adnan Kahveci Crossover Road
(Source: Photos taken by Author, 2018)

Basketball and beach volley courts and sports equipment areas were built as seen in Figure 59. Playgrounds for children under the area of Adnan Kahveci Crossover Road were designed. In this way, this normally unfunctional area was utilized and the crossover structure was functioned as protection from weather conditions, as seen in Figure 60. On the green spaces, several sculptures and wi-fi units were installed, as seen in Figure 61.

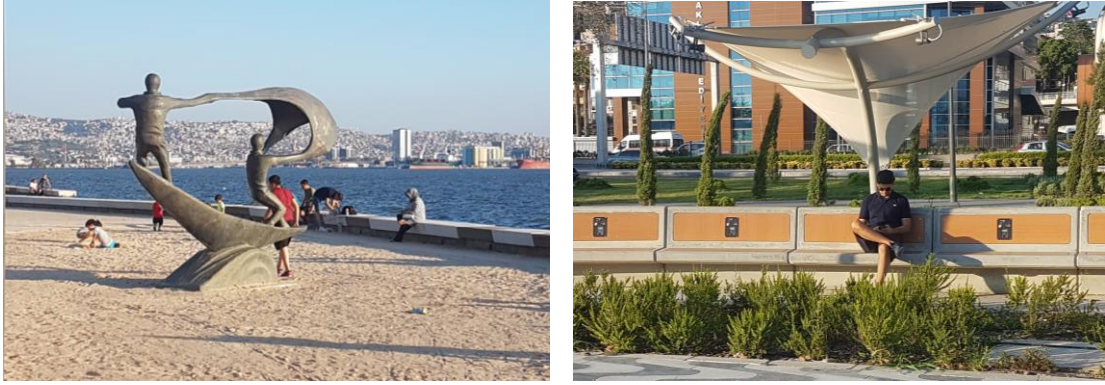


Figure 61. People using Shoreworks
(Source: Photos taken by the author, 2018)

The scope of the shore design works in Bayraklı include Meles Delta, and a noteworthy function in this area is its being used for paragliding practices. Many paragliding clubs practice there because of the convenience of the wind direction and topography of the area, as seen in Figure 62.



Figure 62. Paragliding in Bayraklı
(Source: www.karsiyakahaber.com, 2018)

Alsancak – Konak:

The third district covers an area from Alsancak Harbour to Konak Crossover Road. The project coordinator is Nevzat Sayın. The well-known architect owns an architectural office in İstanbul. He implemented several projects in İzmir including Halkapınar Monopoly Campus, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Opera House Architectural Competition Project and International Urban Design Idea Competition for

the Port District of İzmir. The Alsancak – Konak district is very significant because both local/foreign visitors of the city and the İzmirian people frequently visit and spend their time there. For this reason, the design works in the this district were based on the participation of users. The objectives are to regenerate the existent potential of the area by constructing the identity of “place.” On this part of the shoreline, many usages are integrated such as entertainment, culture, history, trade, etc. The district is alive day and night. and sufficient walking routes are constructed to use these places easily. Some of the design application ideas are: creating walking routes, design square, shuttle line, sea square, playgrounds, wooden piers, service units, sea stairs, green theatre and parking areas.

Konak – İnciraltı:

The fourth district covers an area from Konak Crossover Road to İnciraltı City Forest. The project coordinator is Tevfik Tozkoparan. Some of Tozkoparan’s projects in İzmir are Ahmed Adnan Saygun Art Center and International Urban Design Idea Competition for the Port District of İzmir. In this district, the design works primarily aim to strengthen the relation between the users and the sea. That is to say, the design works are: sea theatre, green bridge, the sailing club, viewing dock, wooden piers, culture islands, playgrounds, service units, district marina and sea stairs. Urban furnitures and shore lightings are also designed to increase the spatial quality.



