DEINDUSTRIALISATION AND NEOLIBERAL URBANISATION: THE REAR PORT OF İZMİR, ALSANCAK

A Thesis Submitted to
the Graduate School of Engineering and Science of
İzmir Institute of Technology
in Partial Fulfilment of The Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in City Planning

by
Gizem ESEN

July 2019
İZMİR

We approve the thesis of **Gizem ESEN**

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gökçeçiçek SAVAŞIR
Department of Architecture, Dokuz Eylül University

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şebnem GÖKÇEN
Department of City and Regional Planning, Dokuz Eylül University

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adile Arslan AVAR
Department of City and Regional Planning, İzmir Institute of Technology

16 July 2019

Assoc.Prof. Dr. Adile Arslan AVAR
Supervisor, Department of City Planning
İzmir Institute of Technology

Prof. Dr. Ali Can DEMİRKESEN
Head of the Department of City Planning

Prof. Dr. Aysun SOFUOĞLU
Dean of the Graduate School of
Engineering and Sciences

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First I would like to thank my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adile Arslan Avar who supported and motivated me at every stage of the thesis. She spent her time, effort and patience to me. Without her interest and support, this process could not have been completed.

Especially, I would like to thank my family. My dear parents, Kadriye Sürel & Suval Esen and my little sister gave their unconditional moral and material supports to me. I offer my thanks to my clever, funny and talented little sister Meltem Esen who is a part of me. They made me feel their love and trust in both my undergraduate and postgraduate studies. Also, one more thank to our little cat who joined our family in the last month of this process. She makes me happy with her unconditional love even in my most stressful moments.

I offer my thanks to my patient and lovely boyfriend is Mehmet Horunlu who encouraged me in every aspect of my life. He is always with me as the most patient, gracious, and happiest person I ever met. Also, I would like to thank our best friends, Oğuz Bodur and A.Sara Kerimi, for their companies.

Besides, I would like to thank the thesis committee members, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gökçeçiçek Savaşır and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şebnem Gökçen, for their valuable contributions in the improvement process of the thesis.

ABSTRACT

DEINDUSTRIALISATION AND NEOLIBERAL URBANISATION: THE REAR PORT OF İZMİR, ALSANCAK

This study draws on an inquiry into the transformation of an abandoned old industrial site in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak, Turkey. This area is a critical example regarding that it has been undergoing neoliberal urbanisation consisting of deindustrialisation, urban entrepreneurialism and gentrification. The deindustrialisation practices and the rising of neoliberal policies, the rear port of İzmir Alsancak have gained an exceptionally increased value and potential for urban entrepreneurial practices. This area has been undergoing a radical transformation by the way of incremental speculative redevelopment projects. Huge complexes of luxury housing, commerce and tourism have been rising on the large and single owned parcels. Planning is included in this process as a tool by the central government and local government at different scales of development plans. Frequently changing regulations and transferring rights through privatization programs on behalf of speculative projects of private entrepreneurs have to lead to redevelopment and gentrification of old industrial sites.

Firstly, the relationship between urban space and capitalism as a mode of production is going to be mentioned. Secondly, the changes in the regime of capital accumulation and the rising of neoliberalism are going to be summarized. Moreover, the relationship between neoliberalism and urban entrepreneurialism, speculative urbanisation and gentrification will be stated. Thirdly, Turkey's neoliberal urbanisation and deindustrialisation process will be examined. Finally, in light of all these concepts, the transformation process of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak is examined and criticized.

Keywords: Neoliberal Urbanisation, Deindustrialisation, Urban Entrepreneurialism, Speculative Development, Gentrification, İzmir Port

ÖZET

SANAYİSİZLEŞME VE NEOLİBERAL KENTLEŞME: İZMİR LİMAN ARKASI, ALSANCAK

Bu tez İzmir Alsancak liman arkası bölgesindeki eski endüstriyel alanların dönüşümünü incelemektedir. Bu çalışma alanı neoliberal yeniden yapılanma sürecinde sanayisizleşme, kentsel girişimcilik ve soylulaştırma kavramları için önemli bir örnektir. İzmir Alsancak liman arkası, sanayisizleşme süreçleri ve neoliberal politikaların yükselişi ile kentsel girişimcilik pratikleri için kaçınılmaz olarak önemli bir değer kazanmıştır. Bu çalışma alanında dönüşüm süreci parçacı ve spekülatif dönüşüm projeleri ile gerçekleşmektedir.Tek sahipli ve büyük eski endüstriyel alanlar üzerinde büyük ve lüks konut, ticaret ve turizm kullanımları yer almaktadır. Planlama disiplini ise sürece merkezi yönetimin ve yerel yönetimin önemli bir aracı olarak dahil olmaktadır. Yasasızlaştırma politikaları, yeniden düzenleme politikaları ve özelleştirme programları ile mülkiyet hakkının devredilmesi ve kentsel girişimcilik pratikleri eski sanayi alanlarının yeniden değerlendirilmesine ve soylulaştırılmasına sebep olmaktadır.

İlk olarak, kentsel mekan ve bir üretim biçimi olarak kapitalizmin ilişkisi incelenecektir. İkinci olarak, sermaye birikim süreçlerinin değişimi ve neoliberal politikaların yükselişi aktarılacaktır. Ardından, neoliberal kentleşmenin kentsel girişimcilik, spekülatif kentleşme ve soylulaştırma kavramları ile ilişkisi incelenecektir. Üçüncü olarak, Türkiye'de neoliberal kentleşme ve sanayisizleşme süreci aktarılacaktır. Son olarak, İzmir Alsancak liman arkasının dönüşüm süreci incelenecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Neoliberal Kentleşme, Sanayisizleşme, Kentsel Girişimcilik, Spekülatif Kentleşme, Soylulaştırma, İzmir Limanı

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The thesis examines the transformation process in the rear port of Alsancak in İzmir city, Turkey. The transformation of the rear port begins following the international competition in 2001 and the acquisition of the vision of the new urban centre. It has been undergoing neoliberal urbanisation consisting of deindustrialisation, urban entrepreneurialism, and gentrification in the last 20 years.

The interrelation between port and cities changes in time. According to Dündar (2014), especially with deindustrialisation, port districts acquire "the rising importance" in the world economy to serve "the new attraction centres" (Dündar et al. 2014). In this thesis, the location of the rear port of Alsancak in İzmir city is the most important factor for the field selection. İzmir has been a port city since its establishment. The rear port is the first industrial settlement area of İzmir city. The case area is surrounded by the train lines, the Meles River, and highways. So, it is not only physically but also socially limited area. With the deindustrialisation and neoliberal urbanisation process, large and single-owned old industrial parcels in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak acquire an exchange value for capital accumulation. The milestone of this process is the international design competition announced by the local government in 2001 in order to create new urban city centre for İzmir city. The scope of this study is to examine historically how neoliberal urbanisation mechanisms change the city by means of fragmentary and speculative projects based on a legal framework.

The scope of this thesis is to elaborate on this transformation especially by focusing on privatization, deregulation and reregulation dimensions giving way to speculative spatial development in line with "actually existing neoliberal" urbanisation. Brenner & Theodore (2002) emphasize that all these speculative practices are made possible by deregulation and reregulation mechanisms defined by the legal framework. In order to contextualise this transformation, firstly, the process of neoliberal urbanisation and deindustrialisation in

Turkey is examined. After that, the transformation in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak is elaborated on by considering conflicts among each actors in line with urban entrepreneurialism, and results for each speculative projects in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak.

As Harvey elaborately demonstrates, there is a critical relationship between capital accumulation and urban space. According to Harvey (1989), urban space is a space of production, consumption, exchange, and circulation of the capital. Urban space provides a space for the capital in order to maintain itself. Capital accumulation bases on the three circuits of capital: primary circuit, secondary circuit, and tertiary circuit. The primary circuit is defined by the industrial commodity production. The secondary circuit relates to the production of fixed capital and consumption. It is created by the built environment such as housing, factories, offices, shops, roads, harbours, canals, public offices, etc. The creation of a built environment serves as a physical infrastructure for production and transformation of commodities (Harvey 2018, 117). Also, as Beauregard (1993, 719) argues, the secondary circuit of capital represents a quality transformation of capital and that's why this transformation contributes to the consistent development of capitalism. The third circuit of capital includes investments in science and technology, human capital, social expenditures such as education, health or public services (Feldman 2015, 2-3; Harvey 2018).

The capitalist system tends to experience an overaccumulation crisis. Capitalism as a mode of production bases on the hegemony of the capital. There are two main modes of production: statism and capitalism. Castells (1996) briefly explaines the logic of the modes of production. Reproduction and surplus constitute the product. Reproduction can be divided into three parts: reproduction of labour, reproduction of social institutions, and reproduction of means of production. Secondly, the surplus is about the share of the product. The way of the sharing of the product divides into two types: consumption and investment. The mode of consumption is highly related to the community's structure. Investment is determined for the purposes of decision-makers. As a mode of production, statism aims to increase power; however, capitalism aims to increase profits (Castells 1996, 9).

As Karataş (2011) argues, the five fundamental features of capitalism can be listed as private property, profit, market, labour as a commodity and unlimited capital accumulation. The first source of the capital is private property. The main concern of production is to get

profit and each decision is taken in the market. Unlike other production systems, in order to be a part of this scheme, labour should gain value as a commodity in the capitalist system (Karataş, 2011). Lastly, urban space is a space in order to sustain to the unlimited capital accumulation that is a necessity to maintain the capitalist system (Harvey 1989).

The overaccumulation crisis is temporarily solved by the flow of capital circuits. In this sense, the production of the built environment is an effective way of overcoming the crisis. Speculative construction movements, such as luxury housing projects, shopping centers, new business centers, offices, entertainment centers, provide a space where production, circulation, exchange, and consumption take place (Harvey 1989; Beauregard 1993; Gotham 2006; Harvey 2018).

In the historical process, capitalism, as a mode of production, gives a different meaning to the urban space. The dynamics of capitalist urbanisation are changing according to the economic and political decisions of the period. The regime of capital accumulation defines the life of cities. Cities experience spatial changes in the regime of accumulation after shifting from Fordism to Post-Fordism. Following this, with parallel to technological developments and innovation, the industry moved to out of cities and cities started to deindustrialisation. Thus, the old industrial areas within the city have gained as valuable areas within the framework of neoliberal urban policies (Sassen 2001; Harvey 2018).

In the second part of this thesis, the relationship between the built environment and regime of capital accumulation is briefly explained in the historical process. The oil crisis in the 1970s and the Post-Fordist (flexible) regime of accumulation is clarified firstly. After that, deindustrialisation is explained in details. Thirdly, rising neoliberalism after the 1980s is analyzed. According to Şengül (2009), especially with neoliberal policies, capital has been able to take place in the built environment as it has been never before. The relation between neoliberal urbanisation and the concepts of urban entrepreneurialism, gentrification and speculative redevelopment is examined lastly.

In the third part of this thesis, the neoliberal urbanisation and deindustrialisation process in Turkey is summarized. This process at the national scale examines under three sub-periods. These are urbanisation of nation-state in between 1923-1950, urbanisation of labour force in between 1950-1980 and urbanisation of capital after 1980 (Şengül 2009). The first term takes in between establishment of Republic in 1923 and the 2nd World War. After

the 2nd World War, political and economical understanding changed. The second term includes industrialisation and urbanisation process of Turkey with welfare state policies. However, after a military coup in 1980, Turkey has been stepped in neoliberal restructuring process. The third term is about urbanisation of capital after 1980s.

In the fifth chapter, the transformation process of the rear port İzmir Alsancak is explained. The development of İzmir will be summarized considering with the development plans. Secondly, the deindustrialisation process in the rear port İzmir Alsancak is examined. Thirdly, neoliberal urbanisation consisting of privatization, deregulation and reregulation reforms after the 2000s are examined. Because these regulations give the peculiar characteristics of "actually existing neoliberal" spatial transformation in the rear port İzmir Alsancak after the 2000s. Finally, the speculative urbanisation and transformation in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak is criticized.

1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT AND AIM OF THE STUDY

The thesis aims to examine the speculative urbanisation process in the last 20 years of the rear port İzmir Alsancak, Turkey. More specifically, the main aim of this thesis is to criticize the speculative, rapid and radical transformation process in all stages with a comprehensive perspective in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. The main research question is how a specific, actual urban space produced by actually existing neoliberalism in the rear port İzmir Alsancak?

Especially, in the last 20 years, urban space has been produced economically, socially and spatially by neoliberalism. Every city in the world has differently experienced neoliberalism. The neoliberal restructuring process bases on path-dependent process, as demonstrated by Brenner and Theodore (2002). Turkey has stepped into the neoliberal restructuring process since the 1980s. Especially after the 2000s, privatization programs, deregulation and reregulation reforms have been applied in Turkey. The role of the state has been rewritten and it has been restructured in accordance with the logic of entrepreneurialism

(Harvey, 1989; Jessop, 1998). After all these legislative changes, urban entrepreneurialism and speculative redevelopment practices have been rising in Turkey's cities.

As a result of this, the city of İzmir in Turkey has also undergone a radical change. The rear port İzmir Alsancak is the first industrial settlement of İzmir. With the deindustrialisation process in Turkey and privatization programs after the 2000s, this area is also deindustrialized. Then, the rear port of İzmir Alsancak has inevitably involved in the process of speculative urbanisation. The fragmentary practices associating with urban entrepreneurialism start in 2001 with the international urban design competition for creating a new city centre for İzmir city. This competition is the milestone of this speculative redevelopment process.

Within the scope of this thesis, the transformation of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak in the last 20 years is a quite exemplary case in order to demonstrate the "actually existing neoliberalism." The master development plans prepare for obtaining the vision of the new city centre. What makes this area different is that taking place of the different mechanisms of neoliberal urbanisation in each parcels. The area has a multi-layered neoliberal urbanization process. These master development plans are divided by fragmentary projects with different actors and different practices. These actors who involve in this process and conflicts between these actors are examined in the case study. Besides, the legal administrative background of each fragmentary projects and each practice in the rear port are presented chronologically in line with this analysis. In order to obtain more competitive and attractive places, the study area has been undergoing a radical transformation by the way of incremental speculative redevelopment projects. In order to obtain more competitive and attractive places, the study area has been undergoing a radical transformation by the way of incremental speculative redevelopment process.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

This thesis is based on explanatory and exploratory research. Pluralists (mix) method techniques are used in order to reveal and explain on going neoliberal urbanisation practices.

To be completed in literature survey, internet, books in the libraries, books on the internet, articles, and newspapers on the internet were examined. Literature survey is important in terms of creating a base for the thesis study. This examination focuses on regimes of accumulation, modes of regulation, urban development under neoliberalism, urban entrepreneurialism, gentrification, speculative development.

To complete field research, the documents and reports, maps, petitions, expert reports, and verbal information are received from the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, the Konak Municipality, and The Chamber of City Planners in İzmir. Reports of the master plan and implementation plans had received by official web sites of the Directorate of Privatization, the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning, the Emlak-Konut Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT). In addition, legislative interventions (changes in the existing laws, reregulation reforms, deregulation reforms, changes in powers of institutions) were included from the internet, newspapers on the internet, the official gazette.

Besides, a field survey was conducted and visual data was collected in promotional offices and building sites of each particular project in the study area. By the way, the most up-to-date data is collected for the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. Collecting data is important in order to analyse the process in detail.

CHAPTER 2

NEOLIBERALISATION, DEINDUSTRIALISATION AND URBAN ENTREPRENEURALISM

In this section, the following issues are explained: neoliberalisation, deindustrialisation and urban entrepreneuralism; the relation between the production of urban space and changes in the regime of accumulation. Firstly, the wider context of economic and urban restructuring the post-Fordist regime of accumulation and the oil crisis in the 1970s are summarized. And then, deindustrialisation is examined. Thirdly, through neoliberalism as a mode of regulation after the 1980s, how the urban built environment has undergone a radical change is explained. Lastly, the relation between neoliberalism and the concepts of urban entrepreneurialism, gentrification and speculative urbanisation is examined.

2.1. THE POST-FORDIST REGIME OF ACCUMULATION AND THE CRISIS OF 1970

"Regulation theory tries to explain the concept of regimes of accumulation. The existence of these regimes hinges on a balance between modes of production and consumption markets. Modes of regulation include different aspects of society such as production modes, social modes, labour relations, the role of the state, redistribution of social values" (Filion 1995, 44).

After the 2nd World War, the Fordist regime of accumulation was dominant between 1945 and 1973. The Fordist regime of accumulation was characterized by mass production or assembly-line production. The Fordist mode could be explained as the monopolistic form of regulation, standardization for the manufacturing sector and the intensive regime of

accumulation, which characterized the immediate post-WWII period (Joffe 1990, 68-69). Also, the Fordist mode was the regime of accumulation in which the labour division was rigidly constructed. In this period, states implemented a Keynesian type of macroeconomic policies such as import substitution with the concept of the developmental state or the welfare state (Eraydın 1992, 15, 51).

Harvey (1989) states that the capitalist system tends to experience crisis. By the late 1960s, the Fordist mode begun to move towards the crisis and finally, the OPEC crisis happened in 1973. The causes of this crisis were mainly based on the inflexibility, being rigid, and immutable characteristics of Fordism. Fordism was not able to adapt to the changes in demand, new technologies or innovations (Eraydın 1992; Filion 1995). Besides, the Keynesian policies with the understanding of the developmental state were also become difficult to be implemented (Joffe 1990). After the war of Arabian-Israel in 1973, oil prices increased rapidly and the oil crisis affected the Fordist regime of accumulation. Fordist regime was showed signs of stress; and, this crisis was triggered by the end of Fordism (Eraydın 1992). Then, the regime of accumulation shifted from the Fordist mode to the post-Fordist mode.

The large scale and mass production of the Fordism was switched to small scale and more flexible manufacturing at the different parts of the World. The production started to select on area for itself in the third world countries which have cheaper labour and land. Technological advances and the establishment of communication and transportation networks supported the selection of production locations in different parts of the world and then a 24 hour and flexible production emerged (Castells 1989; Logan and Swanstrom 1990). The features of Fordist and post-Fordist regimes of accumulation are compared under six sub-headings (Table 1): production, labour, features in companies, urban & municipal dynamics, features in spatial and urban impacts on regime of accumulation.

To conclude, the new regime of accumulation caused to radical spatial changes. Production moved from the city centre to out of the city. Cities began to deindustrialisation. In other words, old industrial areas in inner cities gained a very different meaning in this urban restructuring process. “More differentiated and specialized consumption” emerged in the city centres. The city centres were transformed into consumption spaces, instead of manufacturing (Castells 1989; Bowe 2008, 10-11; Scott 2008).

Table 1. Features of Fordist and Post-Fordist Regime of Accumulation

(Source. Eraydın 1992 and Filion 1995 & Prepared by the author, 2019)

	Production	**Labour**	**Features in the companies**	**Urban & Municipal Dynamics**	**Features in spatial**	**Urban Impacts on Regime Of Accumulation**
Features of Fordist Regime of Accumulation	• Mass production • Similarities • Large stocking • Long production time	• Being responsible for a single job • The equal payment • Vertical labour force • Syndication • Limited liability • Gaining job security	• Integrated production • Individual use of technology • Official document-based work	• Centralized management • Modernist Planning • Municipal Reformism • Low-density development • Expensive Infrastructure	• The spatial division of labour • Independent regional labour markets • Labour-production relations • Independent of the cultural and social structure of the space • Single-story housing • Increasing the use of car • Suburbanisation	• Support mass production • Durable goods consumption
Features of Post-Fordist Regime of Accumulation	• Flexible production • Variable product types • No stocking • Shortening of production time • 24-hour production	• Being responsible for more than one job • Personal wages which depend on personal success • Horizontal labour force • Coming down syndication • Increasing liability	• Outsource - subcontracting sous • A common use of technology • Informal relations • Communication networks	• Progressive Municipal • Administratio ns • Participatory Planning • Intensification • Maintenance of Fordist urbanisation • Respect for Built-up areas	• Spatial agglomeration • Integration in space • Differentiation of labour markets by regions • Using cultural and social relations in the production process • Creativity in the production space • The efficiency of local governments	• Reducing mass production • Promoting Post-Fordist consumption

2.2. DEINDUSTRIALISATION

After economic transformation and changes in the organization of accumulation during 1970s, cities started to experience the deindustrialisation process. Tregenna (2008) defines deindustrialisation in general as "a decline in the share of manufacturing in a country's total employment" (Tregenna 2008, 436). Graham & Spence (1995) define the patterns of deindustrialisation is "the internationalization of economic activities and the opening up of nation-state economies" (Graham and Spence 1995, 886). Due to the accumulation crisis, production was removed from inner cities and relocated to outer of the cities. The shift from Fordist to the post-Fordist regime of accumulation was related to the deindustrialisation process. Rising of more flexible and small-scale production, horizontal labour force, and spatial agglomeration with cheap and skilled work on more cheap land caused changes in the spatial structure of production (Massey 1984; Graham and Spence 1995).

The reasons of deindustrialisation are examined with different points of view. These reasons can be listed as the increase in the new technological innovations, the increase in international competition, changes in patterns of world trade, input-output linkages and outsourcing, and multinational corporations (Graham and Spence 1995; Kampanellou 2014; Beg et al. 2017; Kandzija et al. 2017; Neuss 2018). However, the main reason of deindustrialisation is defined by Rowthorn and Ramaswamy (1997, 11) as "the faster growth in manufacturing".

According to Rowthorn and Ramaswamy (1997, 11), deindustrialisation has a binary structure with different aspects. Deindustrialisation is a natural consequence of the growth in advanced countries. When the share of industry in the economy decreases, the share of the service sector and others increase in the total economy (Kandzija et al. 2017). "Telecommunication, information-intensive industries, financial and business sectors, banking, health and insurance, culture and recreation" can be listed as examples of increasing sectors (Graham and Spence 1995, 887). The change in consumption mode from manufacturing to service-based goods and the increase in the new technological

developments and high-technology manufacturing sector create new job opportunities and increase productivity and competitiveness (Kampanellou 2014, 10; Beg et al. 2017, 96).

Deindustrialisation process caused changes in social and spatial structures of cities. When productivity in manufacturing was decreased, factories were begun to be closed in city centres. Manufacturing also moved to urban peripheries and rural areas (Graham and Spence, 1995, 886). There were some trigger factors such as land availability constraints in urban centres, political decisions, institutional legacies, socio-economic characteristics of labour, advances in telecommunication and transportation within the context of movement of industry (Graham and Spence 1995; Kandzija et al. 2017; Neuss 2018). In other words, the transition from mass production to flexible production also was realized in spatial structure. Instead of the old and narrow areas in the city centres, the industry moved to new technology-based areas in the outside of the city (Esser and Hirsch 1994).

In addition, deindustrialisation caused labour displacement (Warn 1988). Due to the change in the personal success criteria expected from the labour, the current labour force had to be displaced. This situation caused social and spatial changes. As migration increased, cheap labour force, non-organized labour force, unemployment, and low salary also emerged in the labour market, as well.