Figure 63. The Design Project of Mithatpaşa Square
(Source: www.izmir.bel.tr, 2017)

4.4. Conclusion

Bayraklı is one of the earliest settlements of İzmir, thus, has a historical significance. It is important to consider this privileged position of the district, before making decisions about its transformation. For this reason, the competition in 2001, was a convenient step to form guidelines for the transformation process of Bayraklı. However, the vision of the project has not been achieved. The winner projects in this competition suggested several solutions regarding Bayraklı district, and these solutions are indeed valuable in terms of being integrative. Bayraklı possesses many dynamics inside of it. There are huge squatter areas on the hillsides, a central business district inside, on the backside of the shore, and the seashore that has to be integrated with the rest of the district.

After the competition and master plan were examined, the central business district has been handled. This district includes the back of Alsancak Port (*Liman Arkası Bölgesi*) and Turan. The transformation of this area includes the transformation of the old warehouses to high-rise commercial, residential and shopping buildings. For this reason, the design strategies have to be improved by taking into consideration the infrastructure studies, relations with the public spaces and the seashore and the transportation networks. All these dynamics have to be conceived by scientific studies. The actors, especially the users of the city should be included into the transformation process of Bayraklı.

The decision mechanisms transforming the Bayraklı district today are undeniably powerful. The recent developments present that many high-rise buildings are being constructed, but the spatial and contextual connections of these buildings with the district are not provided. The transformation of Salhane into a new business district is a questionable issue in particular. The historical city center is overcrowded and not sufficiently developing. There are unqualified high rise buildings in several parts of the city. When these situations are considered, the necessity of the new city center is obvious. However, creating a new city center should require a multifaceted study. Related occupational groups should contribute to the process of the preparation of master plan and this process should be led by a multi-dimensional approach. The architects and the urban planners should prepare the master plan together.

The new city center of İzmir should have more green areas and public spaces. According to the competition in 2001, there were ideas in this direction. Organizing design competitions for each parcel that is owned by private capital is one of these ideas.

Today, the strategies of the competition in 2001, are not taken into consideration. The master plans can be easily changed upon request of the private capital, and the authorities cannot control the quality of space. The minimum green field requirements of users, the transportation network of the high density areas, and the entegration of the new high rise buildings to the city are not considered at all.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Urban transformation has been a significant issue in Turkey for nearly ten years. There is a rapid transformation process that cannot be simply named as “urban transformation.” Rather, this transformation can be defined mostly as *rebuilding*, because rebuilding of old constructions is very prevalent, which benefits from the urban transformation law in Turkey. In this thesis, there are two significant issues that formed the starting point. The first issue is the irony between urban transformation and rebuilding, and the other is the need of a multi-dimensional study in urban transformation in Bayraklı which also constituted the subject of the case study of this thesis. All the studies and researches were done by putting the people in the center of the case.

As mentioned throughout the thesis, urban transformation is practiced in many cities in the world. The examples are different from each other, and they were examined to form the basic information about the urban transformation process of Turkey. First, the urban transformation process from the world was examined. Then, the urban transformation practices, actors and examples in Turkey were focused on. Finally, the urban transformation process of İzmir/Bayraklı district was analyzed which is the case of this thesis.

First of all, the theoretical framework of urban transformation was constituted in the second chapter. The concept of urban was defined first, because this thesis is built on urban and it was necessary to handle urban in a theoretical framework. The critical urban theory was examined since the viewpoint of critical urban theory and this study is similar. Urban transformation was analyzed through the urban and critical urban theory through the actors and examples. Actors were divided as *people* and *institutions*, because the significance of the people can be understood when compared with authorities. Users were examined by the concept of right to the city. Using this way, their roles in the urban were defined and analyzed. By the examples from the world, the urban transformation practices were investigated from different aspects. Barcelona is an example of joined users in the urban transformation process by the government. Berlin

is an example of domination of the private sector in the urban transformation. The example of Palestine/Israel has significance of representing the struggle of users.