Changes in the land use structure started after the replacement of the industry. The renewal or regeneration plans for the urban centres, new settlements for the urban core, and urban transformation projects for poor housing areas and restoration projects for partial old industrial sites gained importance in the cities (Friedman 1981). Due to the new uses settled in the city centre, socio-spatial differences and gentrification started to be seen in the cities. That’s why, this transformation process will be criticized under the concept of speculative redevelopment, urban entrepreneurialism, and gentrification.

All in all, deindustrialisation is a fact that has a binary structure. On the one hand, deindustrialisation was an inevitable process because of the differences between productivity in the manufacturing and service sectors. Technological developments also triggered this process. The decline in the share of industry in national income caused an increase in the service sector. On the other hand, deindustrialisation process caused changes in social, spatial and cultural spheres in the post-industrial cities. Manufacturing was shifted to outer of the cities. Urban space was produced as a consumption commodity. Old industrial areas gained

exchange value in the city. Also, due to the change in the social and cultural characteristics of the present population, there were cases such as migration, labour division and gentrification in the cities. The industrial community could not find a place in the rising service society. Urban policies started to be built on to overcome this accumulation crisis after deindustrialisation (Rowthorn and Ramaswamy 1997; Ersoy 2001; Hall 2006).

2.3. RISING NEOLIBERAL POLICIES

Brenner and Theodore (2002, 349-350) suggest that cities have become important geographical areas where various neoliberal initiatives have been launched. Due to the decrease in the profitability of traditional mass production industries and the crisis of Keynesian welfare policies, the national and local states in the old industrialized world gained a new meaning as a strategic political response in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

In 1979, Margaret Thatcher was elected as the Prime Minister of Britain. Also, in 1980, Ronald Reagan was elected the President of the United States. A more conservative and right policy approach begun to dominate. As a mode of regulation, neoliberalism emerged. However, according to Brenner et al. (2010), neoliberal doctrine first had come to the agenda in the 1940s, it replaced practically by the 1970 crisis (Brenner et al. 2010). Harvey (2005, 2) define neoliberalism as “a theory of political economic practices”. The neoliberal approach provides free, competitive and unregulated markets, free trade, private property right and individual entrepreneurial freedoms with an institutional framework (Harvey, 2005).

In addition, the role of the state is redefined with the neoliberal approach in order to create free and entrepreneurial arenas. According to Harvey (2005) the new role of the state is presenting and preserving an institutional framework. The state should provide guarantee the quality of the money or to secure private property rights. Moreover, the state’s interventions must be limited (Harvey 2005). That’s why, deregulation and reregulation arrangements, privatization of public services are used in order to complete the institutional framework in pursuit of the state’s withdrawal from social positions (Harvey 2005, 3). Also,

Brenner and Theodore (2002, 351) emphasize that neoliberal restructuring process is applied "the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, the intensification of competitiveness, and the criminalization of the urban poor". All in all, neoliberalism is a political-economic understanding after 1970s.

According to Brenner and Theodore (2002), with the withdrawal of state interventions, the neoliberal institutional restructuring is required. That's why, independent regulatory authorities are reregulated on both the international and national scale such as the IMF, the World Bank, the GATT, the OECD, etc (Brenner et al. 2010). All these institutional arrangements are planned to complement each other at any scales (global, national, subnational, local).

Moreover, "actually existing neoliberalisation" process is examined under three headings: path-dependency, creative destruction and cities. Firstly, the importance of national context is emphasized through the concept of path-dependency. Neoliberalism is not a homogeneous process. It differs in national scale with regards to forms of regulation mechanism, the pattern of macroeconomic policies, international configuration, and the pattern of socio-spatial policies (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 358-362). Secondly, institutional creative destruction completes this process. This is about the destruction of existing institutional arrangements and the creation of new institutional arrangements through market-oriented ways. It should be noted that neoliberalisation has multidimensional and multi-scaled with socio-spatial destruction and restructuring processes (Brenner et al. 2010). Also, Harvey (2005, 4) emphasises that not only the establishment of institutional framework but also social transformation is entailed by this neoliberal restructuring process. Habits of social life, a new understanding of the land, and a new understanding of labour and reproductive activities are retrieved from Harvey (2005) under the head of creative destruction. Thirdly, Brenner and Theodore (2002, 367) state that actually existing neoliberalism and creation of new institutional arrangements are reflected and changed the cities at all spatial scales. Cities are transformed into more speculative investments places in order to locate in transnational competitive financial capital.

Cities have become areas having different meanings for capital through neoliberal restructuring policies. Cities are designed to serve as more competitive, more vivid areas for capital. The main goal of neoliberal urbanisation is to transform cities into market-oriented

consumption areas. Speculative regulatory markets are created and state interventions are established in a competitive way. In order to revive local economies, urban entrepreneurialism increases as a new politics for urban spaces. The tools of neoliberal urbanisation are as follows: deregulation and reregulation reforms, privatization, liberalization, local entrepreneurialism, and public-private partnerships. These policies are commented under the name of "local boosterism" or "new boosterism". Thus, cities become such places in large competitive and entrepreneurial urban areas. As a result of this, cities are faced with gentrification, socio-spatial inequality, polarization, and labour displacement, etc. (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 362-368). The concept of "urban entrepreneurialism" and "gentrification" will be defined in the next section.

Table 2. Creative Moments of Neoliberal Localization

(Source. Brenner & Theodore, 2002)

Mechanism of Neoliberal Localization	**Moment of Creation**
Recalibration of intergovernmental relations	● New tasks and responsibilities to municipalities ● Local entrepreneurialism
Privatization of the municipal public sector and collective infrastructures	● Privatization and competition of municipal services ● (Re)position cities within supranational capital flows
Restructuring urban housing markets	● Creation of new opportunities for speculative investment in central-city real estate markets
Transformations of the built environment and urban form	● Creation of new privatized spaces of elite/corporate consumption ● Construction of large-scale megaprojects ● Creation of gated communities, and other "purified" spaces of social reproduction ● The gentrification and the intensification of socio-spatial polarization ● Adoption of the principle of "highest and best use" as the basis for major land-use planning decisions
Re-representing the city	● Mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization and reinvestment within major metropolitan areas

Brenner and Theodore (2002) illustrates how cities urbanized under the mechanism of neoliberal localization (Table 2). So, understanding of land is changed in a critical way

with the neoliberal restructuring process. Cities gain an exchange value (instead of usage value) with the speculative and competitive movements of capital. The land creates a space where capital can freely roam in the city. Capital is able to reach the resources needed by the land and creates a commodity for itself by using the land. That's why the construction sector is the new driving force of the neoliberal urbanisation process (Şengül 2009).

Besides, Brenner et al. (2010, 337) summarize the dimensions of regulatory restructuring in the historical process. This process changed from "disarticulated" in the 1970s to "deepening" in the 1990s neoliberalisation. As the first stage of neoliberalism, "the disarticulated neoliberalisation" was used for the 1970s. During 1970s, these policies were based on the regulation of the market economy and management of economic crisis on place, territory, and scale-specific forms. In the 1980s, neoliberal regulation reforms were continued thickening. These regulation reforms such as privatization, financialisation, liberalization, and entrepreneurialism were internalized and diversified at international, national and local scales. However, since the 1990s, neoliberalisation has been reregulated and "institutionalized on a world scale through an array of worldwide, multilateral, multilevel, and supranational juridic-institutional reforms and rearrangements" (Brenner et al. 336-338).

All in all, with the shift in the regime of accumulation to Post-Fordist mode in 1970 and then new political understanding in the early 1980s, the world has stepped into a neoliberal mode of regulation. The cities are the area of reproduction, consumption, and accumulation in which the capital is channelled during the neoliberal restructuring process. While the crisis in the 1970s and shifting from Fordist regime of capital accumulation to the regime of flexible accumulation caused new forms of agglomeration in the urban built environment (Harvey 1989; Logan and Swanstrom 1990; Bowe 2008). With the crisis of Keynesian welfare state and changing the political-ideological approach from managerialism to entrepreneurialism led to transformation of urban policy (Harvey 1989). Redefining of the authorities' role was one of the major driving force in order to maintain the neoliberal urbanisation process. In the following section, the concepts of urban entrepreneurialism, speculative urbanisation, and gentrification that stand out after neoliberalism and how these concepts are related to the case study of this thesis will be elaborated on.

2.4. ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY AND SPECULATIVE URBANISATION

Harvey (1989) states that political-ideological approach shifted from "managerialism" in the 1960s to "entrepreneurialism" in the 1970s and 1980s. Hubbard and Hall (1989) define two main characteristics of urban entrepreneurialism. Firstly, local authorities have a privilege to participate in economic development activities directly related to production and investment. Secondly, there is "an institutional shift from urban government to urban governance" (Hubbard and Hall 1998, 4). Harvey (1989) emphasizes the shift in the relation between the political approach and the economic restructuring process after the 1970s. Deindustrialisation, privatization, market rationality and outward-oriented economic policies, deregulation and reregulation reforms with rising flexible accumulation and neoliberal policies affect the rise of urban entrepreneurialism. Thus, a relationship between capital and local government bases on achieving maximum profit from the local site (Harvey 1989, 5).

Harvey (1989) explaines the objectives of urban entrepreneurial policies. The first one is about public-private partnership. In order to foster new investments and the local economy, local authorities can act in cooperation with the private sector (Harvey 1989). The public-private partnership provides the essential institutional framework in order to create more competitive and attractive cities in the global economy (OECD 2007). The second one is about speculative redevelopment policies. The purpose of the public-private sector partnership is to be competitive, attractive, and entrepreneurial. These policies are speculative. That's why, rational and comprehensive approaches of the Keynesian period cannot be seen in this period. Thirdly, local policies gain an entrepreneurial stance. In this sense, the planning approach is turned into a "proactive" and "positive" approach (OECD 2007). Speculative, fragmentary, non-integral, rent-oriented projects are prominent. Creating a new city centre, new industrial centre, new housing and working areas, etc. have privileged the local economic growth (Harvey 1989, 7; Thörn 2013, 994). Thus, the authorities gain an entrepreneurial stance and start to produce the urban policies leading to the entrepreneurial city (Harvey 1989).

Besides, Zheng (2011, 3563) defines the entrepreneurial cities as “the commodities for consumption”. Cities are “more creative, competitive, attractive and safe places to live, visit and consume in” (Harvey 1989, 9). The aims of urban governance are to maximize the competitiveness, attractiveness for capital accumulation and to develop the local economy (Wood 1998). The entrepreneurial city can maintain its economic competitiveness (Jessop and Sum 2000). In order to sustain the accumulation of capital, economic growth can be achieved with the contribution of local authorities.

According to Lefebvre (2003, 159), the second circuit of capital has been required to rising of speculative real estate constructions. These speculative projects aim to compete at the inter-urban level. It aims to find the best use and to achieve the best exchange value. In order to ensure the continuity of capital accumulation, the real estate property is evaluated with the change value (Shin 2015). Harvey (1989, 11) states that “the inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism has opened up the urban spaces to all kinds of new pattern development”. Cultural and entertainment centers, trading centers, large-scale luxury housing projects, more attractive social infrastructures (education, health, parks), more attractive and gentrified consumption areas such as shopping malls, tourism facilities, new central business districts, and such urban regeneration projects for old poor quality housing or industrial areas can be listed as examples for these speculative investments.

As the port cities, there is a strong relationship between port cities and the world economy throughout history (Lorens 2014). The most important feature of the relationship between human and urbanisation is water. Throughout history, the existence of water is a natural element determining the dynamics of urbanisation. However, according to Wang (2003), the traditional relation between city and port declined because of technological developments and structural economic changes (changes in regime of accumulation). The city formed its own dynamics and decreased its loyalty to the port. The derelict industrial areas in the rear port emerged especially in the post-industrial world cities due to deindustrialisation process. “To open up the waterfront became an international phenomenon of urban development” in order to create more competitive economy in the post-industrial era (Wang 2013). Therefore, port cities inevitably have a different meaning in the world economy with neoliberalism and urban entrepreneurialism (Lorens 2014, 3-4).

Some important examples of the post-industrial world port cities are presented below (Table 3). The first one is the city of Genoa in Italy. Old industrial sites are located in the western part of the Genoa city. Genoa is bordered by the sea and the mountains (Galdini 2005). The second one is the region of Docklands, England. Docklands is a large industrial port with many warehouses, workshops and shipyards. After the 2nd World War and technological developments in port activites, the Docklands region lost its function witn the city (Nart 2015). The third one is Baltimore, the North America. Baltimore is an earlier urban regeneration project example. The project began in 1963 (Wang 2013). The fourth one is Poblenou district in Barcelona, Spain. Poblenou is one of the industrial district of Spain. Poblenou also lost its function due to the deindustrialization process (Nart 2015).

Zengin (2014, 290) states that "waterfront areas have begun to evolve from being spaces of production to consumption under the concept of urban entrepreneurialism" especially since 1980s. Genoa, London, Baltimore and Barcelona examples provide that the transformation process are to be followed by deindustrialisation and then neoliberal policies and urban entrepreneurial approach. As seen in other world cities, these four examples have similar objectives. These objectives can be listed as:

- Revitalizing the local economy and creating new employment opportunities,
- Getting financial profit from the old industrial sites that gain an exchange value in the city centre,
- Making old industrial areas more attractive centers,
- Eliminating economic and social problems caused by deindustriasalition,
- Eliminating the isolated relationship between urban centers and its surroundings,
- Creating an international commercial and financial centre,
- Changing the old silhouette of the cities.

Lorens (2014) explains the way of this transformation process. According to Lorens (2014, 49-50), urban regeneration projects of the rear port areas occur with "a series of single investment programmes" in order to "fill the entire structure of the post-industrial port cities. Particular transformation projects are implemented in many world cities. The aim of the thesis is to explain that İzmir is one of the world cities. The case of the İzmir Alsancak port will be criticized in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

Table 3. The examples of urban regeneration projects in the post-indusrial port cities

(Source. Wang 2003; Stanek 2014; Lorens 2014; Kaplan 2014; Nart 2015)

	Problems	**Methods**	**Proposals**	**Comments**
Genoa, Italy (Source. Kaplan, 2014)	• Urban density • Traffic congestion • Isolation of the historical center from its surroindgs • Poor housing and poor envionmental conditions • Unemployment • Insufficient public transportation and social-cultural facilities	• Master plan in 1980 (Piano Regolatore) • Coming into practice in 1984	• A cruising centre with shopping and sport facilities • Developing service sector with hotels, shopping, housing, cultre and exhibition centre, parking, museum, library • International Exibition Centre (EXPO'92) with such cultural, commercial and tourism activites	• A financial decline of EXPO'92 project (-) • Social segregation and gentrification (-) • Restoration of the historical buildings (+) • Traffic calming with infrastructure works (+)
Docklands, London (Source. Nart, 2015 & Lorens, 2014)	• Moving major port activites out of the city • Abandoned warehouses and stogares • Closing the commercial units • Unemployment • Insufficient social relations • Rise in insecurity	• London Docklands Development Corporation in 1981 • Gathering in one hand of public authority • Improvement in local ecomony with in free market	• Surrey Docks: residential area with commercial, industry, recreation and marina uses • Isle of Dogs: a financial centre with high rise offices • Wapping and Limehouse: recreation and entertainment activities • Royal Docks: new infrasture investments and new residential, commercial, cultural facilities	• Focusing on luxury investments (-) • Being insufficient to answer the needs of local people (-) • Growth in population and employment (+) • Restoration of the historical buildings (+)

Continued on the next page

Table 3. Continued.

	Problems	Methods	Proposals	Comments
Baltimore, North America (Source. Lorens, 2014 & Wang, 2003)	• Abandoned docklands and warehouses • Pollution and environmental conditions • Demand for a new housing and commercial areas	• "Series of developer ventures" under the framework of a master plan	• Creating a new urban centre • Changing the silhouette of the city • Improve the local and regional economy • Three stages: Charles Centre, Inner Harbour, Market Centre	• A successful public-private partnership (+) • Less public resource usage (+) • Early urban regeneration project (+) • Social segregation and gentrification (-) • Increasing living cost and labour displacement (-)
Poblenou, Barcelona, Spain (Source. Nart, 2015, Lorens, 2014 & Stanek, 2014)	• Abandoned industrial sites, warehouses and stogares	• Public sector – Port Authority in cooperation with the city and private partners.	• Modelling 22@Barcelona (a knowledge district) (1992) • Creating a technopark • Innovation, training, technology-transfer centres • New infrastructure and green areas • New housing area	• Regeneration of old industrial sites with public uses (+) • Restoration of the historical buildings (+) • Insufficient public participation (-)

Figure 1. The examples of harbour cities; (a) Genoa, Italy; (b) Docklands, London; (c) Baltimore, the North America; (d) Poblenou, Barcelona, Spain (Source. Cruisemapper 2019; Skyscrappernews 2019; Flickr 2019 & Barcelonando 2019).

To conclude, these investment programmes are formed around a single urban strategy to reproduce the urban built environment. The entrepreneurial urban governance provides to foster capital accumulation and to circulate the capital by these speculative fragmentary regeneration projects.

2.5. GENTRIFICATION AND RENT GAP

Smith (1987, 462) explaines “gentrification” with the concept of “rent gap”. Brenner and Theodore (2002) mention about the principle of “highest and best use” as the basis for major land-use planning decisions as a component of the neoliberal urbanisation (Brenner and Theodore 2002). “Rent gap” appears if there is a gap between the actual land use value and potential land use value (Smith 1987) In fact, this situation is mainly related to the change in the understanding of the land. The land value is not commented over the value of the use,

but bases on the exchange value (Şengül 2009). This potential rent value is about the highest and the best use of the land. This value can be achieved by the rehabilitation of existing uses or by the complete transformation of existing structures (Smith 1987, 462).

Therefore, "gentrification" is defined by Smith (1987) as a way to close the gap by using urban development projects. Cities experienced this gentrification process with the transformation from working class to middle and upper-middle new class, the transformation from old inner cities to new competitive city centres, the transformation from old industrial or poor housing sites to new quality residential sites, recreational and cultural areas (Smith 1987). These projects of the neoliberal urban policies aim to eliminate the rent gap. Smith (2002, 441-443) states that there are five dimensions of gentrification:

- Changing in the role of the state: the withdrawal of the state from production and emerging new public-private partnerships,
- Penetration by global finance: the speculative urban development projects provide an arena for global capital into the cities,
- Changing levels of political oppositions: emerging urban conflicts, conflicts between politicians, decision-makers, real-estate agencies, etc. and anti-gentrification movements,
- Geographical dispersal: gentrification causes to increase in housing and land prices, changing in real estate markets, increasing in the exchange value of the land
- The sectoral generalization of gentrification; recreating a city with new housing areas, new large-scale mega projects, new industrial areas, new recreational and cultural areas (Smith 2002, 441-443).

Uzun (2002) also emphasizes that gentrification effects social, spatial and economic structures. Firstly, the changes in the social structure are mentioned. The immigration of middle and upper-middle new class, the inability of the current society to adopt the new identity, and finally the intensification of socio-spatial polarization are some examples of social changes of gentrification (Smith 1987). Technological developments and improvements in the service sector caused changes in the definite of the necessary labour force. In this case, changes in the economic structure led to social polarization. New social classes, which have a more professional labour force and upper-middle income, emerged in the cities. The expectations of this new social class from the city are different. Thus, gated

communities have emerged in cities (Brenner and Theodore 2002). The closeness of living spaces, cultural activity areas and working areas gained importance (Uzun 2002, 363). So, the demands of society have changed. With the moving of the industry, urban centres have changed in spatial and social structures.

Following that, the urban built environment is changed by speculative investment in central-city real estate markets, and revitalization and reinvestment within major metropolitan areas (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Urban policies changed as a result of the decision-making actors, redefinition of state institutions and entrepreneurial activities of local agents (Bayırbağ 2019).

Thirdly, changes in the land market and housing market also change economic structure (Smith 1987). In order to understand these market changes, it should be seen that there is a difference between the income level of "gentrifiers" and "the displaced". Increasing in population, changes in income level, changes in house prices or rental prices are the measures of gentrification (Smith 1987, 463). Furthermore, Ferm (2016) describes the concept of "commercial gentrification". Commercial gentrification is a process of economic progress. After deindustrialisation, Ferm (2016, 403-404) defines the progress that commercial gentrification is the redevelopment of old industrial areas by investors or entrepreneurs and redefining more profitable and competitive uses to these areas.

All in all, gentrification is "an urban strategy". The strategy aims that creating new production, consumption and accumulation areas in the capitalist cities. The entrepreneurial urban governance is operated by such speculative redevelopment projects in order to maintain economic competitiveness among other cities (Smith 1987; Smith 2002; Wood 1998; Jessop and Sum 2000; Zheng 2011).

The transformation of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak provides a case in order to realize how reorganized state-capital relations, how came forward İzmir city in the international competitive arena, how gained an entrepreneurial stance with different flagship projects, how the urban transformation process gained speed with the privatization programs in the neoliberal urbanisation period. Before examining İzmir Alsancak case, neoliberalisation and deindustrialisation process of Turkey will be elaborated on the third part of this thesis.

CHAPTER 3

NEOLIBERALISATION AND DEINDUSTRIALISATION IN TURKEY

"The world economy has shaped the life of cities" (Sassen 2001, 1). In the previous chapter, economic, social and spatial changes in capitalist urbanisation are examined. Following that, Turkey's urbanisation process is going to be examined in its historical process. Şengül (2009) emphasises that the formation process of the urban built environment cannot be handled independently from the social structure. Massey (1984) aims to explain the impact of the industrialisation process and according to Massey (1984), every industrial development period creates its own spatial structure as a layer. This new spatial structure also contributes to the next period as it is shaped by the layer of the previous industrialization period (Şengül 2009, 98-101). Şengül (2009) uses Massey (1984)'s study as a reference about urbanisation processes. What is questioned at this point is the analysis of the dynamics that determine each period of urbanisation. To this end, it has an important role in determining the spatial and societal relations at the urban level. It can initiate a new period of urbanisation that can lead to radical changes in the spatial organization of the country (Massey 1984; Harvey 1985; Şengül, 2009, 98-101).

In this section, the urbanisation processes of Turkey are analyzed under the three sub-urbanisation periods defined by Şengül (2009). However, the Ottoman period is summarized here in order to provide a better understanding of the urbanisation processes transferred to the Republican period.

From the second half of the 17th century, mercantilism began to spread throughout the world through geographical discoveries. Especially the harbour cities begun to colonization process. İstanbul and İzmir cities were the important port cities of the Ottoman Empire. When the industrial revolution and the period of industrial capitalism started, these port cities gained importance within the capitalist economic system (Sönmez 2001, 105).

The industrialisation process of these port cities, where the trade activities were carried out, caused changes in their spatial and social structures. Railway and road networks were built for transferring raw materials from Anatolia to the ports. Modern business centres were established in the port circles, and the city centres were divided into modern and traditional urban centres. Tramway, ferry, and suburban lines were established in the cities. In the port cities, the population began to grow rapidly and new social classes were formed. The process of joining the world economic system led to differences between cities as well as economic, social and spatial developments especially in the port cities (Sönmez 2001, 106-108).

The Ottoman Empire spreaded wide geography due to its dissemination policy. Because of long distance, the relationship between the centre and the local was restricted by considering the technological level of the period in terms of the institutional, administrative and technical appointments (Şengül 2009, 411). The central government had limited opportunities to control local units. The Ottoman cities were described as "semi-autonomous" (Faroqhi 1993; Şengül 2009). Secondly, as the port cities, İstanbul and İzmir had a qualitative and quantitative superiority compared to other cities of the period. Third, the Ottoman cities had an organic structure and the ethnic origins and religious-sect relations in the spatial organization appear to be a very important factor (Şengül 2009, 106-110).

In the early 20th century, in the economic structure, the Ottoman Empire was far from being self-sufficient. The economic privileges such as capitulations provided to countries and the wars caused by the political tensions consumed internal resources (Özçelik and Tuncer 2007). Foreign companies owned more than %90 of infrastructure investments such as railways and ports, and enterprises (Kazgan 1999). The economic structure of the Ottoman Empire was defined as semi-colonial in the literature (Cangören 2011, 63). In summary, the Ottoman Empire did not have an economic independence and did not have a strong managerial relationship between the central administration and local governments in the spatial structure. In this section, the urbanisation processes of the republican period summarized under three headings by evaluating the dynamics in international and national scales (Şengül 2009):

- 1st Term: Nation-State urbanisation: 1923-1950
- 2nd Term: Urbanisation of labour force: 1950-1980

- 3rd Term: Urbanisation of capital: After 1980

3.1. NATION-STATE URBANISATION: 1923-1950

After the Declaration of the Republic, economic, social, and spatial structures must be restructured (Sönmez 2001, 108). After the indepence war, the population decreased and the remaining population was rather poor and uneducated. Foreign companies left the country. In addition, huge debts were inherited from the Ottoman Empire. To configure the modern state, it was first necessary to establish an independent economy (Özçelik and Tuncer 2007).

Before the announcement of the Republic, the İzmir Economies Congress (1992) was convened. In this Congress, targets of, and strategies about, the economic and industrial policies of almost the next 10 years were determined. The economic policy revealed in this Congress had a liberal perspective on the development of the industry, the creation of the domestic capital structure and the emphasis on the private sector. It is expressed that the state had developed infrastructure and protection system aimed at stimulating private entrepreneurship at this point. The decisions taken in 1923-1929 can be stated as follows: development of the national industry, establishment of national banks, nationalization of transportation networks, the provision of cheap loans for industrial enterprises, regulation in the tax system, the mechanization in agriculture, the priority given to the construction of the railway (Özçelik and Tuncer 2007; Yücebaş 2014).

Another important development of this period in the development of industrial activities was The Law of Industry-I. The law was comprehensive with many incentives and exemptions, such as allocation of state plots to the domestic industrial facilities to be established, as well as exemption from customs duties in the provision of necessary materials. However, some internal factors affected negatively this economic restructuring process. These internal factors were technology and institutional infrastructure problems, lack of trained manpower and, most importantly, the inability in accumulatition of capital. Due to neither internal factors nor the Great Depression that emerged in 1929, the expected

economic development could not be achieved (Özaslan 2006; Kepenek and Yentürk 2005; Başol 2001). However, it should be noted that this law had a systematic approach to the creation of modern industry in this period (Özçelik and Tuncer 2007). Following that, the liberal economic structure had transformed into an introvert and protectionist structure after the Great Depression in 1929.

Also, the Declaration of the Republic caused changes in the urban built environment. Ankara Province was built as the national capital town. The transport system with railway networks all over the country were strengthened and the factories begun to be established in the Anatolian cities where they can be incorporated into this transportation network (Sönmez 2001). In this period, Anatolian cities gained different targets. Firstly, these cities collected products from rural areas and transported them to port cities such as İstanbul, İzmir, Mersin, and Samsun. Secondly, these cities also dealt out rural areas. Besides, the Anatolian cities served for public and private services to the rural settlements (Cangören 2011).

As mentioned above, the state had to intervene into the economic structure. Altıparmak (2002) explaines three reasons for this transition in Turkey. Firstly, private sector-based industrialization (the period of 1923-1929) could not achieve the expected success and obtain the expected capital accumulation. Secondly, the year 1929 was an important breaking point for the world's economic history. The Great Depression in 1929 and then such internal factors (the rapid value loss of Turkish money, the negative developments in the economic field such as demand and price drops) had emerged. Thirdly, compared to the economic collapse of the capitalist Western countries, there was no such collapse in countries, such as Russia, which based on central and planned governance. For these reasons, the confidence in the liberal system was shaken. Thus, Turkey was experienced changes in the economic structure (Altıparmak 2002).

Bernard Lewis defines “statism” as follows: “in a country where private entrepreneurship and private capital are too weak to do anything useful, the state as an administrator, is a pioneer in industrial activity for the basic purpose of national development and national defence” (Eroğlu 2007, 69). So, the state gained an investor, operator and supervisory role with statism after 1929.

There are two important models in industrialization. The first one is “the import substitution industrialization model” based on the production of imported goods domestically

in order to meet the domestic demand. The second one is “the import-based industrialization strategy” (Koç et al. 2018).

In the period (1930-1950), import substitution industrialization model was adopted as the economic policy. In accordance with this purpose, firstly 1st Five Year Industrial Plan in 1934, and following that, the second one in 1938 were prepared. In order to play a more active role in the economy, based on the principle of statism in 1930-1950, the government aimed to prepare the public's industrial plans and to establish new institutions within the framework of these plans (Özaslan 2006). However, the second plan in 1938, which aimed the progress in the import substitution industrialization, was wider than the first plan, could not be implemented due to the World War II (Eşiyok 2018).

In this period, the foundation of state economic enterprises (SEEs) was laid. Accordingly, Sümerbank in 1933 and Etibank in 1935, as two important SEEs were established. The aim of these institutions was to establish the fundamental industrial, mining and energy enterprises and to implement modern techniques in these enterprises, to create the necessary workforce (Özaslan, 2006). In addition, industrial investments were supported by railway transport networks and then, new investments were gained momentum in Anatolian cities. These factories were established in İzmir, Aydın, Adana, Malatya, Kayseri, Bursa, Kocaeli, Karabük, Kırıkkale, Zonguldak, Hatay, Samsun, Sivas, Tekirdağ, and Diyarbakır (Doğan 2013).

To summarize, Turkey was able to exclude itself from the effects of the 1929 crisis. As a young coutry, also Turkey took important steps in industrialisation (Eroğlu 2007, 70). When the cities of this period are examined, it is seen that the establishment of the SEEs and the expansion of the railways were the prominent changes. However, Sönmez (2001) criticizes that the development in economic, social and spatial dimensions with a statism policy was aimed throughout the country, but intensifications were continued in large major cities. Urban planning actions began to be addressed in a modernist framework. Moreover, the city centres had a dual structure, including management and traditional centres (Sönmez 2001).

3.2. URBANISATION OF LABOR FORCE: 1950-1980

After the 2nd World War, a new urbanisation process begun. The Fordist mode of accumulation emerged. Also, the Keynesian type of macroeconomic policies such as import substitution with the developmental state or the welfare state were implemented in this era (Eraydın 1992, 51). Following these international changes, a new political order began, including a transition from a single-party period to a multi-party era in Turkey. This administrative change also changed the country's economic policies.

Liberal economic policies applied in 1950-1954. To improve the private sector, the state invested in some sectors such as irrigation, energy, transportation, harbour, etc. Secondly, the new government, which left the understanding of the inward-oriented economy, was promulgated “the incentive law of foreign capital numbered 6224” in 1954. Third, more than 80% of the population of this period lived in the rural areas. In this context, agricultural and agro-industries gained priority. With the Marshall Aids, the agricultural sector was aimed to be modernized (Şener 2005). Modernization policies in agriculture caused unexpectedly significant changes in urban and rural areas. Unemployed rural population surplus emerged, a phenomenon of migration from the countryside to the city began to accumulate an intensive labour force. Migration from rural to urban started. The existing resources of local governments and cities failed to meet the needs of the city's new poor. On the one hand, the squatters emerged in the cities. On the other hand, there was the middle class in the existing built environment. In the urban space, the dual structure began to clash (Sönmez 2001; Şengül 2009).

After the year 1954, the economic policies were changed. Due to adverse weather conditions and its impact on the agricultural sector, other sectors connected to agricultural raw materials were negatively influenced. With the reduction of agricultural industrial products, new economic interventions were promulgated by the state (Şener, 2005). Boratav (2006) states that this period had a non-programmed and stagnant course in economic development.

By the 1960s, the state started to implement planned and introspective development strategies (Özaslan 2006). The period of 1960-1980 was defined as "planned period". The

Constitution in 1961 was followed by change in governance. The concept of the welfare state was included in the Constitution of 1961. Rational and comprehensive planning approach common features of these development plans prepared in this period are that the economy aimed to grow at a certain rate every year. Regional planning, regional development and improving regional inequalities gained priority (Sönmez 2001; Cangören 2011). These are long-term development plans of 20-years:

- I.Five year development plan (1963-1967)
- II.Five year development plan (1968-1972)
- III.Five year development plan (1973-1978)
- IV.Five year development plan (1979-1983)

Köse and Öncü (2000) describe the geography of Turkey as having a dual structure during that period. The industrial sector in the traditional industrial cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, Eskişehir, Adana, Kayseri, Kocaeli with a rapid industrialisation and urbanisation experience were improved. Also, the service sector was improved considerably in these cities. The other cities with more agricultural and craft type products were maintained in the planned period. Along with the imported substitution industry policies, the state's entrepreneurial role brought about a rapid industrialisation process (Yücebaş 2014).

Following the oil crisis in 1973, Turkey stepped a fundamental change in administrative structure. It was experienced with the Military Coup in September 1980. Thus a neoliberal restructuring process in economic, social and spatial structures began in Turkey (Boratav 2000; Köse and Öncü 2000).

3.3. URBANISATION OF CAPITAL: AFTER 1980

Since the second half of the 1970s, the new right political thought has been taking over the world. With Margaret Thatcher in Britain and the Ronald Reagan in the United States began a new era in the World (Yılmaz 2005) in 1980s. Turkey is one of the countries that have rapidly experienced this new neoliberal scheme (Şengül 2009).

Turkey stepped into the neoliberal policies with the decisions of January 24, 1980. The oil crisis in 1973 caused increase in production costs. Also, the increase in production costs caused the foreign exchange gap, thus the industrial production was almost stopped. Following this economic crisis, social and political issues of this era also emerged in Turkey (Özaslan 2006, 270). In 1980, Turkey experienced a radical political transformation with the Military Coup. With decisions on 24th January 1980, Turkey experienced the critical economic transformation. Thus, a new era inevitably began in the process of urbanisation (Şengül 2009).

Firstly, it is mentioned how Turkey was integrated to the neoliberal restructuring process. Then, how to redefine the role of the state is summarized. Finally, the relationship between the capital and the city, which experienced a radical change with neoliberal policies, is examined.

Turkey applied to the IMF to improve the economy and then adopted the stabilization program on 24 January 1980. Turkey abandoned the introspective development strategy based on import substitution with this stabilisation program. The export-based, outward-oriented development strategy was taken on. The main features of the transition to the free market economy system are listed below:

- Incentives for export was made: For example; infrastructure investments such as transport, communication, tax, devaluation, etc. are supported by legal and administrative decisions,
- Import was liberalized and foreign capital entry was encouraged,
- Agricultural production was left to free market conditions,
- The public sector retreated from industrial investments and the size and number of public sectors in the economy were limited,
- Regression of the state in production was supported by privatization programs (Özaslan 2006; Sönmez 2001; Yücebaş 2014).

Eşiyok (2018, 73-74) emphasizes that 24 January decisions increased the dependence of industry on imports. Because of the rollback of the state in production, Turkey entered into an deindustrialisation. Tregenna (2008, 436) defines deindustrialisation as “a decline in the share of manufacturing in a country’s total employment”. The oil crisis in 1973 and then subsequently the major technological improvements caused significant adverse effects in the

advanced countries. This process was considered to be natural for developed countries, but the situation was different in developing countries, including Turkey. The changes in the 1970s and the major economic crisis caused deindustrialisation also in Turkey. Since, Turkey had not yet completed its industrialisation process, it experienced a "premature-deindustrialisation" (Eşiyok 2018, 89).

Table 4. Sectoral Distribution of Gross National Product from 1923 to 2018

(Source. Kuştepeli and Halaç 2004, 154; Koç et.al. 2018, 9)

Sectoral Distribution Of Gross National Product			
Years	**Agriculture**	**Industry**	**Service**
1923	42.7	10.4	46.9
1938	44.4	14.1	41.5
1950	45.7	16.0	38.3
1960	37.5	15.7	46.8
1972	24.6	22.0	53.3
1983	21.1	25.7	53.3
1990	17.5	25.5	47.5
2000	13.4	28.4	58.2
2010	9.4	21.8	68.8
2015	8.5	21.5	70.0

In the planned period (1960-1983), the share of the industry sector in gross domestic product increased (Table 3). Until 1960, two dominant sectors were agriculture and industry. After 1960, the dominant sectors were industry and service sectors. While the share of the service sector in 1990 was 47.5%, it increased to 70% in 2015 (Koç et.al. 2018). In this sense, there are some criticisms in the literature. It is emphasized that in such economic restructuring processes, economic restructuring steps should be taken by considering such criteria as sectors, technology level, and the dualism of liberalisation-statism or localisation-globalisation. But the transformation in Turkey was imprudent. This transformation caused the external dependence of the industry in the long term. Particularly after 2000, Turkey was shifted to the finance sector, tourism, construction sectors, etc. (Eşiyok 2018; Meçik and Aytun 2018, 61-64).

Moreover, Sönmez (1996, 124) defines how Turkey involved in the globalization process: “the decline in agriculture, the decline in industry, concentrating on the production of consumer goods, directing investments out of the industry, concentrating in rent, increasing in speculative activities”.

Özaslan (2006) notes two main features of the neoliberal economic restructuring process. First, the export-oriented industrialisation was accepted instead of the imported substitution approach. Secondly, the state's role in the economy was changed. As mentioned above, with the transition to the free market economy, the role of the state was redefined. By the way, privatization programs should be mentioned in the process of neoliberal restructuring as regulatory tool (Özaslan 2006, 271). The 5th April 1994 the Stability Decisions, then the economic crisis in the 2000s and the details of privatization programs in Turkey will be examined in section 5.

As Kuyucu (2017, 46) states, “Capitalist states turned to entrepreneurialism that consists of deindustrialisation, profit-driven urban regeneration, privatization and gentrification in order to pull the economy out of systemic crisis”. Kuyucu (2017) emphasizes that economic crises are one of the most important triggers in determining economic policies. Since 1994, Turkey experienced four main economic crises in 1994, 1997, 2001, and 2008 (Kuyucu 2017). Turkey’s neoliberal restructuring process was examined in three stages (Temizel 2007). 24 January Decisions in 1980 was the first step in the neoliberal process. Following the economic crisis in 1994, April 5 Decision of Stability was also taken in Turkey. Thus, the second phase of neoliberal restructuring process began. After 1994, the neoliberal process was internalized in Turkey. Privatization programs gained speed. After the 2001 Economic Crisis, Turkey experienced the third phase of the neoliberal restructuring process. Thus, the role of the state was redefined as a regulatory state (Temizel 2007). Kuyucu (2017) emphasizes the different effects of the 2001 crisis and the 2008 crisis. In the 2001 crisis, the policies were attempted to decentralization. However, after the 2008 Economic Crisis, an “unprecedented level of centralization” started. As Kuyucu (2017, 48) states, economic crises are very effective reasons in the economic structuring process.

Thus, changing economic policies caused spatial and social changes in capitalist cities. Before 1980, the state provided its resources directly to production, so priority was given to industrialisation with limited capital accumulation. Therefore, the urban

environment was out of interest of capital. However “the balance between the circuit of capital accumulation was redefined and urban investments were became the resource for the capital” (Şengül 2009, 138-140). Thus, the urbanisation of capital began. Capital was taken to the city with large-scale projects, infrastructure investments (bridges, airports, transportation systems) and mass housing (Şengül 2009).

In the scope of this thesis, the point that should be emphasized is how the city centres are affected in the neoliberal urbanisation process. The capital is encircled the city more than ever before compared to the previous periods. Thus, the city gains the speculative exchange value. During the deindustrialisation process, the industry moved from the city centre to out of the city, thus the old industrial areas gained the quite exchange value. Privatization programs are the prominent tools for the use of this change value.

To sum up, the urbanisation process of Turkey is examined under three sections. Urbanisation is related to the dynamics at international, national and local levels. A comprehensive framework should be drawn with the prevailing economic policies of each period, the prevailing political policies or ideologies and the regulatory reforms of each period, and finally the local characteristics in question.

CHAPTER 4

DEINDUSTRIALISATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF OLD INDUSTRIAL AREAS IN THE REAR PORT OF İZMİR ALSANCAK

Since the city of İzmir had been settled, it has served as a port city for many civilizations. Besides the historical importance of the İzmir port, the area where is the rear port of İzmir Alsancak can be defined as the first industrial area of the city. The rear port of İzmir Alsancak is located in the centre of the city. In the previous chapter, the process of Turkey's neoliberal urbanisation and deindustrialisation is evaluated in detail. İzmir's neoliberal urbanisation and deindustrialisation process will be examined in this chapter. Then, the transformation of the industrial areas in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak with neoliberal urbanisation and deindustrialisation will be evaluated in details.

First of all, the importance of the location of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak is explained. The area is limited with the railway lines and highways where the public transportation activities are carried out. The study area is in a triangular area between the train lines from the Alsancak Station to Hilal Station; and then from the Hilal station to Halkapınar station. Thus, the site is surrounded by the train lines, Meles River, and highways. The most important point is to be considered that the economic, social and spatial relations of this area are broken with its surrounding due to being surrounded by train lines (IZBAN) and highways. Consequently, because of its location in the city, it gains an exceptionally increased value and potential for urban entrepreneurial practices.

The traditional centre of the city is considered as Konak district. However, after 2000, Alsancak-Salhane-Turan Region is described as the new city centre with neoliberal urban policies. This region is located in between Alsancak and Bayraklı districts; so the İzmir Alsancak port and its rear are located in between these two city centres. The İzmir Alsancak Port keeps its function as a cargo and cruise port. After the process of deindustrialisation,

when the industrial activities left the city centre, the rear port was remained disused. The study area, which is limited by train lines and highways, includes old industrial areas with large areas, registered buildings, a football stadium, and small-scale manufacturing, service sector and educational facilities. Also, there is a poor residential area. The region has inevitably been involved in a speculative transformation process under the vision of "new city centre" since 2001.

The area is a critical example regarding that it has been undergoing neoliberal urbanisation consisting of deindustrialisation, urban entrepreneurialism, and gentrification. Firstly, background of urbanisation and industrialisation process in İzmir city is summarized. Secondly, the deindustrialisation process in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak is explained. The third section is about the transformation of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak after the 2000s. The privatization and deregulation – reregulation, and speculative redevelopment process are examined in a critical way. Lastly, each speculative and fragmentary transformation projects are examined in detail.

4.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

İzmir, which has a natural harbour, is one of the most important harbour cities in the Mediterranean Region thanks to its port throughout its history. The history of İzmir was dated back to B.C.850. The Bayraklı Mound is known as the ancient Smyrna. It is the first known settlement in the city. Later on, the city moved to the area known as Kadifekale. The city had a sheltered inner harbour in ancient times. The city of İzmir, which served as a harbour and trade city for many civilizations, was included in the Ottoman Empire, after the 13th century (Çırak 2015).

The İzmir city was the final arrival port of the long merchant caravans that was coming from Asia, providing an opportunity for the trade between the East and West, Asia and Europe to the merchants through the Mediterranean region. The Ottoman Empire introduced political and economic privileges under the name of capitulations to the European countries that were to include the city into mercantilist capitalism. For this reason, İzmir city

became an important trade and craft centre especially in 17th century (Sönmez 2001).

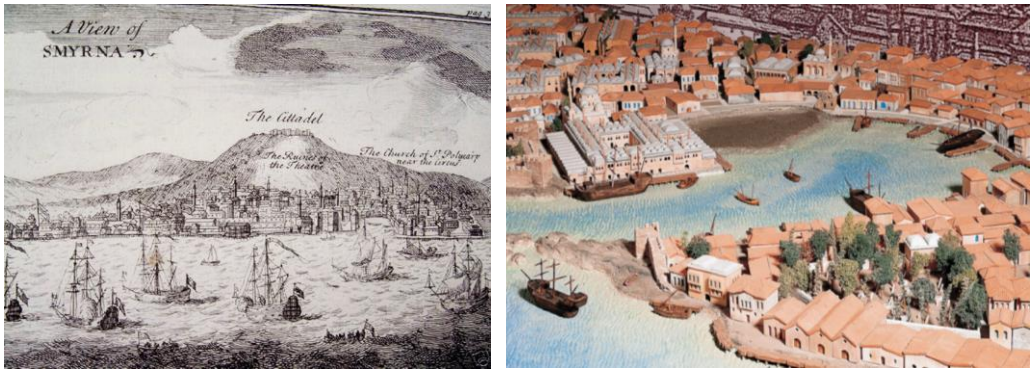

Figure 2. Gravure (Tournefort in 1718) (at the left side) and another gravure (Source. Arkitera 2019 & İzmir Kruvaziyer Limanı İmar Planı Değişikliği Raporu 2016)

The changes in the economic structure with the industrialisation influenced urbanisation directly. A similar process was observed in the city of İzmir. With industrialisation, İzmir city experienced a spatial change. The rear port of İzmir Alsancak was called as "Punta" in this period (Çıkış 2015).

Then, the growth of the city was towards the Punta Region (Çırak 2015). In 1856, the Alsancak station was built to facilitate the flow of goods. In 1856, the construction of İzmir-Aydın Railway that was the first railway of the country had started. The railway was completed in 1866. Besides, İzmir-Manisa railway was completed and Basmane station was built in 1863. Tramline between Alsancak and Halkapınar was laid (Dündar 2011). In order to support trade activities, postal institutions, banks, insurance companies, and hostells were added to the city. At the end of the 19th century, the port of İzmir city became the largest export port of the Ottoman Empire and the second largest import port after İstanbul (Çırak 2015). That's why, the city of İzmir was well-developed in the economic, social and cultural structure with its ethnic richness (Sönmez 2001).

The first plan of İzmir city was prepared by Thomas Graves in 1836 (Figure 3). This plan shows that the urban settlement areas were in Konak District and its surrounding. Urban density was decreasing towards from Konak District to Punta Region (Çırak 2015). The connection between the railway and the port was started in 1856 with the Alsancak station; and then, industrial activities were directed towards Punta region, which had a low density of urbanisation. Storari's plan (Figure 3) also foresaw that expansition of the city was going

to be towards to Punta. In Storari's plan, the existing settlements are shown pink colour and the new settlements proposed to the Punta region are shown in yellow colour (Çırak 2015).