Analyzing urban transformation process in the world generated a base to examine the urban transformation of Turkey. When the urban transformation in Turkey is analyzed, it is seen that the *gecekondu* problem is the main issue that causes irregular urbanization as much as it is one of the reasons of urban transformation. The *gecekondu* problem, neoliberalism policies and the place of construction sector in the national economy are significant issues in the urban transformation process of Turkey. After analyzing the reasons of urban transformation, actors were researched to realize the authorities and how they give a direction to urban transformation. For Turkey, it can be argued that users or dwellers were excluded from the urban transformation process by the authorities in many practices. These authorities can be summarized as ministries, municipalities and contractors. They have more power than the designers and dwellers in directing the urban transformation process in Turkey.

The urban transformation processes were examined in the world and in Turkey. After this, the case study “Examination of İzmir/Bayraklı District” was investigated. The case study consisted of the urban transformation area of Bayraklı, the central business district and the shore design works. Bayraklı is an original case, because there was organized a competition to prepare master plans for transform this area to central business district. First of all, the history of İzmir and Bayraklı was examined to understand the structure of İzmir. Then, the master plan of İzmir New City Center and the International Urban Design Idea Competition for the Port District of İzmir were analyzed. The successful ideas in the competition project were generated as principles of the master plans. The competition and the master plans were taken into consideration because these principles were valuable to make a strategic study about the new city center. These developments were a great step for the future of İzmir. However, they were not applied after the change of the Mayor of İzmir. It is sad that urban developments are based on just a single actor.

According to this thesis, the problem of the urban transformation process of Turkey starts essentially with momentary solutions. The rebuilding of unsubstantial structures with the same infrastructure, inadequate green and/or public spaces points at momentary solutions. It can be seen in many cities of Turkey in which there are new high density buildings in alleys. Prior to the rebuilding, these buildings had generally two or three storeys. After the rebuilding, these were transformed into five or six storey

buildings, but the solutions for air flow, car parks, pedestrian ways, green fields, public spaces and infrastructure were disregarded. The unsubstantial structures became visible by these practices. However, new problems will certainly appear in the future because of not taking a multi-dimensional approach. Every transformation project affects the urban planning of the cities. The inadequate urban transformation studies are confronted with future spatial and economic problems of the city.

As a professional architect, the constant changing laws about urban take us to the uncertainty. We have to think the legal framework more than the architectural design, because the law can be change according to the different authorities, or it can be varied according to different comments. In addition to these, I think the remission of zoning (*imar barışı*) will take the cities into a chaotic urban environment. It will cause the illegal constructions and by these developments our profession is getting more and more discredited.

The effects of construction sector are seen in Bayraklı as the other districts in İzmir. The growing of construction sector started by 2000s, but nowadays it accelerated by the supports of authorities. For example, Folkart Incity, Medicana Hospital, Biva Tower and Koçsa Tower are some of the projects in Bayraklı which are leading the construction sector at the present.

In the light of the urban transformation practices in Turkey, the argument of the case study is that the central business district of Bayraklı has not been transformed by renewing the *gecekondu* settlements and via the shore design works together. The central business district is in a significant location of İzmir. This area is very valuable, because it is in the middle of the İzmir Gulf coast. The transformation of this district affects the whole city. The connection between the central business district and the shore of Bayraklı is the highly problematical part of this transformation. In addition to this, the urban transformation area of Bayraklı cannot be thought apart from the center of Bayraklı. This area consists a huge part of Bayraklı and it is not possible to transform the central business district without solving the *gecekondu* problem of in the area.

Through the competition, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality took a significant step to prepare the master plans of the new city center. Several strategies were determined, and, according to these strategies, many projects were produced by the professionals. It was a promising improvement in the past since the municipality included designers as participants of that transformation process and organized a competition to see the alternative solutions. These improvements would also benefit the

users of Bayraklı and was a sign of user-centered transformation. After the passing of Ahmet Piriştina, the viewpoint of the new administration toward the issue changed and the studies decelerated. As it can be seen today, the strategies of the competition was not put into practice in Bayraklı. The shore design works were implemented independently of the new city center.

Another deficiency of Bayraklı Region is the general political approach to *gecekondu* settlements. These settlements are not included in the competition area. Nevertheless, they have a significance that affect the new city center. For this reason, according to this thesis, the *gecekondu* settlements also have to be considered and transformed in condinance with the the new city center as a whole.

When the competition is analyzed, it can be seen clearly that the vision of the decision mechanisms directly affects the future of a district. In the case study of the thesis, the attitude of the municipality was favorable to produce a new city center. However, after the change of the Mayor, this attitude changed. From this point of view, the roles of the actors, of the desicion mechanisms in particular can be seen clearly.

The critical urban theory advises a more democratic, equalitarian and sustainable type of urbanization and it criticizes authority domineering the users of the city, inequality, injustice and exploitation. Some people can think that physical and holistic approach can be an appropriate way of examining Bayraklı, however we believe that any physical approaches will be limited in covering the originality of Bayraklı. Multi-dimensional approach with the help of critical urban theory is vital to uncover the socio-spatial relations. Moreover, in this huge urban struggle of Bayraklı, public good, welfare and health is quietly missing in production of space. Market-oriented developments are dominating the people's right.

This study focuses on the urban transformation practices, actors of urban transformation in Turkey and, finally, on the case of Bayraklı. The primary influence for the viewpoint of this thesis is the critical urban theory. The attitude of the decision mechanisms and related urban practices exhibit that the transformation of the new city center is perceived by the authorities as a process of gentrification. On the contrary, critical urban theory criticises the urban knowledge which is derived through statist and market-oriented perspectives.

This study is a base for further studies that will potentially be in search to understand the dialectical relationships of actors in the urban transformation processes in Turkey.

REFERENCES

- Altınörs, Ayşegül, Eylem Bal and Oytun Eylem Doğmuş. “Kente Yön Veren Aktörler Temelinde İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım Planı.” *Ege Mimarlık Dergisi* 53, (2005): 32-36.
- Akkar, Z. Müge. “Kentsel Dönüşüm Üzerine Batı’daki Kavramlar, Tanımlar, Süreçler ve Türkiye.” *Planlama Dergisi* 2, (2006): 29-38.
- Aslanoğlu, Rana A. *Kent, Kimlik ve Küreselleşme*. Bursa: ASA Yayınları, 1998.
- “Ataköy’e Müjdeli Haber.” *Hürriyet*. Accessed May 30, 2018. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/atakoye-mujdeli-haber-40500043>.
- Baba, Ece Ceylan. “Kentsel Dönüşüm Süreçlerinde Katılımcı Olabilmek.” *Yapı Dergisi* 382, (2013): 90-94.
- Bal, Hüseyin. *Kent Sosyolojisi*. Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1999.
- Balaban, Osman. “İnşaat Sektörü Neyin Lokomotifi?” *Birikim Dergisi* 270, (2011): 19-26.
- “Bankalar Konut Kredisi Faizini Yüzde 1’in Altına Çekti.” *NTV*. Accessed May 19, 2018. <https://www.ntv.com.tr/ekonomi/bankalar-konut-kredisi-faizini-yuzde-1in-altina-cekti-kim-ne-kadar-taksit-odeye,dccsVjcgX0aGTLBm37XVNA>.
- “Bayraklı Belediyesi Stratejik Planları.” Bayraklı Belediyesi. Accessed March 20, 2017. <http://www.bayrakli.bel.tr/Upload/files/dokumanlar/20152019%20Stratejik%20Plan.pdf>.
- “Bayraklı Sahili, Yamaç Paraşütü Pilotlarının Da En Gözde Yeri.” *Karşıyaka Haber*. Accessed May 23, 2018. <http://www.karsiyakahaber.com/haber/bayrakli-sahili-yamac-parasutu-pilotlarinin-da-en-gozde-yeri/17295/>.
- “Beersheba Map.” *Mondoweiss*. Accessed May 10, 2018. <http://mondoweiss.net/wp-content/images/old/6a00d8341cc8ad53ef01156f2d8d33970c-pi.jpg>.