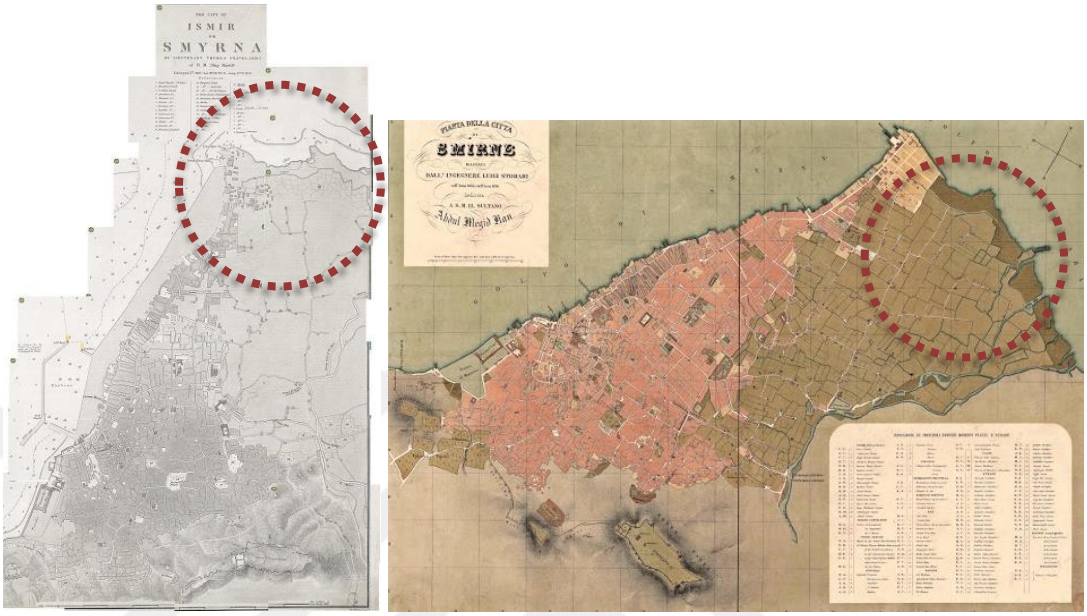

Figure 3. The plan of Thomas Graves in 1836 (at the left side) and the plan of Luigi Storari in 1854-1856 (at the right side) (Source. Apikam 2019)

Until this section, historical development background of İzmir city is summarized. The urbanisation process of the city of İzmir from 1923 to 1980 will be explained in the next section. After that, the industrialization of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak will be examined.

4.1.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SPATIAL PLANNING DEVELOPMENT IN İZMİR

The nation-state urbanisation started with the establishment of the Republic (Şengül 2009). By the Republic, the first plan of İzmir city was prepared by Raymond Danger and Rene by Henri Prost's supervisorship in 1925 (Figure 4). The plan was prepared after the Great Fire in İzmir in 1922. The proposals of the plan, such as the construction of Alsancak port, establishing connections between Alsancak and the city centre with wide boulevards, establishment of an tram line from Gazi Square to Alsancak, and the construction of

Kültürpark were to be realized later (Sönmez 2001, 150). Thus, the frame of İzmir city was formed.

Figure 4. Danger & Prost Plan of İzmir in 1925

(Source. Çalışkan 2014, 62)

In 1936, Le Corbusier was consulted for the city's plan by the local government. However, because of the beginning of the Second World War, Le Corbusier was able to present his plans for the city in 1949. These plan proposals did not correspond in any way to the existing urban organization and ownership. From this point on, Le Corbusier's plan (Figure 5) could only be followed according to partially determined functions. The management, business, cultural centre function for Konak district, industrial and storage area function for the rear port of İzmir Alsancak were defined (Çırak 2015; Can 2010)

Figure 5. Le Corbusier Plan’s for İzmir city in 1949

(Source. Can 2010, 184)

After the policies supporting the mechanisation in agriculture, migration from rural to the city was emerged in Turkey. Then, Turkey was started to experience the urbanisation of labour force between in 1950 to 1980 (Şengül 2009). As described in the previous section, the city also met with the informal solutions produced in the city in this period. Mechanisation policies in agriculture was foreseen for the development of rural areas, however, these policies led to the loss of rural population. Contrary to rural areas, the population of the cities started to increase. The city produced its own informal solutions for the unexpected population growth. Squatters also developed as a solution to the housing problem of the poor. New residential and industrial areas emerged in the periphery of the city. The existing plan of the İzmir city was quietly inadequate and could not provide solutions to the new problems. For this reason, the international urban planning competition was organized by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in 1951 and it was won by Aru, Özdeş and Canpolat (Figure 6). The 1/5000 scaled plan was approved in 1955 by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. However, the Aru, Özdeş and Canpolat plan became inadequate in the following process, and The Bodmer revised the plan in 1959 (Sönmez 2001). The prominent points in this plan were that the city moved beyond the boundaries of the municipality and the north direction as the development axis was foreseen (Can 2010; Çırak 2015).

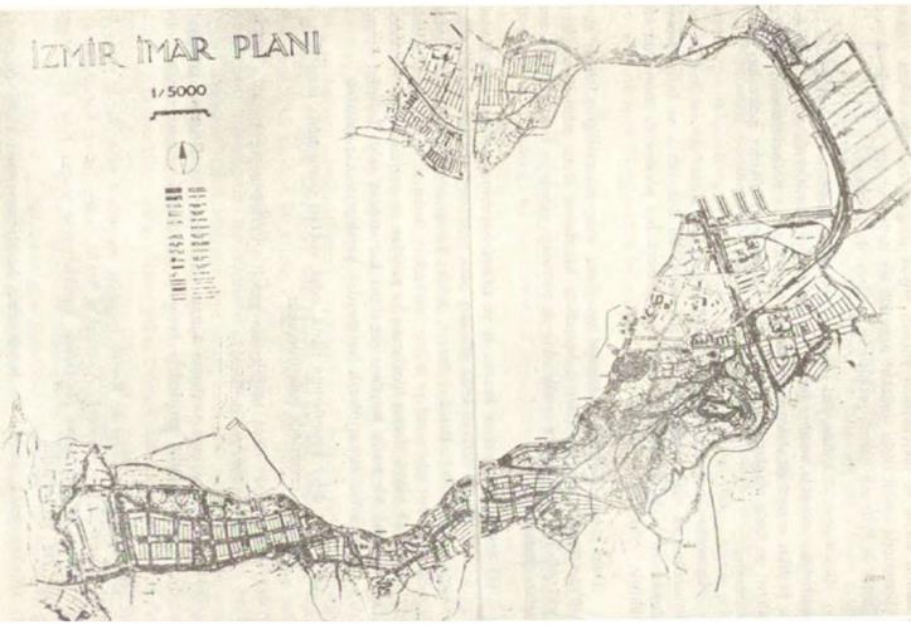

Figure 6. Aru, Özdeş and Canpolat Plan at the scaled of 1/5000 in 1955

(Source. Çırak et.al. 2015, 66-68)

In addition, planned development studies started within the framework of rational comprehensive planning approach. In 1965, the İzmir Metropolitan Area Planning Bureau was established and in 1973 a new master development plan was brought into force (Figure 7). The city centre plan was developed for the area between in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak and Bayraklı district in 1973. In 1984, the İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureaux were closed because of the reregulation reforms with neoliberalism (Can 2010; Çırak 2015). In 1985, municipalities were granted authority for approving master plans (Özatağan and Avar 2013).

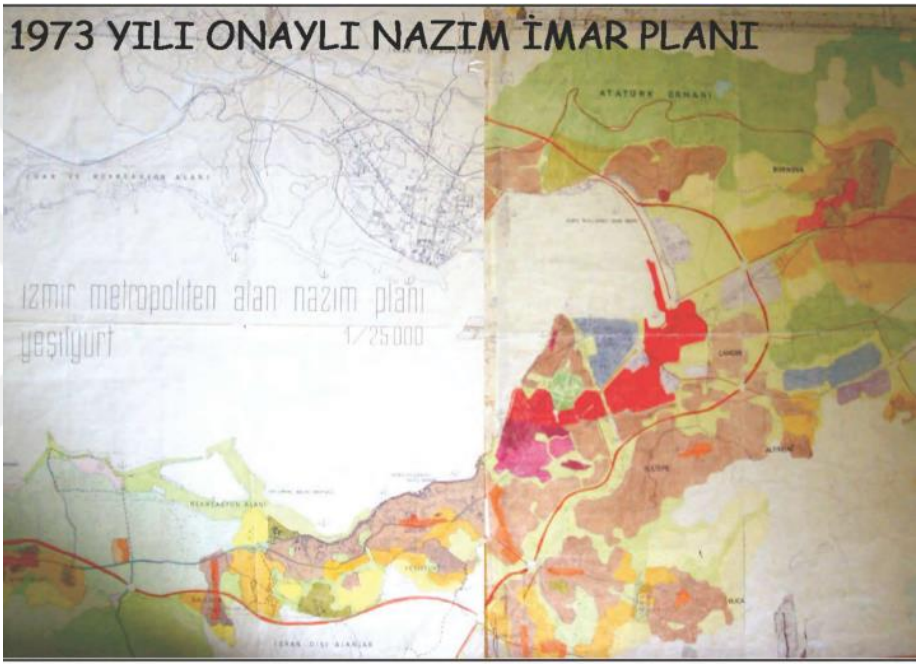

Figure 7. The Master Development Plan the scaled of 1/25000 in 1973
(Source. Çırak et.al. 2015, 66-68)

After 1980, the period of the urbanisation of capital started (Şengül 2009). Following that, the new Master Development Plan for İzmir was completed in 1987. Thus, the İzmir city was redefined as a city-region, and decision were taken for housing, recreation areas, tourism areas in Güzelbahçe, Narlıdere and Balçova districts; organized industrial zones in Bornova, Işşıkkent, Pınarbaşı, Çamdibi districts; free zone and airport in Gaziemir district; the university campus in Buca district; urban regeneration projects for the illegal housing rehabilitation areas. In addition, the transportation master plan was also prepared to support the İzmir city region. The relationship between the centre and the periphery was completed (Özatağan and Avar 2013, 254). As a result, the spatial and economic structure of İzmir city

region was defined. Under the process of neoliberal urbanisation and urban entrepreneurialism in Turkey, one of the cities, which is an important investment of capital, is the city of İzmir.

4.1.2. INDUSTRIALISATION IN THE REAR PORT OF İZMİR ALSANCAK

In the second half of the 19th century, the first industrialisation activities of the İzmir city started in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. The foundation of the industrial areas in the scope of the thesis study will be summarized in this section:

- **Alsancak Tekel Cigarette Factory:** The management of the Ottoman tobacco and revenues was transferred to the Regie Administration that established in 1883 after the establishment of the "Public Debt Administration" which established in 1881. In 1884, the Alsancak cigarette factory was established by foreign capital.
- **Alsancak Gas Factory:** In 1862, the construction of a gas plant was started in the near of Alsancak Station. The factory was founded by the French company Laidloux and Sons. The factory started to operate in 1902 and provided lightening of the city with the gas. It served this purpose until electricity was used for lighting, then it was used in kitchens.
- **İzmir Şark Industrial Company:** This factory was known as "Couzinery Pittaco" in 1892. This factory was transformed into a yarn factory in 1893, and then in 1895, it became a textile factory. In 1924, it was named as İzmir Şark Industrial Company.
- **Halkapınar Tuzakoğlu Flour Factory:** In 1908, Halkapınar Tuzakoğlu Flour Factory was established.
- **Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory:** In 1912, Bomonti and Nectar companies established a partnership and The Beer Factory was established built in Halkapınar. However, this factory was shut down in 1928. In 1940, the factory was purchased by TEKEL. So, this factory was continuing to produce beer, wine, raki, and soda (Zeren and Karaman 2013).

- **TARİŞ:** Tarişbank was founded in 1914. In 1935, Law No. 2834 on Agricultural Sales Cooperatives and Unions was enacted. İzmir Cotton Agricultural Sales Cooperatives was established in 1949. Tariş cotton-oil Company in 1956; Tariş provender factory in 1959; Tariş yarn factory was established in 1975.
- **Alsancak Electricity Factory:** In 1928, this factory was established by the Belgian Traction-Electricity company. With the power plant, the city was started to be illuminated with electricity. Electricity was used not only in lighting but also in transportation.
- **Sümerbank Basma Company:** Sümerbank organizations representing the fundamental of the state economic enterprises (SEEs) in Turkey were established in 1933**.** Many factories belonging to Sümerbank were established in different cities throughout Turkey**.** Sümerbank Basma Company in İzmir was established in 1953 (Sarısu 2008).

Besides, **Turyağ & Henkel Oil Factory** was established in 1916 with English capital. This plant was taken over by the Real Estate Agency in 1918 and in 1929, a British Company, and Eastern & Overseas Products. Ltd. started to establish a big factory in Turan district. "Turyağ", which was registered as Turkey Oil and Products Ltd.

4.2. NEOLIBERAL URBANISATION AND DEINDUSTRIALISATION OF THE REAR PORT OF İZMİR ALSANCAK PORT AFTER THE 2000s

In this section, the following issues are explained: neoliberal urbanisation mechanisms such as privatization, deregulation and reregulation reforms; and deindustrialisation in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. Firstly, privatization, deregulation and reregulation reforms in Turkey are examined in detail. Secondly, deindustrialisation in the rear port is summarized. After that, the following section will be about speculative transformation process of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak.

Figure 8. The location map of the factories in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak

(Source. The map prepared by the author, 2019)

4.2.1. PRIVATIZATION AND DEREGULATION/REREGULATION

Privatization, deregulation and reregulation reforms as the mechanisms of neoliberalism summarized in a previous section. Here, these concepts will be discussed in detail in this section. Privatization has been carried out in Turkey since the 1980s; but, as a result of the 2001 Economic Crisis, Turkey has experienced an important privatization boom (Öniş 2011, 707). Temizel (2007) examines Turkey's neoliberal restructuring in three phases. Firstly, the beginning of the neoliberal restructuring process with the 24 January decisions in 1980. Secondly, the process is continuing with the deepening of neoliberal reforms after 1990. The third phase when the institutional structure of the state is completely abandoned and this structure is renewed as a regulatory state after the 2001 Economic Crisis (Temizel 2007, 95-96).

Castree (2008, 142) states that neoliberalism is identifed as a social, environmental and global project with the terms "privatization, marketization, deregulation, reregulation, market proxies in the residual public sector, the construction of flanking mechanisms in civil society". Also, deregulation is defined as "the rollback of state interventions in the social and environmental life and adjusting self-governing with more centrally actors" and reregulation is defined as "opening of state policies and interventions to ensure privatization and marketization in broader areas" (Castells 2008, 142).

The first phase of neoliberalism started with the Decisions of 24 January 1980. The second phase was pursued with the economic problems in the late 1980s. Temizel (2007) states that there were similar processes in developing countries. The criticism of the neoliberal structure began due to economic crises and increase in inflation, unemployment, and poverty. Following the Economic Crisis in 1994, April 5 Decision of Stability was taken in Turkey. So, neoliberal restructuring in Turkey internalized and gained a scale, speed, and efficiency of privatization program (Temizel 2007, 112-115).

Privatization is defined by Yanardağ and Süslü (2002, 1) as the rollback of state interventions and transfering of these state-owned units to the private sector, also the sale of the enterprises that are not related to the classical functions of the state to the private sector. Besides, privatization is defined as "offering or purchasing by tender of state-owned movable

and immovable properties" by Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu 2019).

The first legal regulation regarding privatization was made in 1984 by the Law No. 2983 (Kilci 1994). After that, with the Law No.3291 in 1986, the principles regarding the implementation of privatization was determined (Ateş 2014). Afterwards, during 10 years, the process of establishing the legal framework of privatization was continuing with decree-laws. However, these decrees were issued by the Constitutional Court to regulate privatization. In 1994, Privatization Law No.4046 as a wider regulation was enacted. This law defines the institutional structure of privatization. The Privatization Fund and the Privatization High Council and the Privatization Administration were established as institutional structure for privatization programs (Temizel 2007, 115).

The duties of the Privatization High Council are listed as follows: *(a)* reregulation the inclusion of institutions in the scope of privatization and the preparation of these institutions for privatization from a financial and legal point of view; *(b)* deciding on the method of privatization, *(e)* deciding about the institution included by privatization program to shrink, to stop for a period or indefinitely, to shut down or to liquidate (Law 4640/1994, Article 3). Besides, according to Article 18 of the privatization law, the methods of privatization are defined as follows: "making a sale, leasing, and the establishment of incorporeal rights on the property, transferring of operating rights, the way of revenue partnership" (Law 4640/1994; Article 18).

The most important point here is that the authority to make plans at all scales is belong to the Privatization Administration for the institutions in the privatization program. The authority to approve plans at all scales is assigned to the Privatization High Council, provided that the opinion of the related institutions is obtained. Also, these plans should be in compliance with the environmental development plans. The related article is included in Article 9 in 1994 in Physical Development Planning Law no. 3194.

The third phase of the neoliberal restructuring process in Turkey is about after 2000s. The point that differentiates the third period compared to the previous periods is how the role of the state is redefined. According to Öniş (2006), there is a highly fragile pattern of economic growth during the post-1990 era. Turkey experienced four financial crises in 1994, 2000, 2001 and 2008. So, it is envisaged to complete the deficiencies with institutional regulatory reforms. The role of the state in the functioning of regulatory reforms was

redefined; and, the state called the regulatory state in the 2000s (Majone 1994; Temizel 2007, 115-116; Sönmez 2011, 133-134).

Following the 2001 Crisis, neoliberal restructuring efforts in Turkey are stood out in two ways. The first one is reregulation that bases on the development of the state's former regulatory authorities. Thus, independent regulatory agencies are to be established. In the establishment of these institutions, the role of the state is reduced to the regulatory role. Also, these institutions are formed in many countries during the period in question (Karakaş 2008). Independent regulatory agencies support privatization by providing legal grounds. In this way, privatization programs are institutionalized (Temizel 2007, 118). The second one is deregulation that bases on the complete elimination of the former regulatory authorities or interventions of the state. Deregulation reforms include the elimination of state power in sectors such as electricity and tobacco, and the liberalization of these sectors and privatization programs (Temizel 2007, 119-120).

Presidential System of Government was adopted a new system of government in Turkey according to an amendment in the Constitution following the referendum on 16th April 2017 and the 24th June 2018 regarding the presidential and parliamentary general elections (Turan 2018). This new management system is based on the principle of separation of powers (legislation, enforcement, and judiciary). Following the referendum, the executive power was endowned to the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey. Prime Ministry was removed and all kinds of executive powers were transferred to the Presidency. As a result, the Privatization High Council and the Asset Fund, which were previously affiliated to the Prime Ministry, were attached to the Presidency with all their powers.

After changing the government system to the Presidential System, the arrangements for the presidency's organizations were also made. The No. 1 Presidential Decree was published on 10th July 2018. The duties and authorities of the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning were defined in Article 97. In the sub-clause (h) of the Article 97, there was a critical decision on investments by the public or private sector for immovable properties under the authority of the state or by the Treasury, public institutions, real persons or private legal entities. "the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning in terms of can approve the development plans, parcelling plans or amendments prepared in any type and scale, provided that if not approved by the relevant authorities within 3 months". Thus, the central

government has the authority to plan on a local scale.

Following this chapter, the privatization practices regarding Alsancak port and the factories in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak will be briefly summarized.

The İzmir Alsancak port was included in the privatization program with the decision of the Privatization High Council dated 30th December 2004 with a number of 2004/128. After that, the İzmir Alsancak port's operational rights were transferred with the decision of Privatization High Council dated on 2th June 2005 with a number of 2005/54. The Privatization High Council was to operate the İzmir Alsancak port as "passenger port" and "cargo port" with the Decree No. 2010/89 dated on 25th October 2010 (İzmir Kruvaziyer Limanı İmar Planı Değişikliği Açıklama Raporu 2012).

Turkish Sovereign Asset Fund Incorporated Company was constituted in August 2016. National Asset Funds are known as funds that operate under the ownership and management of the state, aiming to increase their income by investing in various financial assets. The İzmir Alsancak port was transferred to the Asset Fund with all its rights in February 2017. By this way, the Asset Fund had all rights of the port in order to sell, rent or assign. After 2018, the Asset Fund, which was previously affiliated to the Prime Ministry, was attached to the Presidency with all its power. So, the İzmir Alsancak port's all rights are belong to the Presidency.

TEKEL as state economic enterprises includes the General Directorate of Tobacco, Tobacco Products, Salt and Alcohol Enterprises. TEKEL was included in the privatization program with the decision of the Privatization High Council dated on 5th February 2001 and numbered 2001/6. In 2002, TEKEL was incorporated. With Law No. 4733 on Tobacco, Tobacco Products and Alcohol Beverages Market were established as an example for regulatory authorities (Atalık 2009). On 29th April 2002, it was decided to close the İzmir Cigarette Factory (Üzümcü 2007). Also, The Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory, which was operated by TEKEL was shut down after the privatization. The final tender for the privatization of TEKEL and its all cigarette factories and immovable properties by the asset sale method was made on 22th February 2008 and was completed to sell (Privatization Administration Budget Reasoned Report 2009, 277).

One of Turkey's state economic enterprises is **Sümerbank**. Under the Law No.3291 on the Privatization of State Economic Enterprises, Sümerbank was included in the

privatization program with the decision of the Council of Ministers in 1987. In the privatization process, this company was restructured in the banking unit and the industrial unit, which was named Sümer Holding Inc. (Demirbaş and Türkoğlu 2002). İzmir Basma Company, which was belonged to Sümer Holding, was shut down with the decision of the Privatization High Council dated on 14th October 2000 and numbered 2000/83 (Üzümcü 2007). It was transferred to İzmir Special Provincial Administration on 19th August 2003 with free of charge method.

TARİŞ, the first agricultural sales cooperatives association, had several banks and factories in the 1980s. Law No.4752 on Agricultural Sales Cooperatives and Unions was issued on 16th July 2000 with the aim of restructuring the unions in a way of neutralizing them. After this regulation, the financial support to the institutions was terminated and the liquidation process was initiated (Arıkan et al. 1993).

In conclusion, this section is aimed to examine how a legal framework especially after 1980s was laid down to facilitate the capital to integrate itself into the city. The deindustrialisation process of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak is summarized in the next section. Following these privatization programs, as the rear port starts to deindustrialisation, so do the unused, large and single-owned old industrial sites gain a speculative exchange value. Under the title of speculative development, it will be examined how the rear port of İzmir Alsancak has developed in the last 20 years. The international design competition for the rear port of İzmir Alsancak is considered as the beginning of this speculative transformation process.