Boratav, Korkut. *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2015.

Brenner, Neil. "What is Critical Urban Theory?" In *Cities For People, Not For Profit*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Mayer. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Brenner, Neil, Peter Marcuse and Margit Mayer. *Cities For People, Not For Profit*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Candan, Hakan and Arzu Maltaş. "Kentlerin Yeni Açmazı: Girişimcilik Bir Çare Mi Yoksa Sorun Mu?" 6. *Uluslararası Girişimcilik Kongresi* 24-26 Nisan 2014, Bıřkek, Kırgızistan.

Coşkun, İsmail. and Betül Duman. *Neden Nasıl ve Kim İçin Kentsel Dönüşüm*. İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2015.

Çakır, Sabri. "Türkiye'de Göç, Kentleşme / Gecekondu Sorunu ve Üretilen Politikalar." *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 23, (2011): 209-222.

Demirdizen, Erhan. "Kentsel Dönüşümde Toki'nin Rolü." In *Neden Nasıl ve Kim İçin Kentsel Dönüşüm*, edited by İsmail Coşkun and Betül Duman, 453-470. İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2015.

Demirer, Göksel N, Temel Demirer, O. Eylem Doğmuş, Metin Duran, Tayfun Görgün, Kaya Hünler, Nidak Özbolet, Sibel Özbudun, Özgür Orhangazi, Kahraman Yapıcı. *YYD Kıskaçında Çevre ve Kent*. Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi, 1999.

"Demolition of Palestinian Homes." Voa News. Accessed May 7, 2018. <https://www.voanews.com/a/israeli-arab-policeman-killed-amid-clashes-over-demolition-of-palestinian-homes/3681501.html>.

"Doğan Hasol Kentsel Dönüşümü Mimar Gözüyle Yorumluyor." Emlak Kulisi. Accessed April 5, 2018. http://emlakkulisi.tv/izle/nerede/dogan_hasol_kentsel_donusumu_mimar_gozuyle_yorumluyor-6270.html.

Eğilmez, D. Burcu. "İzmir'de Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Dönüştürülemeyen Zorunlu Yoksulluk Halleri". In *Değişen İzmir'i Anlamak*, edited by Deniz Yıldırım and Evren Haspolat, 601-638. Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2010.

- Engels, Friedrich. *The Housing Question*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1872.
- “ENR’s 2017 Top 250 International Contractors.” ENR. Accessed March 14, 2018. <https://www.enr.com/toplists/2017-Top-250-International-Contractors-1>.
- Erdik, Ahmet and Adnan Kaplan. “İzmir Liman Bölgesinde Proje Yarışmasından Nazım İmar Planına Dönüşüm Sorunu.” *Ege Coğrafya Dergisi* 18, (2009): 49-58.
- Erkal, Namık. “İspanya Kentlerinde Güncel Kentsel Dönüşüm Projeleri ve Barcelona Örneği.” *TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Dosya 01* 40, (2006): 66-69.
- Ertürk, Hasan. *Kent Ekonomisi*. Bursa: Ekin Kitabevi, 1997.
- “Ethem Sancak’ın Yeğenine İmar Kıyağı.” *Sözcü Gazetesi*. Accessed May 12, 2018. <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/emlak/ethem-sancakin-yegenine-imar-kiyagi.html>.
- “Folkart Towers: Kentsel Dönüşümün Gündelik Yaşantıya Etkileri.” Yaşar Üniversitesi. Accessed March 4, 2018. <https://farch.yasar.edu.tr/2017/08/22/folkart-towers-kentsel-donusumun-gundelik-yasantiya-etkileri/>.
- “Gated Community.” Dictionary.Cambridge.org. Accessed May 19, 2018. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/s%C3%B6zl%C3%BCk/ingilizce/gated-community>.
- “Gökdelenlerin Arka Mahallesi.” Pictame. Accessed March 4, 2018. http://www.pictame.com/media/1235513935568395220_2987016621.
- Greater Municipality of İzmir, *International Urban Design Idea Competition for the Port District of İzmir*. İzmir: Greater Municipality of İzmir, 2001.
- “Güzeltepe Kentsel Dönüşüm.” Researchgate. Accessed May 5, 2018. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305473490_Cigli_Guzeltepe_Mahallesi_icin_Kentsel_Donusum_Modeli_Onerisi.
- “Harita: Fikirtepe’de Son Durum.” *Sözcü*. Accessed April 10, 2018. <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2018/ekonomi/harita-fikirtepede-son-durum-2219182/>.

Harvey, David.. *Asi Şehirler*. İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık, 2013.

“How to Manhattanize a City.” The New Yorker. Accessed February 5, 2016.
<https://www.newyorker.com/business/currency/how-to-manhattanize-a-city>.

Işıkkaya, A. Devrim. “Loft Tipi Konutların Başkalaşım Süreci Bağlamında Türkiye’de Loft Kavramının Analizi: Levent Loft Örneği.” *Megaron* 2, (2015): 205-223.

“İstanbul’dan İzmir’e Beyin Göçü Hızlandı; TÜİK Verilerine Göre Geçen Sene 16 bin 129 Kişi İzmir’eTtaşındı.” Hürriyet. Accessed May 20, 2018.
<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/istanbuldan-izmire-beyin-gocu-hizlandi-tuik-40509952>.

İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi. İzmir Liman Bölgesi için Kentsel Tasarım Uluslararası Fikir Yarışması. *Ege Mimarlık* 40-41, (2001): 58-90.

İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, *İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım İmar Planı Revizyonu Raporu*. İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2007.

“İzmir Haritası.” Wikiwand. Accessed February 3, 2018.
https://www.google.com.tr/search?q=izmir+haritas%C4%B1+wikiwand&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwidm7eRq6_bAhUOWsAKHczlCAQQ_AUICigB&biw=1280&bih=694#imgrc=qcVwJfnxILQBpM.

“İzmir Kentsel Dönüşüm Bölgeleri.” İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi. Accessed March 4, 2018. <http://www.izmir.bel.tr/tr/Projeler/kentsel-donusum-gelisim-ve-yenileme-projeleri/1271/4>.

Karaman, Z. Toprak. *Kent Yönetimi ve Politikası*. İzmir: Anadolu Matbaacılık, 1998.
Keleş, Ruşen. *Kentleşme Politikası (5. Baskı)*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 5th Ed., 2000.

Kaya, Mustafa. “Gecekondu Sorunu ve Gecekondu Kanunu.” *Türkiye Barolar Birliği Dergisi* 6, (1989): 860-891.

Keleş, Ruşen. *Şehirciliğin Kuramsal Temelleri*. Ankara: A.Ü.S.B.F. Yayınları, 1972.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Urban Revolution*. London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. USA: Blackwell, 2007.

Lichfield, Dalia. *Urban Regeneration for the 1990s*. London: Dalia Lichfield Associates, 1992.

Marcuse, Peter. "Whose Right(s) to What City?" In *Cities For People, Not For Profit*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Mayer. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Merrifield, Andy. *Metromarksizm Şehrin Marksist Bir Hikayesi*. Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2012.

Ökmen, Mustafa. *Ekonomik Dönüşüm Sürecinde Yönetim, Kent ve Kentleşme İlişkileri Üzerine Bir Tartışma, Küresel Sistemde Siyaset-Ekonomi-Yönetim*. Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2003.

Postone, Moishe. "Contemporary Historical Transformations: Beyond Postindustrial Theory and Neo-Marxism." *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 19, (1999): 3-53.

"Potsdamer Platz." Potsdamerplatz.de. Accessed May 26, 2018. <https://potsdamerplatz.de/en/history/>.