4.2.2. DEINDUSTRIALISATION IN THE REAR PORT OF İZMİR ALSANCAK

Having Turkey taken on the 24th January 1980 Decisions, Turkey passed to a free market economy. Also, investments were shifted from the industry sector to different sectors. So, Turkey started the deindustrialisation process. State investments were minimized through privatization programs. Secondly, Stabilization Decisions was begun to be operated on 5th

April 1994. Then, the privatization programs gained momentum with the Economic Crises of November 2000 and February 2001 (Cangören 2011). According to Yücebaş (2014), with the transformation of 1980, privatization was based on the principle of "ensuring the more efficient use of productivity and resources". However, in the framework of the stabilization program in 2000s, the privatization phenomenon was transformed directly into "the purpose of generating revenue for the state budget" (Yeldan 2006, 164; Yücebaş 2014; 48).

Özatağan and Avar (2013) clearly explain the changes in the spatial organization in the İzmir city region. In economic restructuring processes, production was directed to different areas within the city. While İzmir city has an increasing population and employment, Konak district loses population and employment. The production in Konak district was abandoned. The new industrial activities moved towards the industrial zones, free zones, and the city's periphery. However, one of the important results is the way of the producing metropolitan centres. According to this thesis, it is aimed that how to explain producing the metropolitan area of İzmir city by capital after 2000s (Özatağan and Avar 2013, 155-156).

As Bowe (2008, 67) writes, "Late 20th century dockland transformation schemes, recurring in different cities around the world, are generally associated with the process of post-industrial urban restructuring. Accordingly, the common context for these schemes is deindustrializing former industrial urban centres and interventions aiming to economically regenerate the city via accommodating new economic functions in the vacant dockland areas". The privatization program caused industrial activities at the rear port of İzmir Alsancak to be abandoned after the 1990s. Thus, the deindustrialisation process started in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. Figure 9 and 10 show these currently unused industrial sites of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak:

- In 1976, İzmir Şark Company was closed down because of bankruptcy,
- The Electricity Factory was shut down in 1989 due to environmental pollution it caused, and its economic life expired.
- The Gas Plant was closed on 1th September 1994, after the 5 April 1994 Stabilization Decision,
- TARİŞ gained autonomy with Law No.4752 on Agricultural Sales Cooperatives and Unions on 16th June 2000 issued with the aim of restructuring the unions,

- The Sümerbank Basma Company was closed in 2001 by the privatization program,
- Tekel Cigarette Factory and Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory were shut down in 2004 after the privatization of Tekel companies in 2001,
- Turyağ & Henkel Oil Factory was moved from İzmir city to Balıkesir city in 2008.

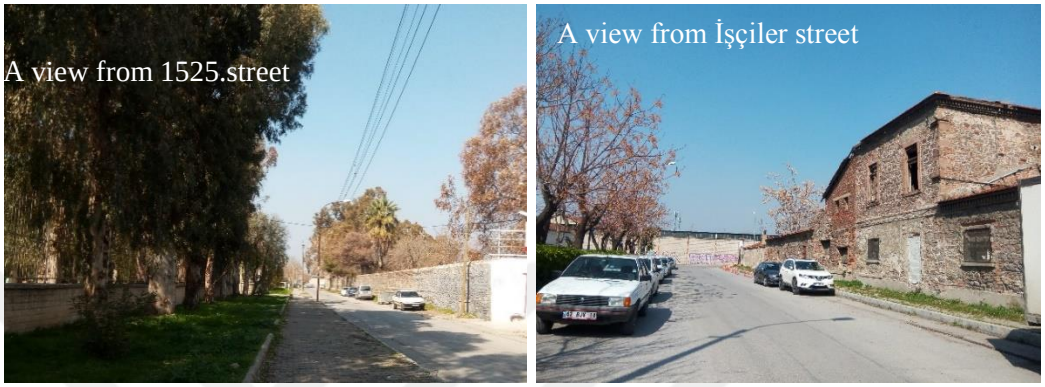

Figure 9. Deindustrialisation in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak, 2016

(Source. Photos were taken by the author, 2016)

Figure 10. Old industrial sites in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak

(Source. Photos were taken by the author, 2016)

4.3. SPECULATIVE REDEVELOPMENT

In 2001, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality declared an international competition. The aim of this competition is to get ideas in order to create a new city centre in the Alsancak-Turan Districts. The competition is a milestone of the transformation in the Alsancak-Turan Districts. Following the deindustrialisation process, many port cities in the world involve in the transformation process. The city of İzmir has a similar process. İzmir city gains a new city centre vision under the concept of urban entrepreneurialism. The rear port of İzmir Alsancak and Salhane – Turan districts are defined as very valuable area in the contract of this competition. With the deindustrialisation of this area, old industrial sites with the large and single-owned parcels were remained vacant. According to the contract, the old industrial areas with large and single-owned parcels are advantageous for further implemenration of new investments. Secondly, this area is located in the centre of İzmir city. Due to the location of the area within the city, the transportation networks make this area accessible (Report of International Urban Design Idea Competition for The Port District of İzmir 2001, 2-3).

The design area was almost 500 hectares. There were two poor residential areas in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. One of these residential areas is called as Ege Neighbourhood. According to the contract, there were 1800 houses and 9000 people live in 2000. It was noted that there were registered buildings, green areas, and modern buildings to be protected. The main land uses in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak were: a football stadium, public buildings, small commercial and residential areas, car and track parking areas, storages, unused and vacant industrial sites with high walls and wire nettings.

The most important feature of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak is that the rear port is limited with its physical components. This feature distinguishes it from other rear port areas. The thesis study area matches the competition area of new city centre of İzmir. The thesis study area is surrounded by train lines. Besides, highway and Meles River pass through this area. Transportation lines restrict the connection of the area with its surroundings both physically and socially. Although it is located in the city centre, the rear port of İzmir Alsancak has no strong relationship in terms of community relations, social and cultural relations, and physical relations with its surroundings. This analysis (Figure 11) is prepared

to demonstrate cross-street crossings, accessibility of the area, and current land uses in 2016.

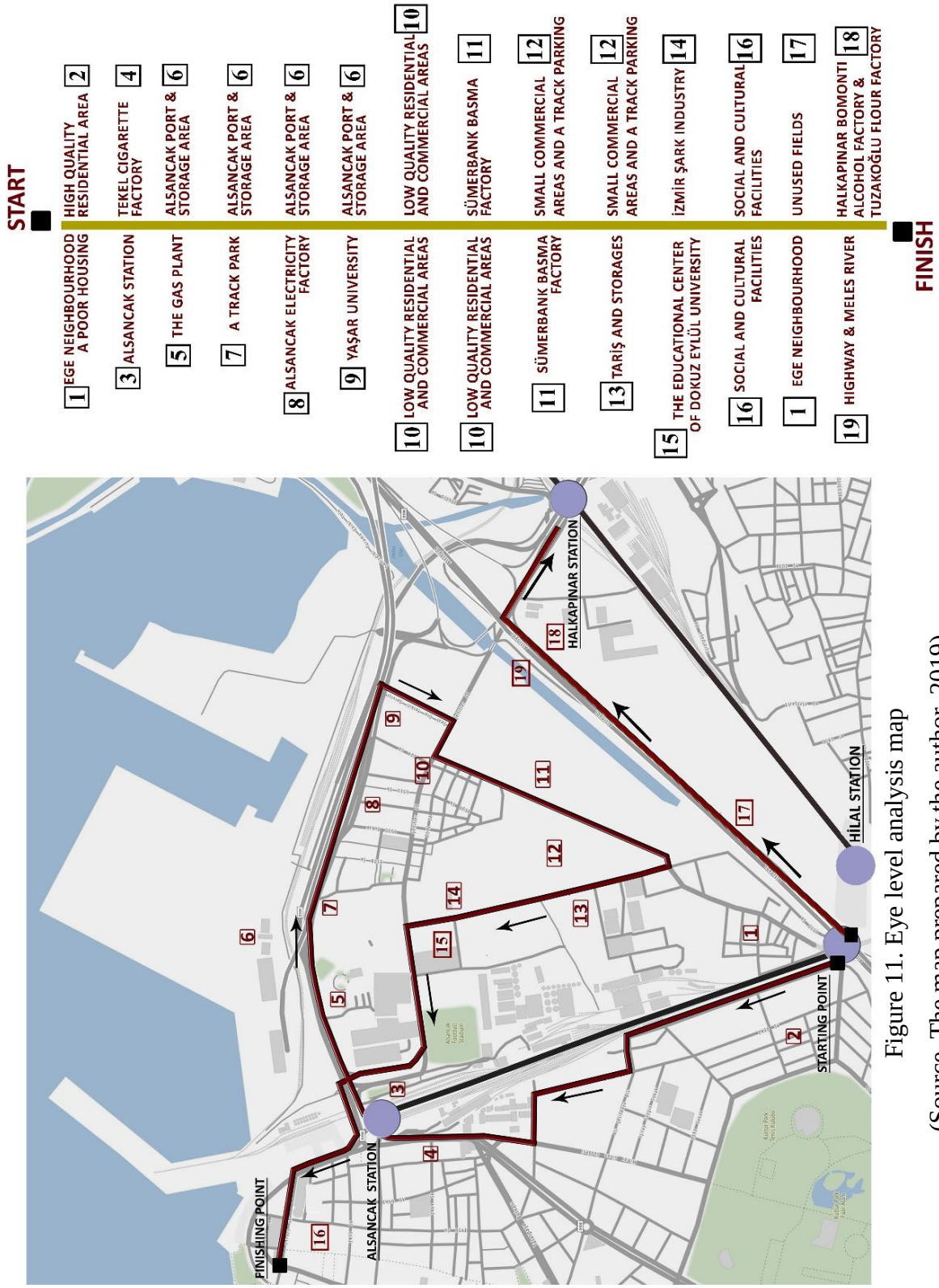

Figure 11. Eye level analysis map

(Source. The map prepared by the author, 2019)

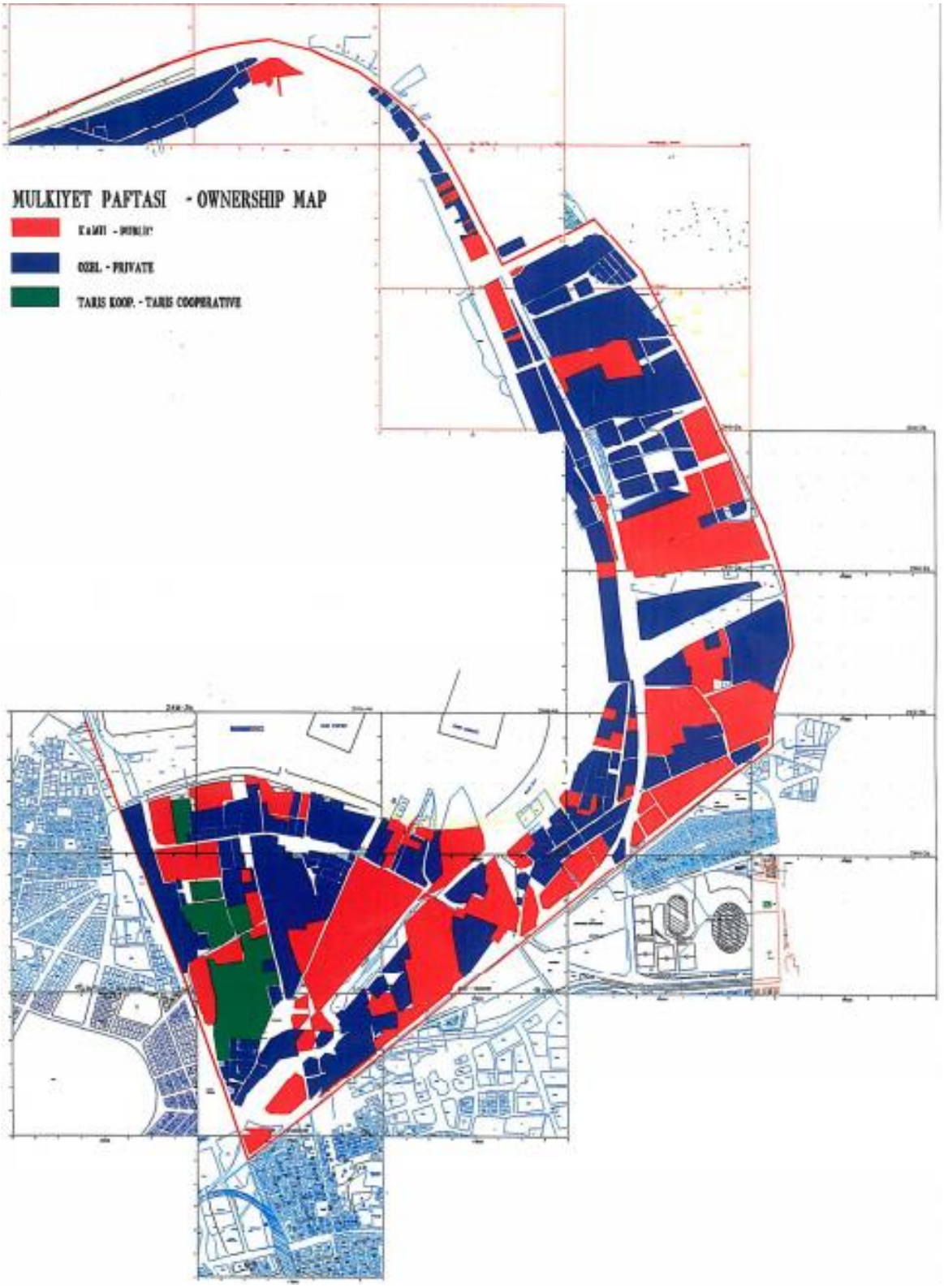

Figure 12. The ownership map in 2001

(Source. Acar 2011)

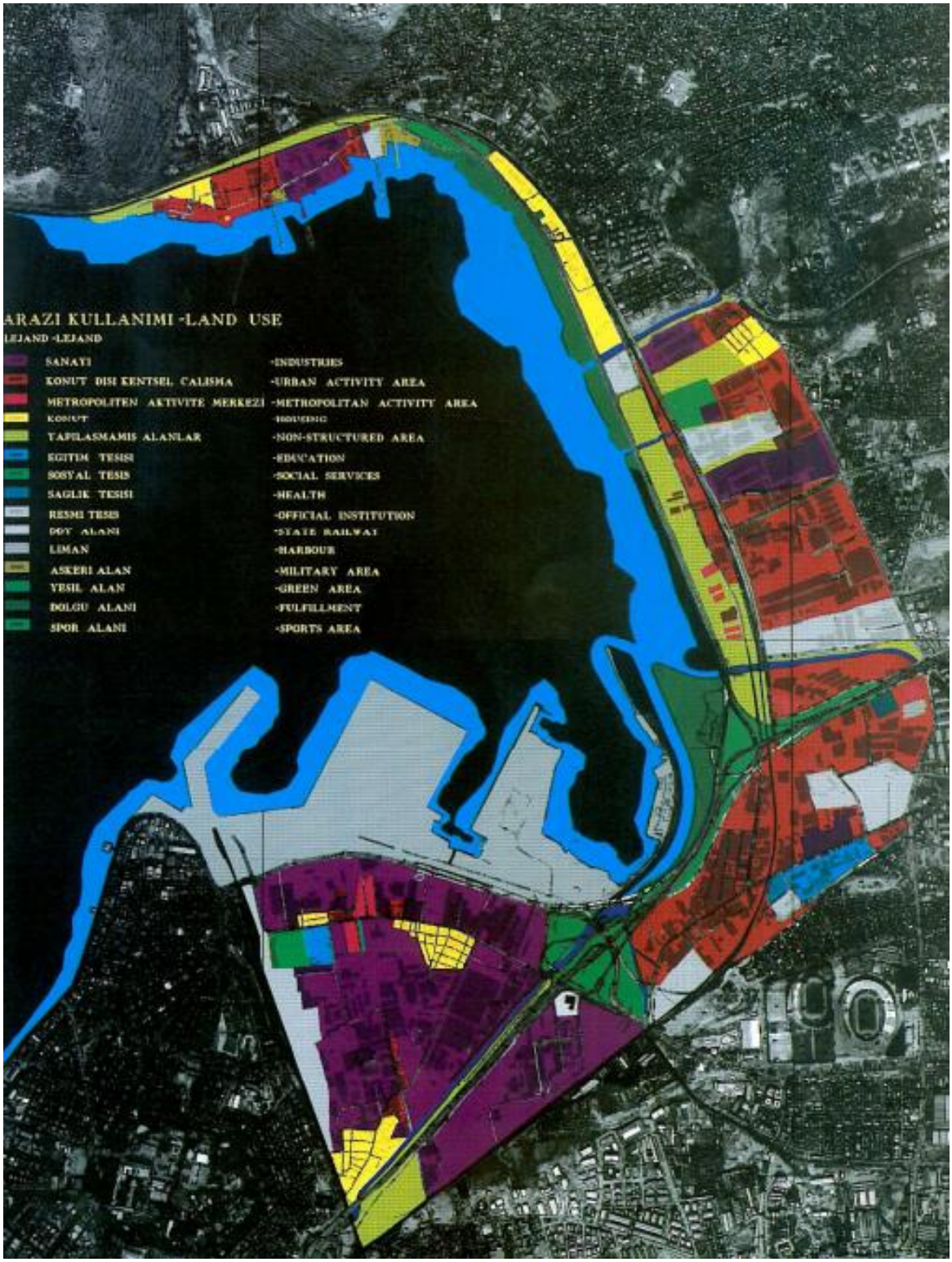

Figure 13. Land use map of the new city centre in 2001

(Source. Acar 2011)

Figure 14. The registered buildings of the new city centre in 2001

(Source. Acar 2011)

Besides, analysis of land use, ownership and registered buildings are also shown in Figure 12, 13, and 14. These maps were prepared by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2000 (Report of International Urban Design Idea Competition for The Port of İzmir 2001, 4).

Firstly, this section examines the international urban design competition process in the light of the concept of urban entrepreneurialism. Then, the process of preparing a new metropolitan centre master plan is studied. Thidrly, how fragmentary and speculative projects have settled in the rear port in the last 20 years is explained in detail.

4.3.1. INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION FOR THE NEW CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT (CBD) IN 2001

In May 2001, The Municipality of Metropolitan İzmir announced an open and anonymous international idea competition, for the urban design of the Alsancak-Turan District. The project area is located on the East side of İzmir Gulf. According to the contract of the competition, the main aim was "to obtain preliminary ideas for the development of urban space and architectural character of the İzmir Alsancak port district, to enhance the contemporary image of the city and create a new city centre in the emerging international status of İzmir". The second aim was to reduce the pressure on the traditional city centre Konak district (The Report of International Urban Design Idea Competition for The Port District of İzmir 2001, 2-3).

According to the competition contract, the design area was described as “the prestige area of İzmir”. This contract was prepared by the Municipality of Metropolitan İzmir in 2001 and it presented the expectations of local government from the area. Firstly, there was a criticism of the silhouette of the city of İzmir. The city’s silhouette was defined as follows: “the gulf’s view was formed the low quality of either commercial and residential uses or squatter settlement”. The expectation of local government was to change the city’s silhouette. Secondly, it was necessary to connect the new city centre with its surrounding centres and to obtain urban integrity. Thus, the new central business district with its new functions should be the pioneer area for developing city of İzmir (The Report of International Urban Design Idea Competition 2001, 2-5).

Expectations from the competition were also included in the contract. First, the need for the protection of registered buildings was indicated. Secondly, only the passenger function of the port was preserved; the cargo section of the port was foreseen to move to Çandarlı District. After completing the move out, the recreation, social and cultural tourisim activities should be defined for the evacuated area. Thirdly, trade and business centre functions should be determined for the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. In addition, a shopping mall was requested, the location of which was defined by the contestants. Finally, it was requested to support projects with public green spaces (The Report of International Urban Design Idea Competition 2001, 14).

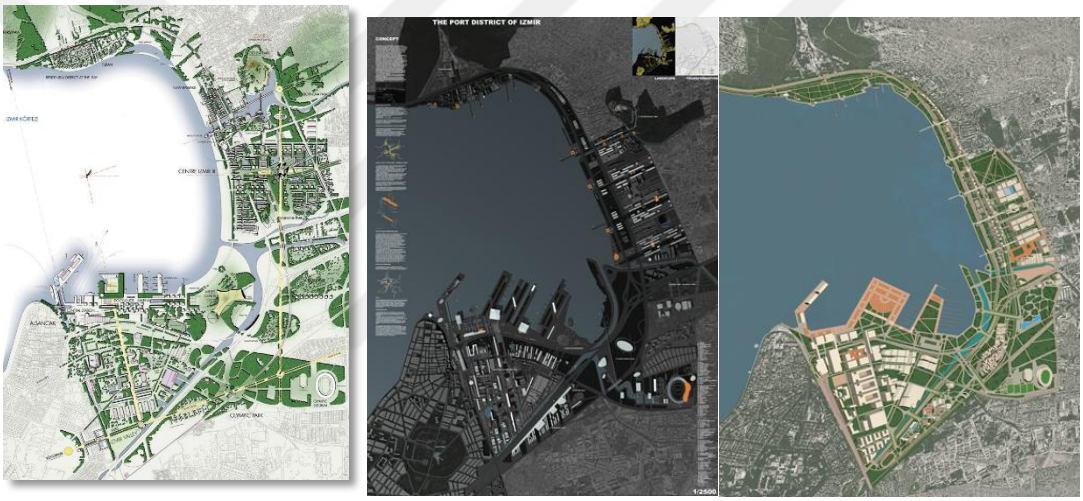

Figure 15. The images of the first, second and third winner projects (from left to right) (Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2018)

In December 2001, this competition was completed and the first was Jochen Brandi's project chosen among the 136 projects. The second one was Bünyamin Derman and his team’s project, and the third one was Entur Yener and his team’s project (Figure 15). When Brandi's project and other winner projects are examined, it is seen that there were some prominent points. Firstly, it is seen that the port area had only functioned as a passenger port when the cargo port left the area. The remaining areas were designed to serve the tourist activities and recreation areas in the port. Secondly, the Salhane Region was designed as a high-rise trade centre. The south of the Meles River was designed as a large urban park in some projects; however, other projects were designed as a high-rise trade centre in order to ensure the continuity of the proposed commercial centre in the Salhane region. Thirdly, the

property status or existing settlement texture was not followed. Within an idea competition, all winning projects presented a completely new urban texture. Some of them considered the cultural functions such as entertainment gallery centre, cultural centre, exhibition centre, etc. with a glance of the industrial heritage. However, some of the others were completely renovated.

Obtaining design ideas from the competition, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality prepared the 1/5000 master development plan in 2003. The project area was divided into three regions in the master plan: Turan region, Salhane region, and the rear port of İzmir Alsancak.

4.3.2. THE CURRENT SPATIAL PLANNING DEVELOPMENT IN THE REAR PORT OF İZMİR ALSANCAK

In line with the competition, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality started a new metropolitan master development plan. In the light of the ideas obtained from the competition, the first urban master plan was prepared in 2003 on a scaled of 1/5000. On 7th July 2003, the plan was approved with the decision of Metropolitan Municipality Council.