Smith, Neil. "New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy." *Antipode* 34/3, (2002): 434-457.

Smith, Neil. *The New Urban Frontier*. London: Routledge, 1996.

"Sosyal Bilimlerde Dönüşümler ve Kent Planlama." Planlama.org. Accessed May 26, 2018. <http://www.planlama.org/index.php/arartrmalar/makaleler/51-sosyal-bilimlerde-doenuueemler-ve-kent-planlama>.

Stelter, Gilbert. "Does Urban History Need a Theory of the City?: Theory and Urban History." *The Urban History Newsletter*, (2001): 3-5.

Stöhr, W. "Regional Policy at the crossroads: an overview, in L. Albrechts, F. Moulaert, P. Roberts and E. Swyngedlouw." In *Regional Policy at the Crossroads: European Perspectives*, edited by L. Albrechts, F. Moulaert, P. Roberts and E. Swyngedlouw, London: Jessica Kingsley, 1989.

- Şahin, Savaş Zafer. “Uluslararası Örnekler Işığında Bir Kavram ve Kamu Politikası Olarak Kentsel Dönüşüm.” *Neden Nasıl ve Kim İçin Kentsel Dönüşüm*, edited by İsmail Coşkun and Betül Duman, 53-84. İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2015.
- Şengül, Hüseyin Tarık. “Sınıf Mücadelesi ve Kent Mekanı.” *Praksis Kent ve Kapitalizm Özel Sayısı 2*, (2001): 9-32.
- Tekeli, İlhan. *Türkiye’de Kentleşme Yazıları*. Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1982.
“Tepekule İş Merkezi.” Ekin Proje. Accessed October 5, 2017. <http://ekin-proje.com/projeler/#prettyPhoto/0/>
- “The duties of Infrastructure and Urban Transformation General Directorate.” Altyapi.csb.gov. Accessed April 10, 2018. <http://altyapi.csb.gov.tr/gorev-i-29>.
- “The Transformation of Barceleona.” Raco.cat. Accessed May 26, 2018. <https://www.raco.cat/index.php/Catalonia/article/viewFile/106461/160706>.
- Thomas, Sian. *A Glossary of Regeneration and Local Economic Development*. Manchester: Local Economy Strategy Centre, 2003.
- “TOKİ Ataköy’deki 2 Milyar TL’lik Gayrimenkul projesini iptal etti. Arazi park olarak İBB’ye kiralandı.” Cumhuriyet. Accessed April 5, 2018. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/951779/TOKi__Atakoy_deki_2_milyar_TL_lik_gayrimenkul_projesini iptal_etti..._Arazi_park_olarak_iBB_ye_kiralandi.html.
- “TOKİ, Ataköy’deki Arazisini İBB’ye Kiraladı.” Yapı. Accessed March 10, 2018. http://www.yapi.com.tr/haberler/toki-atakoydeki-arazisini-ibbye-kiraladi_164475.html.
- Topal, A. Kadir. “Kavramsal Olarak Kent Nedir ve Türkiye’de Kent Neresidir?” *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi 1*, (2004): 276-294.
- Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Şehir ve Cemiyetler*. İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2000.
- Tuncer, Selcen. “Metropolitan Kent Merkezlerinde Kent İçi Projeleri Gelişim Süreçleri ve Mimari Dönüşüm: Birleşme Sonrası Berlin Örneği.” *TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Dosya 01 40*, (2006): 74-79.

Türk, S. Mine. “20. Yüzyıl Kent Kuramları.” *Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 3, (2015): 41-59.

Türkün, Asuman. “Kentsel Dönüşümü Yeniden Düşünmek: Mevcut Uygulamalar ve Hakim Söylem Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme.” *Neden Nasıl ve Kim İçin Kentsel Dönüşüm*, edited by İsmail Coşkun and Betül Duman, 285-332. İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2015.

Yiftachel, Oren. “Eleştirel Teori ve Gri Alan.” *Kar İçin Değil Halk İçin*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Mayer, 199-226. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2014.