The main objectives of the plan are combining the North and the South of the city by providing coastal integrity, changing the silhouette of the İzmir city, and creating a new city centre. Because of being a port city throughout its history and being integrated with the sea, the vision of a new city centre is supported by providing coastal integrity to İzmir. Another fundamental principle of the plan is the creation of large open spaces. For this purpose, the lot coverage is limited in new construction conditions. However, the story height is not limited by contrast and the maximum value is released. Another prominent goal is to support the plan with the use of existing infrastructure. The area has very strong transport links. Not only do the maritime connections, but also public transportation via railway also makes the area highly accessible. The highway axis, Altınyol is an important line for İzmir city (İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım İmar Plan Raporu 2003).

The plan is prepared under three subregions (Figure 14). These are Salhane District,

Turan District and the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. The planning area is 470 hectares. The master plan decisions' are summarized briefly here. Firstly, the Turan District is a limited area with the railway on the North and the sea on the South. In order to get coastal integrity, Turan District is planned with tourism facilities. Plan decisions of the Turan District can be summarized as follows (İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım İmar Plan Raporu 2003):

- Uses such as tourism, accomodation, small tourism management, and housing are proposed for the existing residential area. The value of floor area ratio (FAR) is 2.50 and building coverage ratio (BCR) is 0.50 in this area,
- In the south, tourism facilities and recreational areas as well as low-rise trade uses along the coast are proposed in order to get coastal integrity. The construction conditions are determined that FAR is 0.60 and BCR is 0.30. A marina is also planned.
- The Turan district also includes the land of the Turyağ & Henkel Plant and Oil Depots that are located in almost 8 hectares. It is accepted that these uses will leave the area and the new construction conditions are determined as FAR is 3.50 and BCR is 0.30. New functions are defined as large tourism enterprises, shopping centres, and large green areas (Figure 16).

Secondly, Salhane region extends along the coast towards the South. The ancient Smyrna and its ruins are also located in Salhane. This area continues along the coast starting from the ruins of Bayraklı. Manas Boulevard, Halkapınar sports facilities, Mürselpaşa Boulevard, and Meles River draw the limits of the Salhane region. In addition, the Courthouse is also located in this region. The Salhane region is considered as the central business district (CBD). CBD presents the following uses: management centres of large companies, entertainment and shopping malls, congress and meeting halls, high-rise business centres and residential uses. The administrative centre is also aimed in this region. As the construction decisions in the Salhane region (Figure 17), 0.30 is determined as BCR but FAR is taken at different values as 3.00, 3.50 and 4.00 (İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım İmar Plan Raporu 2003).

Thirdly, the rear port of İzmir Alsancak is located by the Alsancak port to the North, the Alsancak train station to the West, Meles River and Mürselpaşa Boulevard at the Southeast. Because of being the first industrial settlement of İzmir, there are facilities such as factories, storage areas, and railway facilities, but most of these uses are abandoned.

Figure 16. The master development plan of Turan District
(Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

Figure 17. The master development plan of Salhane District
(Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

There are structures that need to be protected as mentioned previously. Plan decisions of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak region can be summarized as follows (İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım İmar Plan Raporu 2003):

- There are registered buildings in the area between the North of Şehitler Street and the Liman Street and Meles River. The areas with registered structures are specified in the

plan as “special planning area” and “special project area”. The new construction conditions under the function of “tourism and trade centre” are determined as FAR is 3.00 and BCR is 0.30.

- “Tourism, trade and cultural facilities” are defined for the South of Şehitler Caddesi. This area is defined between 1525st Street and Alsancak Train Station. The construction conditions are specified as FAR is 3.50 and BCR is 0.45, except special project areas. These areas are: Sümerbank registered parcel, İzmir Şark Company registered parcel, a residential neighbourhood known as Ege Neighbourhood. There are also Alsancak Stadium and Dokuz Eylül University Faculty here.
- In order to encourage the use of small-scale tourism, “tourism and housing functions” are proposed for the existing housing areas (Figure 19). The construction conditions are specified as FAR is 2.50 and BCR is 0.50.
- “Central Business District” is proposed for the area, which is located across the Meles River, between Halkapınar and Hilal station. Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory is also in this area. It is noted that in the master plan that this factory’s land is under the authority of the High Council of Privatization of Prime Ministry. The construction conditions are specified as FAR is 3.50 and BCR is 0.40.

Figure 18. The master development plan of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak
(Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

Figure 19. Existing housing and small commercial areas in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak (Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

Besides, there are decisions for the İzmir Alsancak port. It is foreseen that the port will not be enough in the future. So, the cargo port section should be moved to the North Aegean Çandarlı port. The İzmir Alsancak port is intended to serve only as a passenger port and to support tourism activities (İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım İmar Plan Raporu 2003).

In March 2006, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality prepared a revision of the master plan. In the 2003 plan, the FAR was decided %3 or 3.5. However, this decision was revised to %4.5 or 4 in the revision plan. Due to the lack of social facilities, Provincial Directorate of Public Works and Settlement prepared a negative report. The Governorship of İzmir filed an annulment action against the revision of the plan. According to the Court decision, the expert report was prepared and it was stated in this report that "it is contrary to the principle of public interest and principles of urbanisation discipline to increase in FAR, unlimited story height and, lack of social facilities". Therefore, the 2003 plan decisions were reverted back (Erdik and Kaplan 2009, 56; Penbecioğlu 2012).

After that, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality prepared a second revision for the master plan in June 2007. However, İzmir 3rd Administrative Court canceled the execution. According to the expert report, the geological studies of the plan were insufficient concerning the risk of the earthquake (Erdik and Kaplan 2009, 56; Penbecioğlu 2012). Following the completion of the geological survey reports, the 1/5000 scaled New Metropolitan Centre Master Development Plan (Figure 20) was suspended with the decision of July 2010 and was approved by the Municipal Council with the decision of July 2011. This 2011 plan is currently in force.

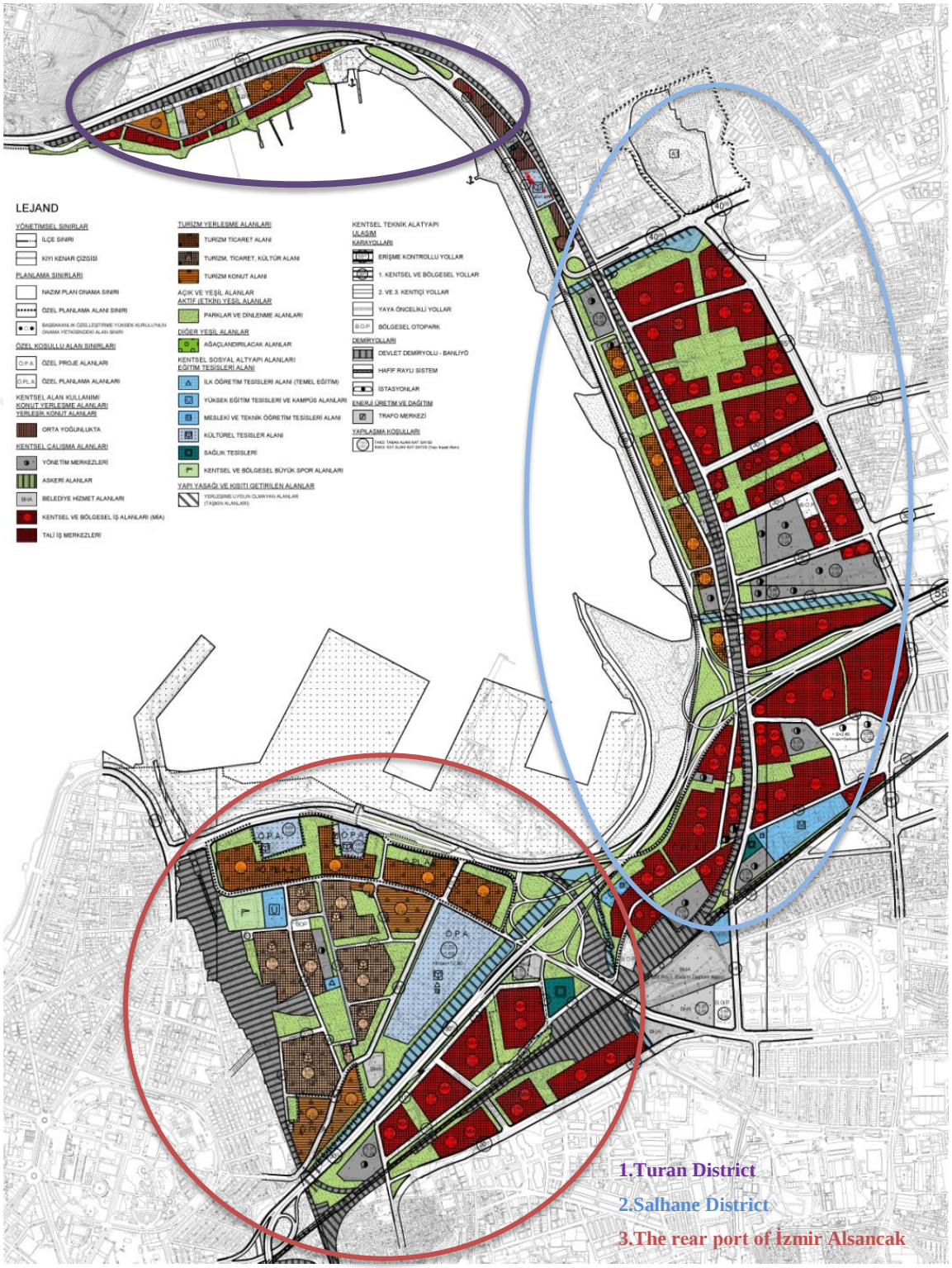

Figure 20. 1/5000 New Metropolitan Center Master Development Plan, 2003

(Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

With the decision of March 2011, 1/1000 scaled Salhane-Turan implementary development plan was approved. Also, with a decision in June 2011, 1/1000 scaled Halkapınar-Salhane implementary development plan was approved. With the decision of January 2012, 1/1000 scaled the rear port of İzmir Alsancak implementary development plan was approved. As to the upper scale decisions, the 1/25.000 scaled İzmir Metropolitan Environmental Plan (Figure 21-22) with the decision in October 2012; and the 1/100.000 scaled İzmir and Manisa Master Plan (Figure 23-24) were approved in November 2015.

Plan notes are revised over and over after the spatial plan is completed. In 1/5000 scaled Master Development Plan, Central Business District (CBD) is defined for the rear port of İzmir Alsancak, the Turan District and the Salhane District. The CBD is defined in the areas where the city's administrative units and commercial functions are concentrated (1/25000 Ölçekli İzmir Büyükşehir Bütünü Çevre Düzeni Planı Açıklama Raporu 2013). Also, "the Service Center" is defined for this area in 1/100.000 scaled İzmir and Manisa Master Plan was prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning General Directorate on 16th November 2015.

Central Business District (CBD) is explained in the 1/5000 scaled new city centre master development plan in 2011 as follows: "all kinds of trade, bazaar, office block, commercial storage, bank, insurance, multi-story shops and entertainment places, housing, multi-story car park, the private hospital can be found. One of them or some of them can be placed in the same parcel. The housing area cannot be more than 1/3 of the building construction area" in 2011. In 2013, the CBD definition in the plan note was revised and was approved. Tourism facilities were added in the plan note of CBD's definition. When the expert report of the case is examined. The CBD decision allows to different land uses. The aim of the CBD decision is to create active usage possibilities throughout the day. However, when the Master Plan (1/5000) was examined, it was seen that different land uses were defined in different areas. Because the plan was divided into 3 main sub-districts.

While the amendment was gone into abeyance for a month in 2014, the Chamber of City Planners filed a lawsuit for supersedeas, and following that, for cancellation. The reason for the case was that it did not match the main objectives of the current plan. The current plan was based on the identification of different uses in different areas. Plan notes, however, offered a homogeneous use in different lands. The Chamber of Planners was found right by

the İzmir 2nd District Court. To conclude, the revision in the plan decision was cancelled in 2015. Professional chambers and local authorities, investors and central government, as well as administrative procedure are actors in this process.

The revision in plan notes is a fragmentary decision and is against the main principle of the plan. However, the revision decisions in the plan notes are used to produce fragmentary projects in the transformation process. The examples will be presented in the next section of this thesis.

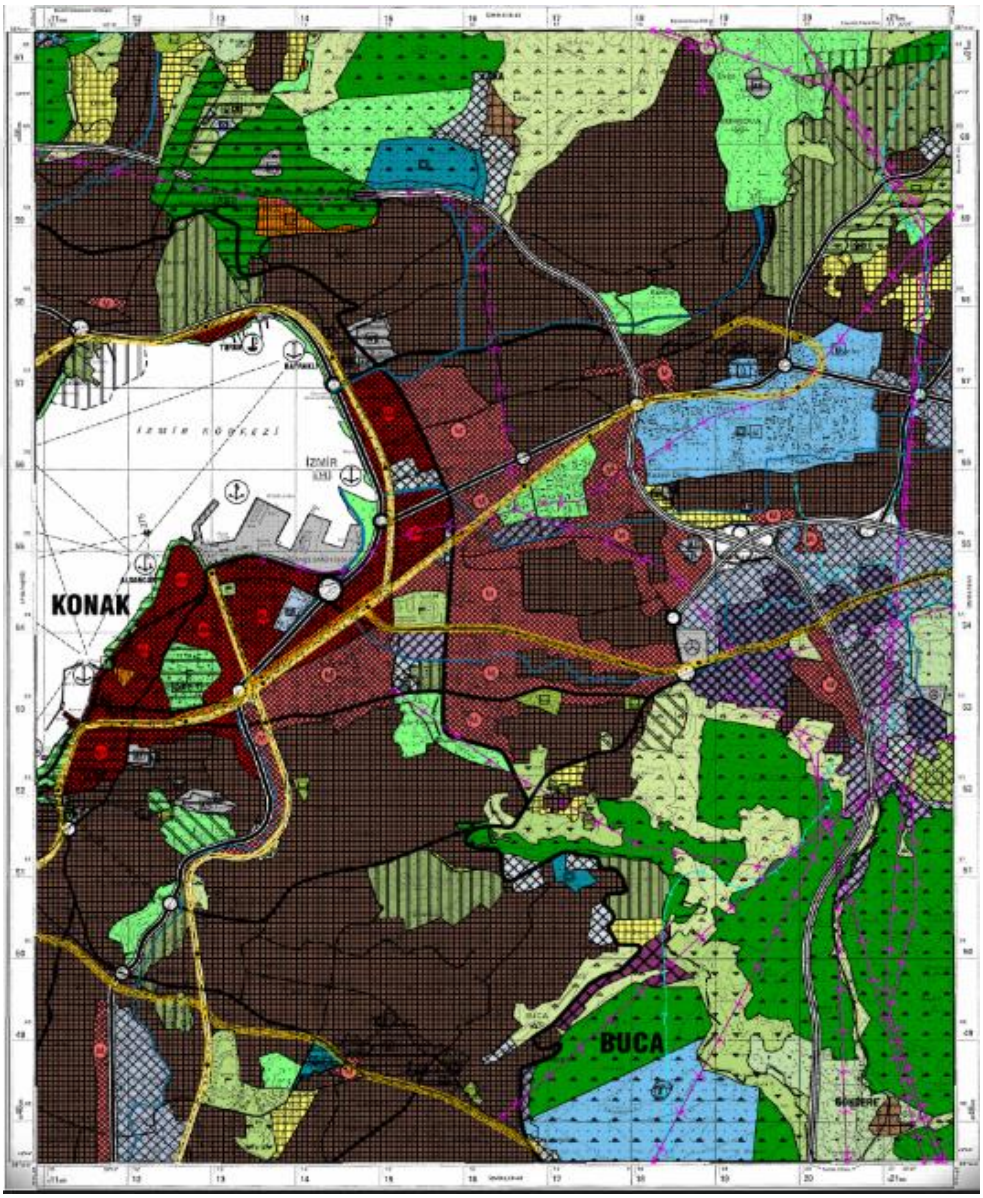

Figure 21. İzmir Metropolitan Master Plan 1/25.000 scaled

(Source. The Master Plan Bureau of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

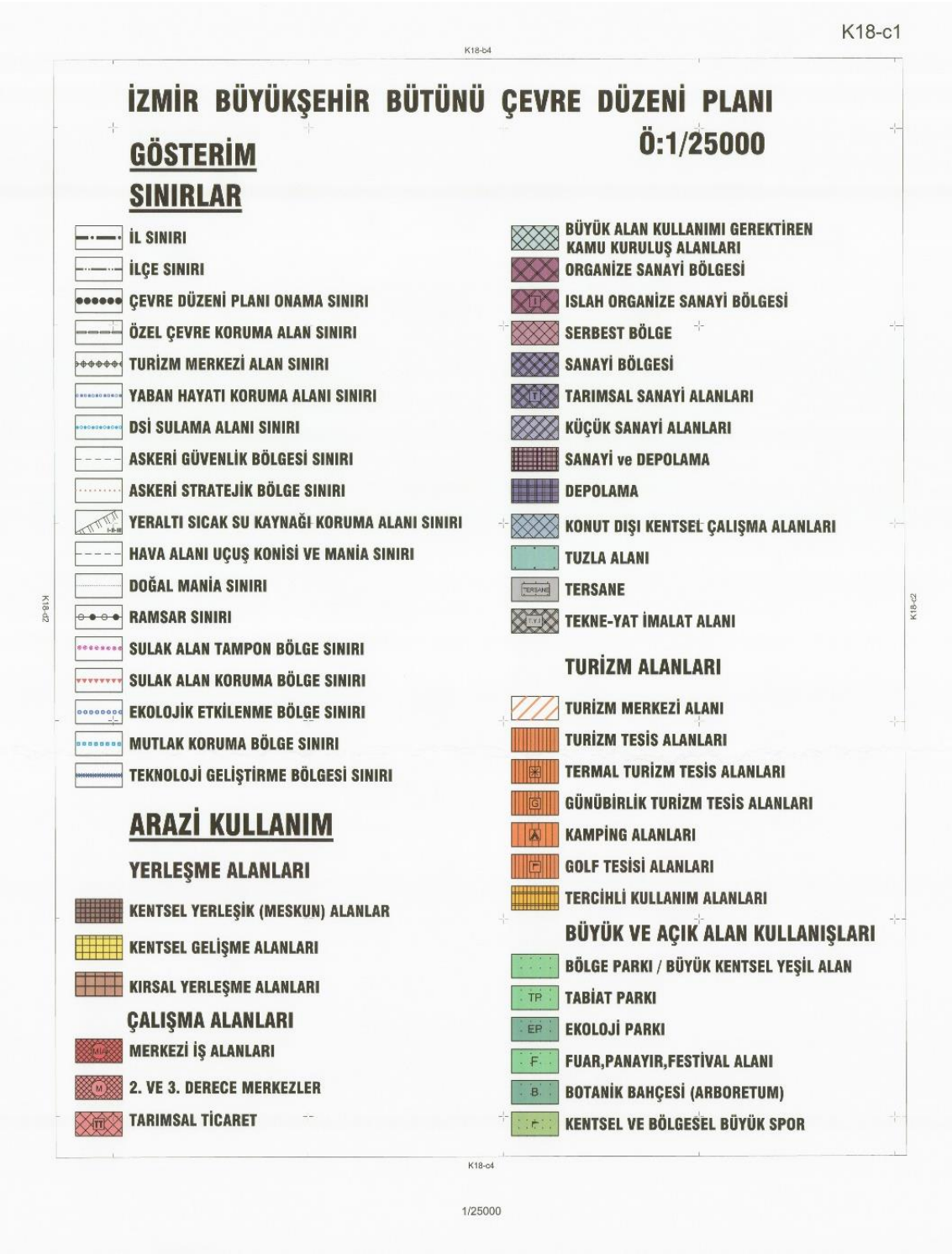

Figure 22. The lejand of the 1/25.000 scaled İzmir Metropolitan Master Plan (Source. The Master Plan Bureau of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

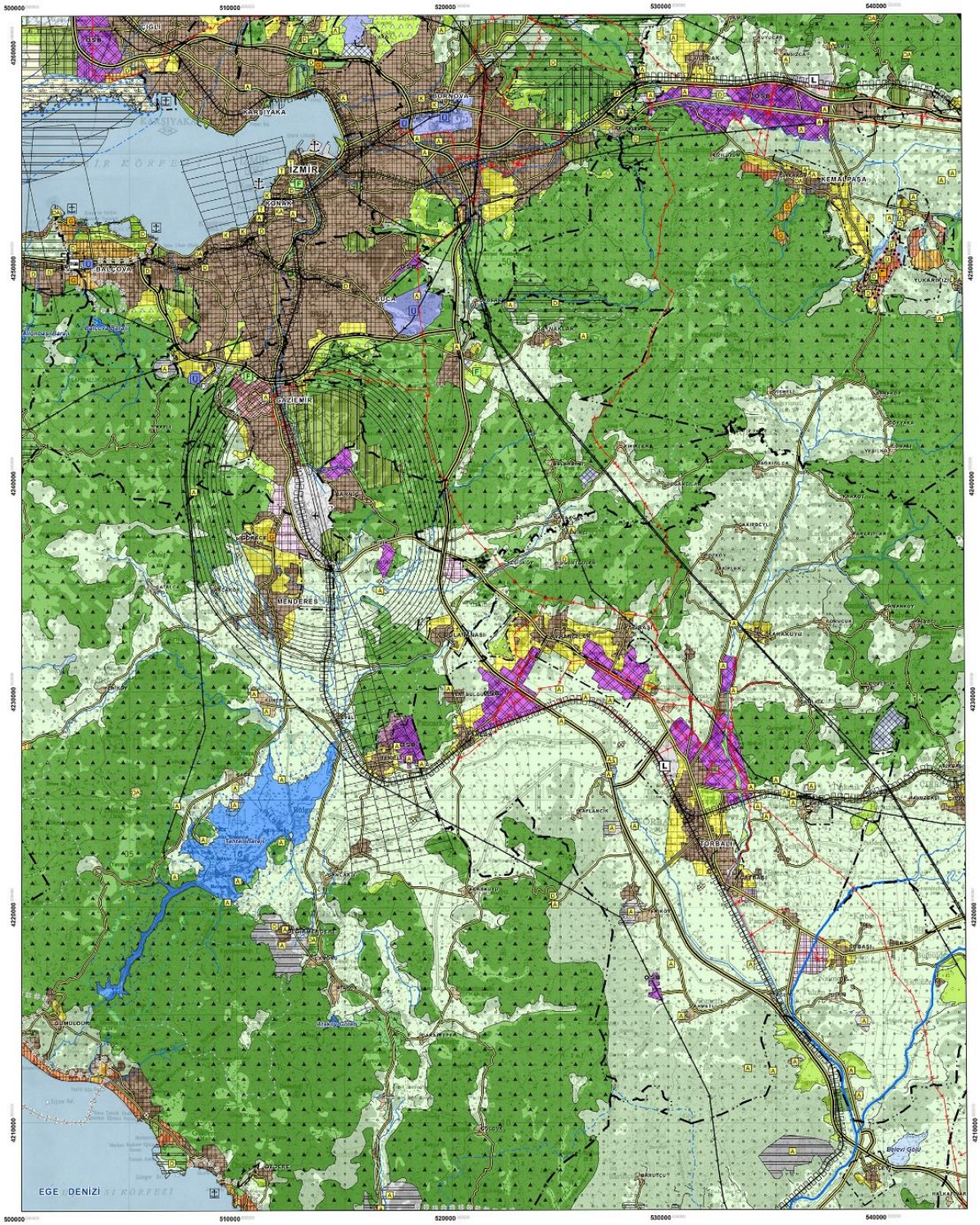

Figure 23. 1/100.000 scaled İzmir-Manisa Master Plan

(Source. The Master Plan Bureau of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

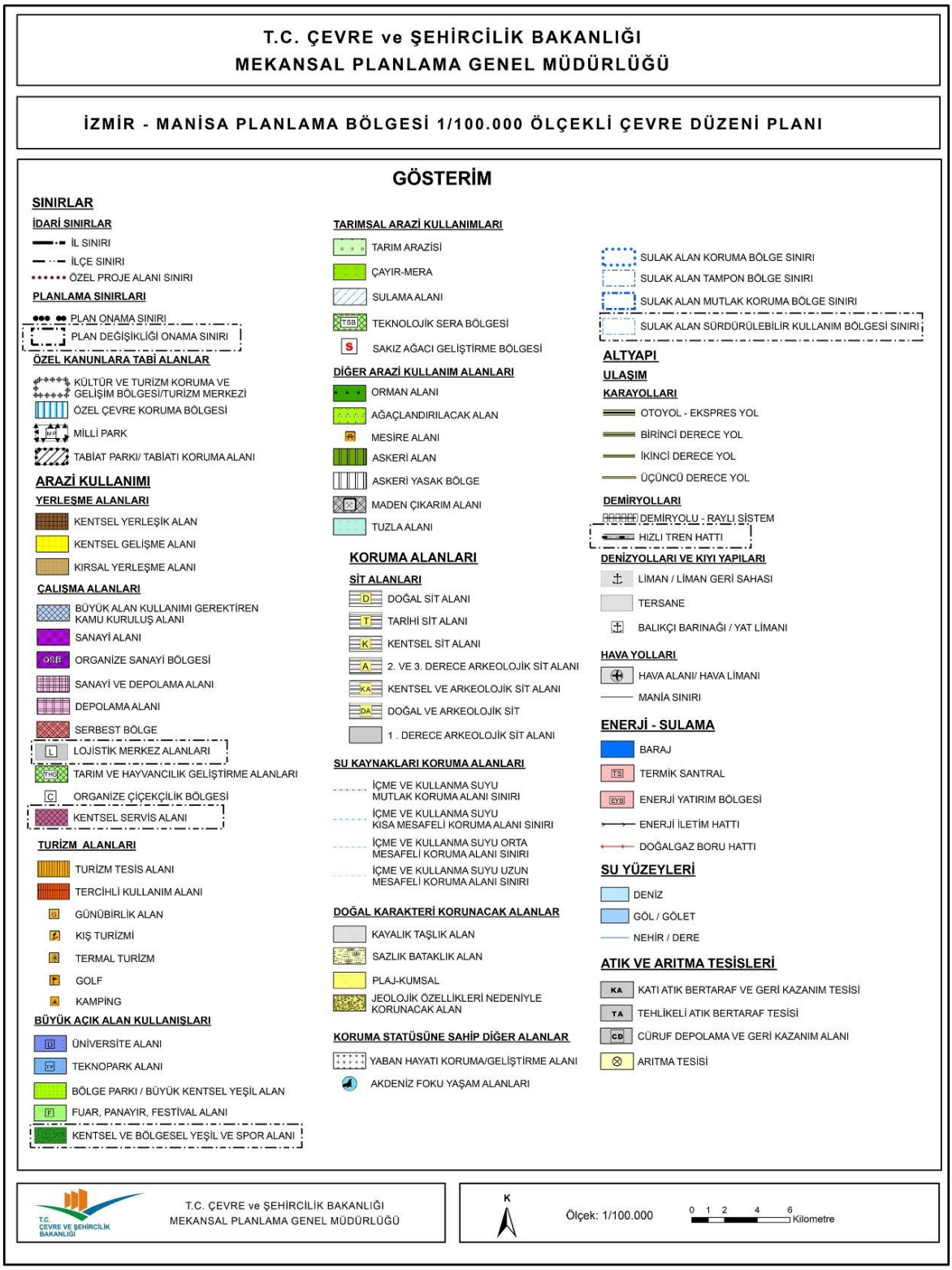

Figure 24. The lejand of 1/100.000 scaled İzmir-Manisa Master Plan

(Source. The Master Plan Bureau of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

Lastly, the planning process of the İzmir Alsancak port is elaborated. After the privatization of İzmir Alsancak port in 2005, the plans of the cruise port were prepared and approved by the Privatization Administration on 30th April 2012. These plans were prepared based on the 1/5000 scaled Master Development Plan and the 1/1000 scaled Implementary Development Plan. The total planning area was consisted of 160 ha. According to the plan report, the functions that can take place in the Cruise Port Area were determined within the Coastal Law No. 3621. Because of this, the cruise port area was composed of 4 areas: terminal area (1.region), cruise port area (2.region), trade area and tourism facility area (3.region), administrative service area (4.region) (Figure 25-26). The construction conditions were determined as FAR was 3.50 and maximum height was 30,5m. The plan report was prepared by the Privatization Administration. The plan note stated that the plan was prepared in accordance with the CBD's conditions, which were determined for the rear port of İzmir Alsancak.

The Chamber of Merchants and Craftsmen, the Chamber of City Planners, the Chamber of Architects and İzmir Metropolitan Municipality objected to this plan. Following these objections, an expert report was prepared. Shopping centres, cultural facilities, exhibition and meeting rooms, etc. were suggested for trade and tourism facilities. The Chamber of City Planners clearly states that these uses were contrary to Coastal Law No. 3621. The expert report also suggests that the proposed trade and tourism functions will cause traffic congestion. Because it was against the principles of planning discipline, the proposed trade and tourism uses in the plan were not approved by the report. Accordingly, the 6th Administrative Court of the Council of State decided to cancel the plan in 2015. The cancellation was taken for the trade area and tourism facility area.

Besides, the master plans for the cargo port of İzmir Alsancak was approved by the Privatization High Council on 3th November 2015 with the decision of 2015/79. These plans were prepared in 1/25000, 1/5000 and 1/1000 scales. In these plans, it was aimed to increase the capacity and efficiency of the port. In order to create a new city centre for İzmir in 2001, it was foreseen to move out of the cargo port. However, the decision of the Privatization High Council is different from the demands of the local government (İzmir Yük Limanı İlave ve Revizyon İmar Planı Açıklama Raporu 2016).

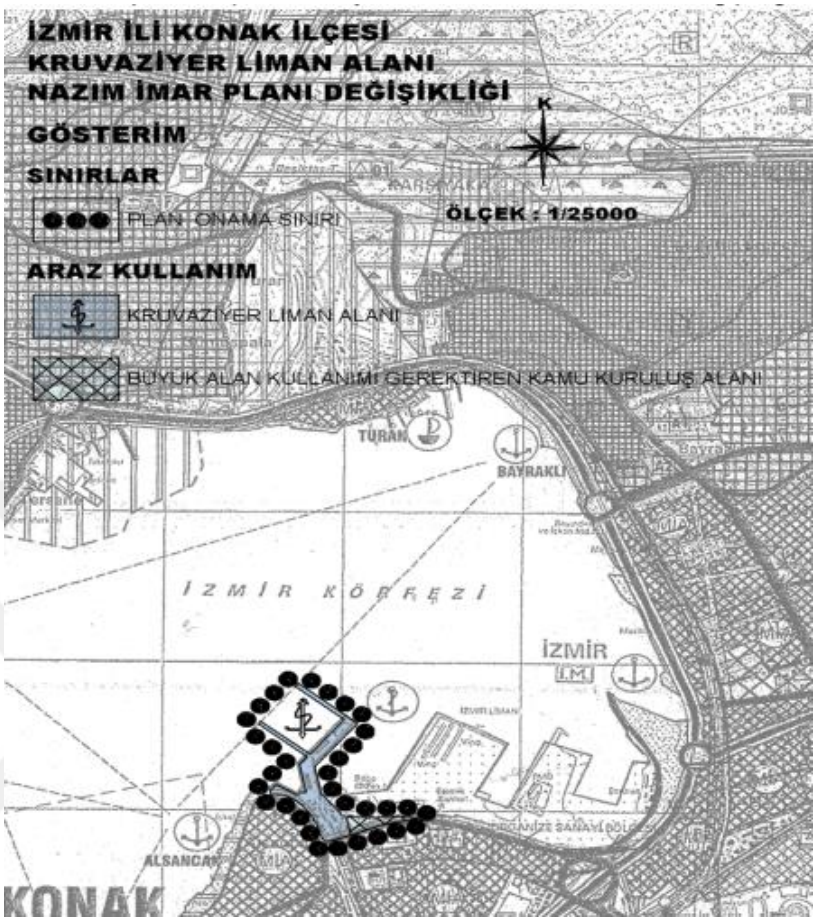

Figure 25. The 1/25.000 scaled plan of the cruise port in 2012

(Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

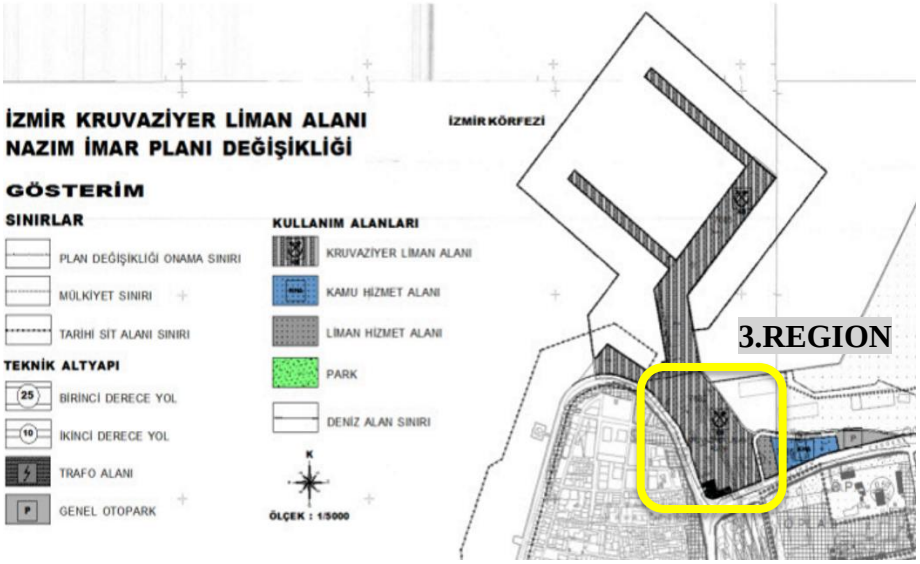

Figure 26. The 1/5.000 scaled plan of the cruise port in 2012

(Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019)

4.3.3. THE SPECULATIVE PROJECTS IN THE REAR PORT OF İZMİR ALSANCAK

The speculative development process that has started with the international urban design competition in 2001. The new city centre projects are implemented by investors to construct their fragmentary projects in this area. The area has been undergoing a radical transformation by the way of incremental speculative redevelopment projects. Mixed-use functions such as huge office towers, shopping malls, gated and luxury residential communities, cultural and entertainment facilities have been taken place in the scope of the new attractive spaces (Penbecioğlu 2012).

There are such present photos to show the rear port and its surrounding. In this image, the Alsancak port, some skyscrapers in the Salhane district and almost all of the rear port are seen (Figure 27).

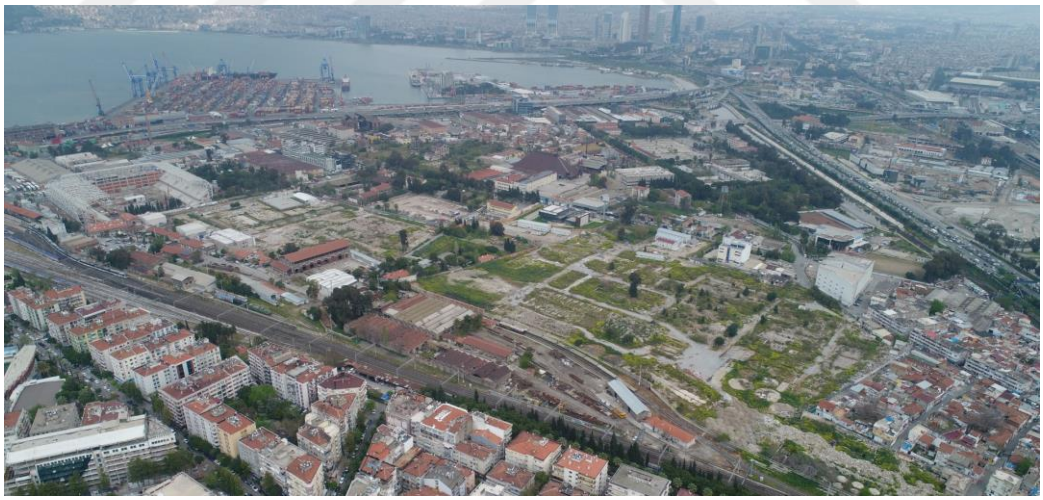

Figure 27. An aerial photo of the rear port, 2019
(Source: Emlak Konut Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı 2019)

This photograph (Figure 28) clearly presents a view from the İzmir Alsancak port to Ege Neighbourhood, (which is located to the south of the old Tariş lands), and the railway lines (IZBAN). Besides, this photo presents the spatial and social boundaries that occur with the railway lines. Because the old industrial sites are not used in current. Since these old industrial sites have surrounded by highway and train lines, there is no active relationship

with their surroundings. The population living in the rear port and the population living acroos the train lines do not have common usages within the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. Therefore, the train lines that create not only a physical boundary, but also a social boundary.

Figure 28. An aerial photo from Alsancak Stadium to Ege Neighbourhood, 2019
(Source. Emlak Konut Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı, 2019)

After preparing the new city centre master development plan, the Salhane district has undergone a rapid transformation process (Figure 29). The new city centre master development plan defines the use of central business district for the Salhane district. In the Salhane district, there are high-rise office and commercial uses. Ege Perla (2017), Mistral İzmir (2016) along the Ankara Street; Sunucu Plaza (2009), Novus & Ventus Towers (2018) along Islam Kerimov Street; Folkart Towers (2014) along Manas Boulevard; Tepekule (2006), Bayraklı Tower (2012), Megapol Towers (2012), My Plaza (2013) along Anadolu Street are located (Figure 30-31). The Salhane-Turan Region has been rapidly changing, while the rear port of İzmir Alsancak has a slower transformation due to its more complex character compared to the other two regions.

There are abandoned large storage areas, old industrial areas, and registered buildings, lands under the authority of the privatization administration, residential and educational areas, stadiums and public building in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. The master plan also divides the rear port of İzmir Alsancak, according to its qualifications. As seen in the above-mentioned plan decisions, different plan decisions are taken for the rear port. This

shows that the area has been in a multi-layer transformation process.

Figure 29. The view from the İzmir Gulf with the new city centre projects, 2017 (Source. Emre Arolat Mimarlık, 2019)

Figure 30. Mistral İzmir (at the left side) and Folkart Tower (at the right side) (Source. Arkiv & Emlak Kulisi, 2019)

Figure 31. Novus & Ventus Towers (at the left side) and Ege Perla (at the right side) (Source. Novus Ventus & Emre Oralat Mimarlık, 2019)

Not only has the Salhane region, but also Turan region has experienced such changes after the new city centre master development plan. One of the important targets of the new city centre plan is obtaining coastal integrity. Turan region is included in the plan in order to achieve this aim. The contract of the international competition in 2001 refers to the Turyağ

& Henkel Oil Factory and oil tanks in the Turan region. It was stated that this factory and warehouses should be moved. Turyağ & Henkel Oil Factory and these warehouses were moved during the preparing of the master plan. **Turyağ & Henkel Oil Factory** was moved from İzmir city to Balıkesir city in 2008. The factory was located at the seaside. New functions are defined as large tourism enterprises, shopping centres, and large green areas for the land of the factory (Figure 32).

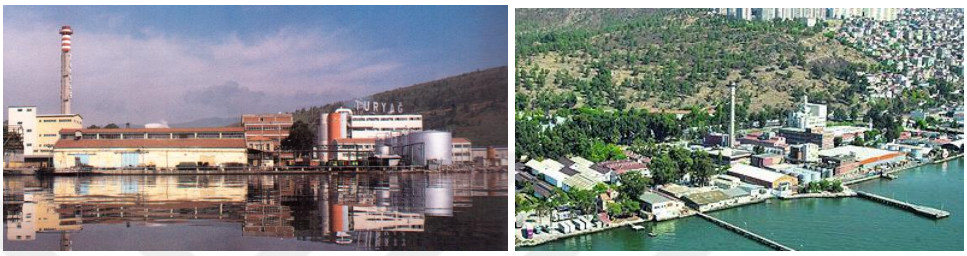

Figure 32. The photos of Turyağ & Henkel Oil Factory, 2017

(Source. Kent Stratejileri Enstitüsü, 2019)

The İzmir Gas Plant was shut down by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality with the decision no 5195 dated on 1th September 1994 because it completed its economic life. It was registered as industrial heritage in 1998 by the İzmir No. 1 Cultural and Natural Heritage Protection Board (Kayın and Şimşek 2009). The construction decision for the Gas Plant is stated as "special implementation area" in the 1/5000 scaled master plan and the 1/1000 scaled implementary plan (Figure 36). Tourism and trade facilities are allowed. So, a restoration project was prepared in 2008. It was brought into use as the Historical Gas Plant Congress and Culture Center in 2009. The building contains administrative buildings, cafeterias, exhibition halls and art workshops.

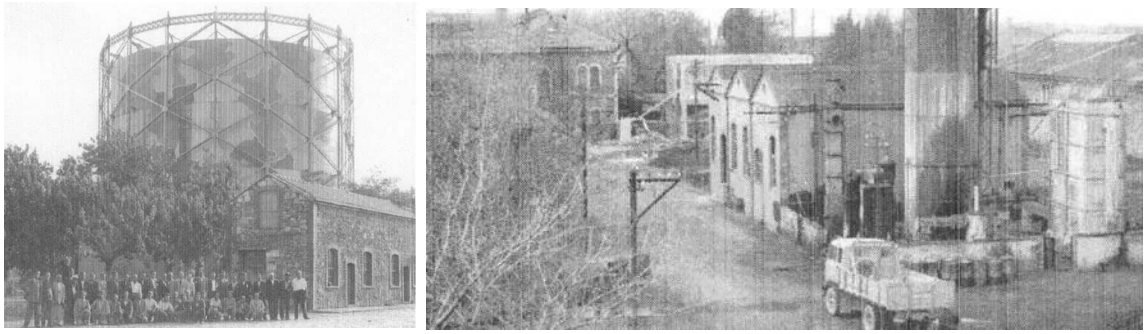

Figure 33. The historical photos about İzmir Gas Plant in 1940s

(Source. Erhan Uludağ Blog, 2019)

Figure 34. The photos from İzmir Historical Gas Plant Congress and Culture Center, 2009 (Source. Kayın and Şimşek 2009)

Alsancak Electricity Factory was shut down in 1989 because it caused environmental pollution and completed its economic life. The construction decision of the Alsancak Electricity Factory is stated as "special implementation area" in the 1/5000 scaled master plan and the 1/1000 scaled implementary plan (Figure 36). Tourism and trade facilities are allowed. On 1th January 1998, with the decision of the Board for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets, No. 1 of İzmir, it was registered as "Cultural Heritage to be protected". The ownership of the factory belonged to the Privatization Administration. However, there were some studies of the professional chambers which were related to the necessity for transferring ownership to the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. Finally, on 16th April 2019, as a result of the tender made by the Privatization Administration, the factory was bought by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (Figure 35). Currently, the approval of the Presidency for the transfer of the factory to the Municipality is pending (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2019).

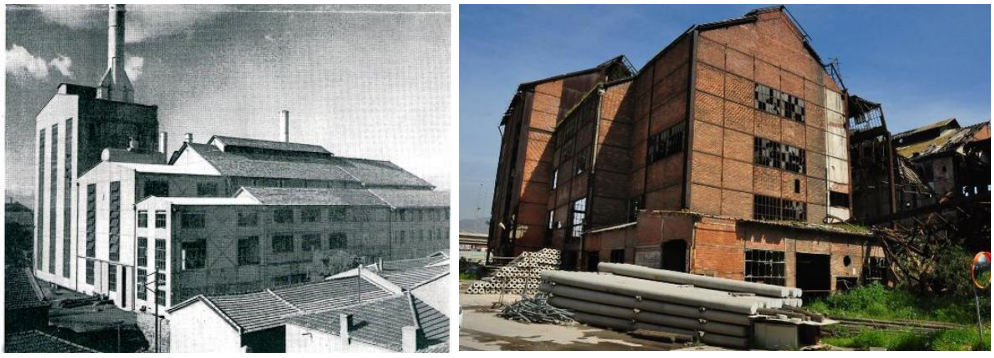

Figure 35. The historical photo (at the left) (2012) of the Electricity Factory and the current photo (at the right) (2019) of the Electricity Factory (Source. Indigogiller Blog & Cnntürk Gazetesi, 2019)

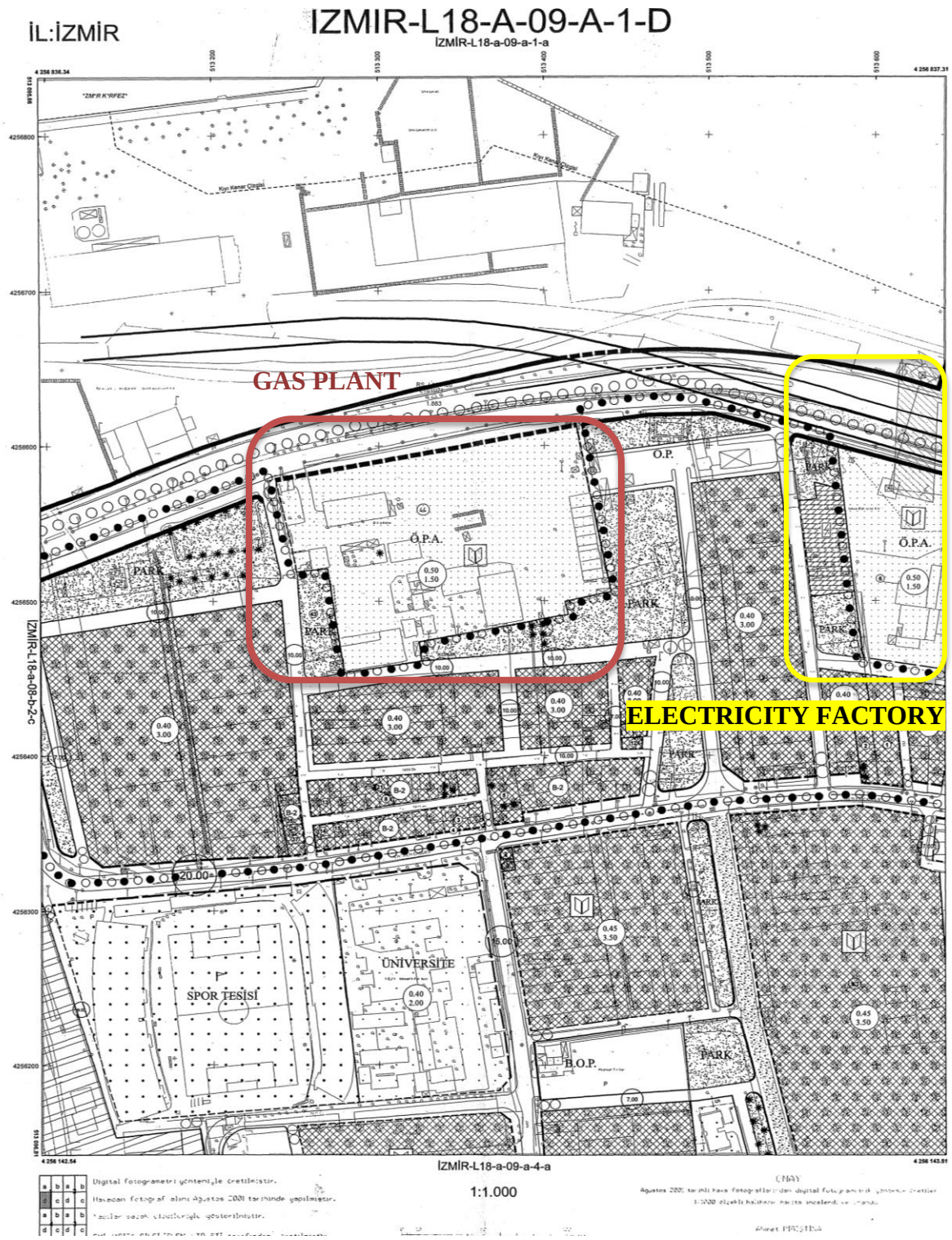

Figure 36. The location of Gas Plant and the Electricity Factory in the 1/1000 scaled, Rear Port of İzmir Alsancak and Salhane District Implementary Plan (Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2019)

In addition, the construction decision of the Halkapınar Tuzakoğlu Flour Factory is stated as “municipality service area” in the 1/5000 scaled master plan and the 1/1000 scaled implementary plan (Figure 37). The restoration plan of Halkapınar Tuzakoğlu Flour Factory started in 2014 and currently, it is used as City College and Vocational School. This renewal project is located across the Meles River (Figure 38).

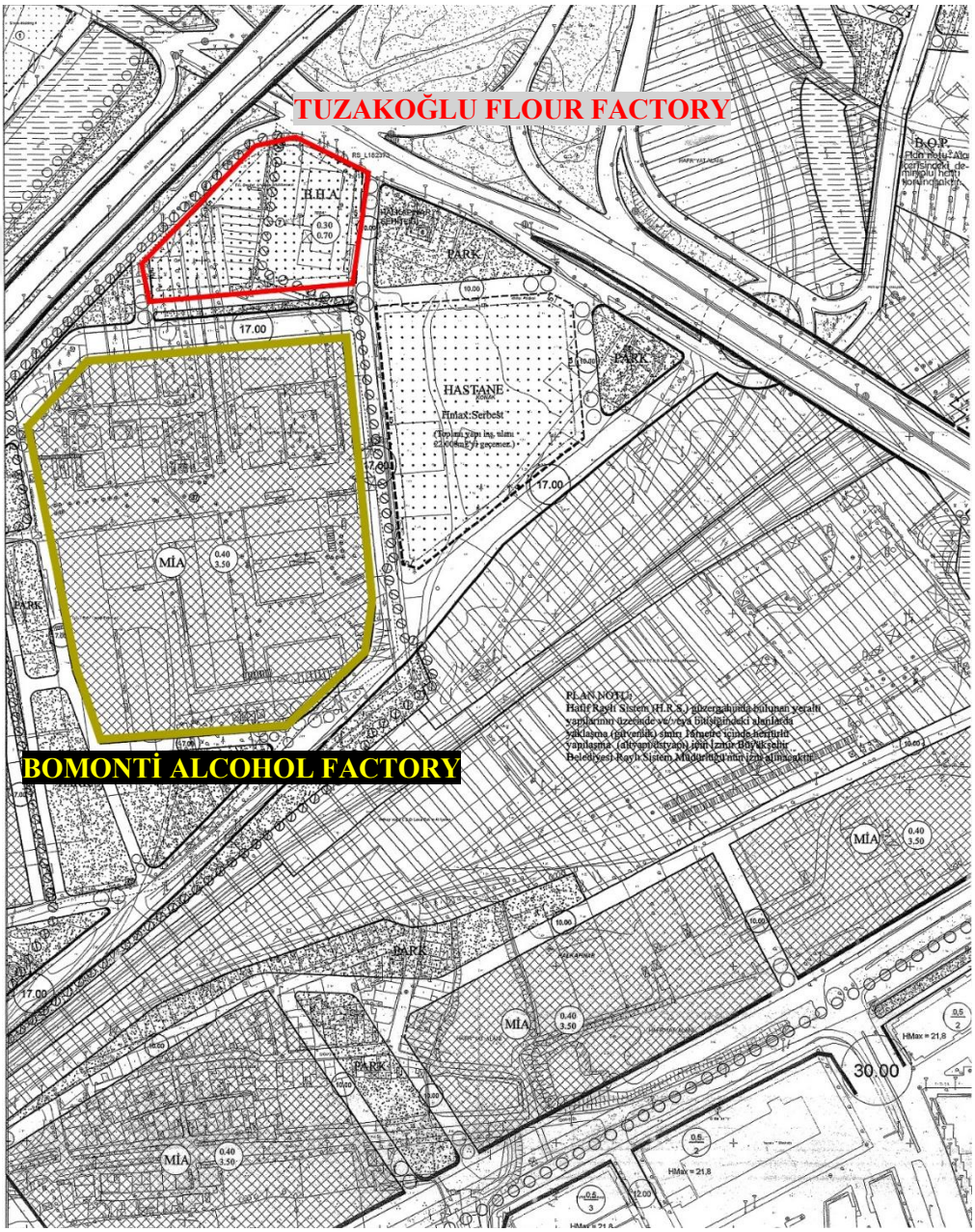

Figure 37. The location of Halkapınar Tuzakoğlu Flour Factory and the Bomonti Alcohol Factory in the 1/1000 scaled the rear port of İzmir Alsancak and Salhane District Implementary Plan (Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2019)

Figure 38. The historical photo (at the left) from Halkapınar Tuzakoğlu Flour Factory and the current photo (at the right) from Halkapınar Tuzakoğlu Flour Factory (Source. İzmirmag, 2019)

Following the privatization of the TEKEL, **Alsancak Tekel Cigarette Factory** was closed down and transferred to the Privatization Administration. The factory land was transferred to the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums for the purpose of cultural services by the decision of the High Council of Privatization dated on 22th June 2007 and numbered 2007/46. Since 2007, the land has been auctioned by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Atalık 2009). In the 1/1000 scaled the Rear Port of İzmir Alsancak and Salhane District Implementary Plan, "education area that aims cultural and art facilities" is planned for this area (Figure 41).

In 2016, the Nevvar Salih İşgören Foundation rented the Tekel Cigarette Factory for 25 years from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. This project has not been realized yet. A cultural centre project that will use such as a library, restaurant, concert hall, and guest house is on the agenda.

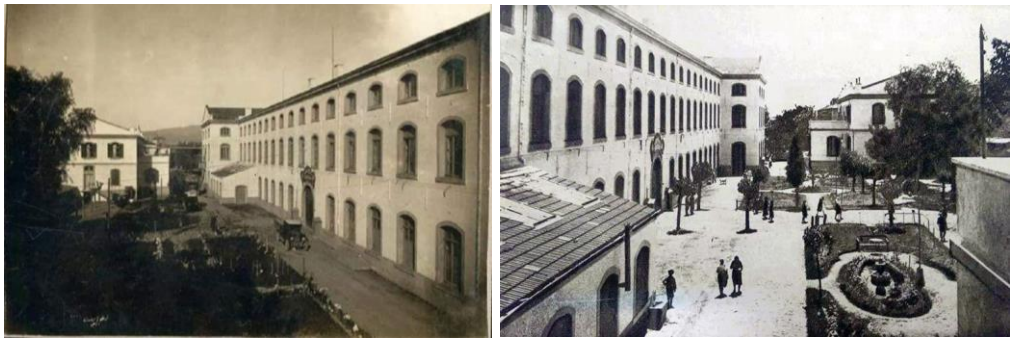

Figure 39. The historical photos from Tekel Cigarette Factory
(Source. Kent Yaşam, 2019)

Figure 40. The historical photos of Tekel Cigarette Factory

(Source. Photos were taken by the author, 2019)

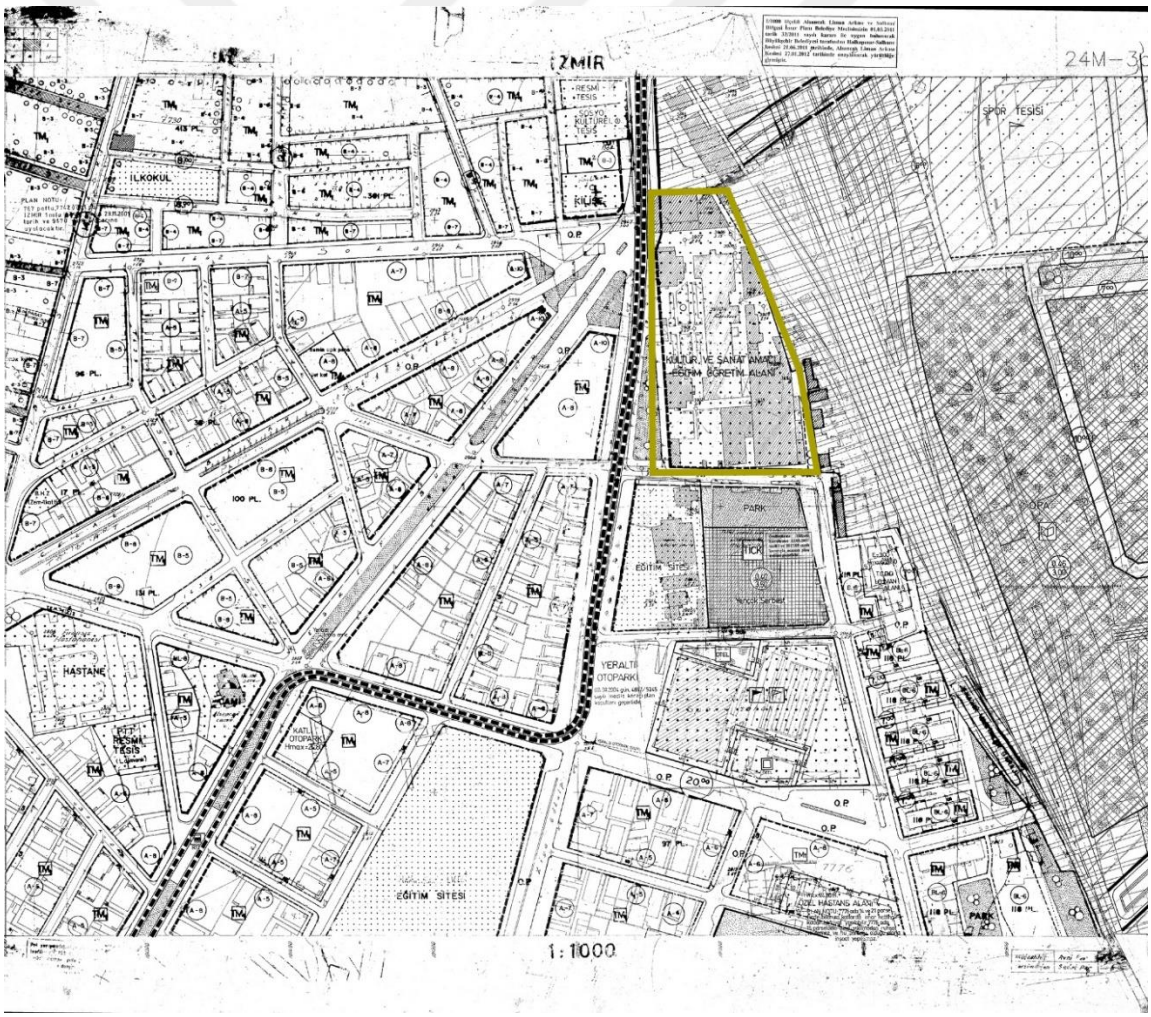

Figure 41. The location of Tekel Cigarette Factory in the 1/1000 scaled The Rear Port İzmir Alsancak and Salhane District Implementary Plan (Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2019)

In addition, after the privatization of **Sümerbank**, its land in this area was transferred to the Special Provincial Administration in 2013. In 2014, the ownership of Sümerbank land was transferred to the Treasury as a result of the closure of the Special Provincial Administrations with the Metropolitan Law No.6360 (Arıtan and Sayar 2009). There is a disagreement between İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and İzmir Governorship regarding the ownership of the land in question.

In 2013, the Provincial General Assembly took a decision to allocate the land to the Metropolitan Municipality for 20 years, but the governor's office rejected the decision with the reason that it was not in compliance with the legislation. For this reason, there is no work on the land yet. In the new city centre Master Development Plan (2011), the parcel of Sümerbank is taken into “a special project area”. So, a cultural facility area, vocational and technical education facility areas and primary education area are defined for this parcel. The construction conditions are specified as FAR is 3.50 and BCR is 0.45, also the maximum height is 12.50m. (Figure 43).

Figure 42. The current photos of Sümerbank Basma Company

(Source. Arıtan and Sayar, 2009 (for the left one), Google Earth, 2019 (for others)

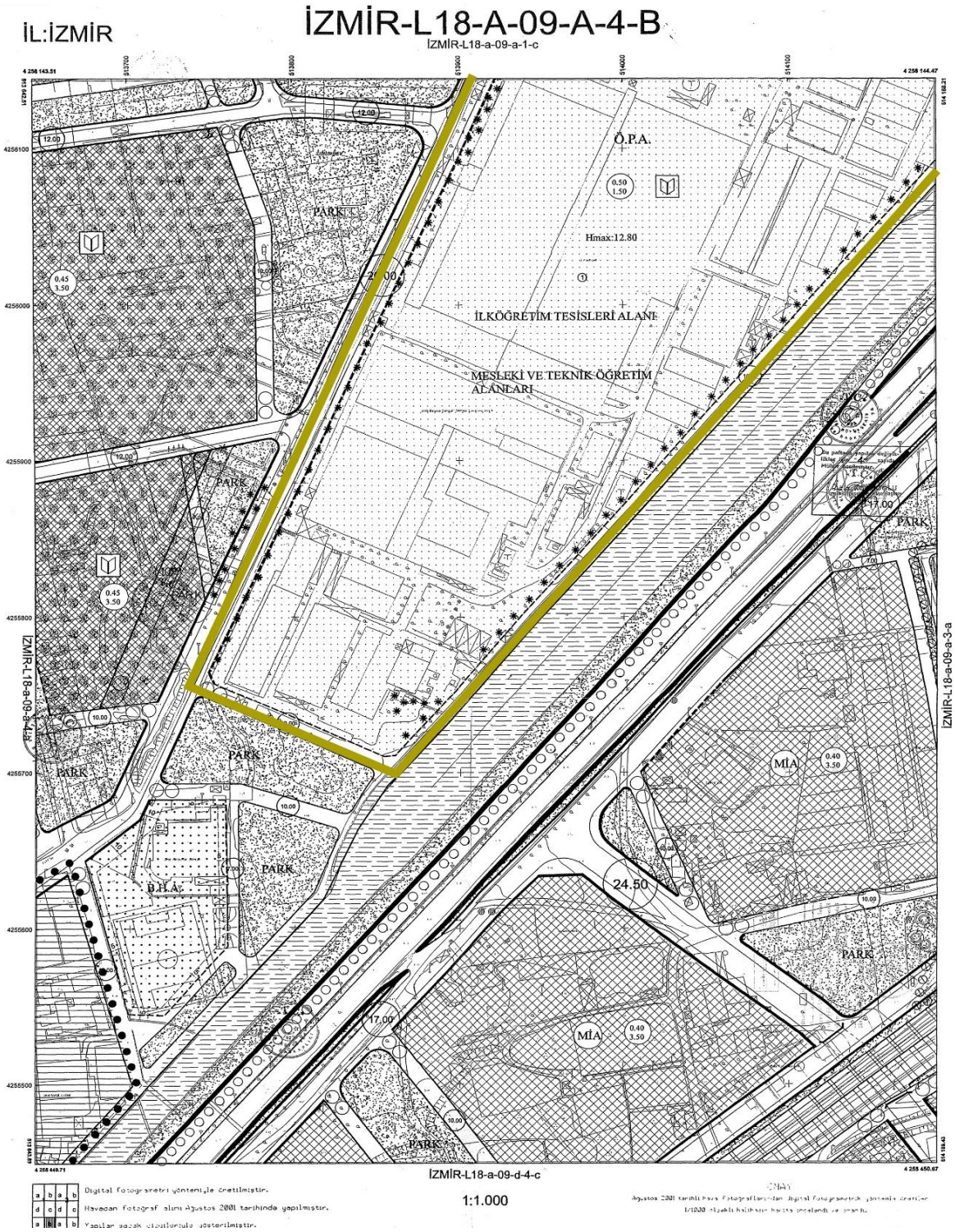

Figure 43. The location of Sümerbank in the 1/1000 scaled The Rear Port İzmir Alsancak and Salhane District Implementary Plan (Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2019)

İzmir Şark Company continued its activity in 1976 until the company went bankruptcy (Sipahioğlu 2012). There are a water tank and vacant buildings, in addition to a registered wall and fountain in the factory's land. In 2015, various news were published about the sale of the factory. In 2016, the factory was exposed to a fire. At present, the ownership belongs to a private company. In the new city centre master development plan (2011), "tourism, trade, and cultural functions" are planned for the factory and the parcel of the İzmir Oriental Factory. The construction conditions are specified as FAR is 3.50 and BCR is 0.45, also the maximum height is free (Figure 46).

Figure 44. The current photo-1 of İzmir Şark Factory, 2016
(Source. İzmir Chamber of Architecture Archive, 2016)

Figure 45.The current photo-2 of İzmir Şark Factory, 2019
(Source. Yenigün Newspaper, 2019)

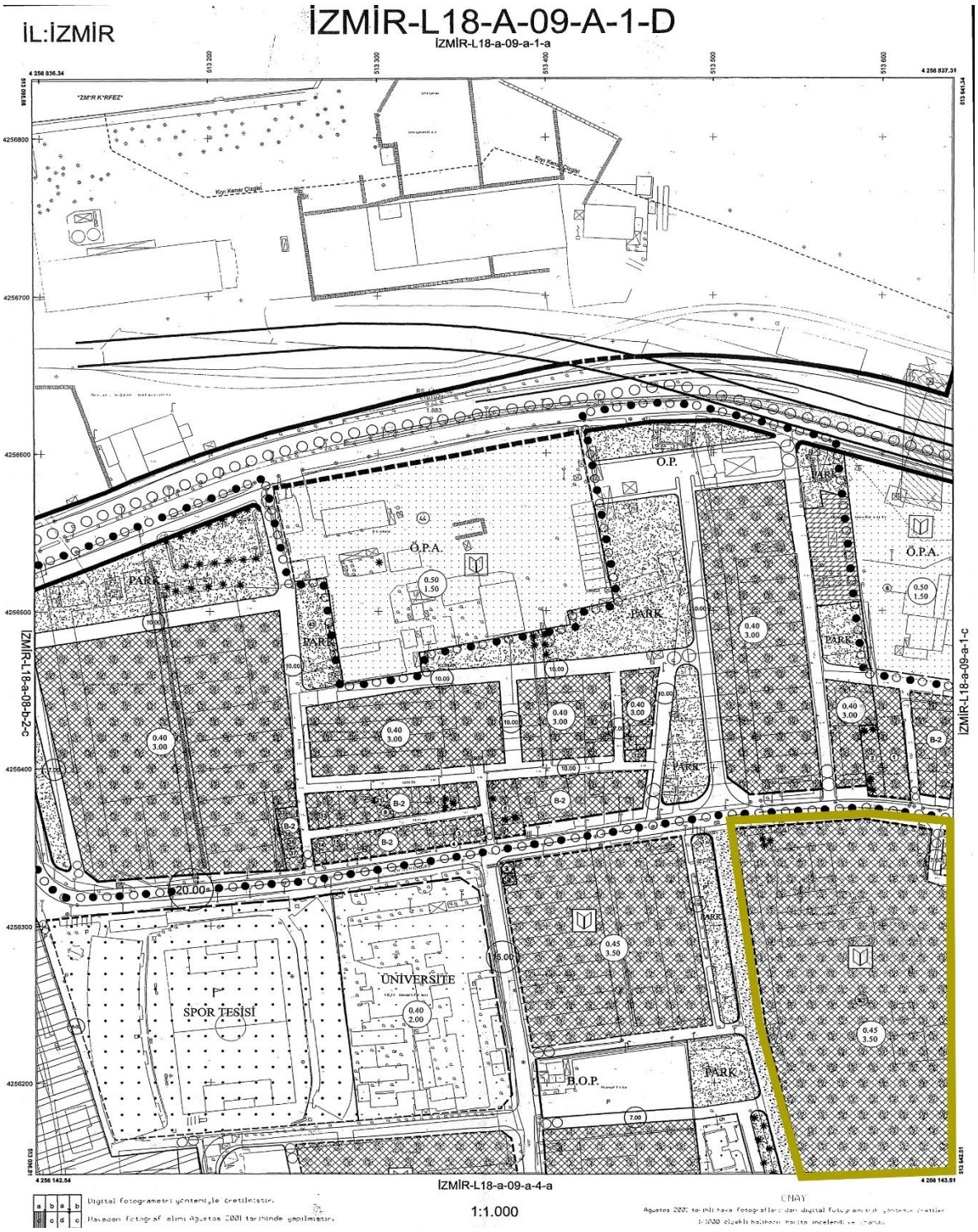

Figure 46. The location of the İzmir Şark Factory in the 1/1000 scaled The Rear Port of İzmir Alsancak and Salhane District Implementary Plan (Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2019)

TARİŞ was gained autonomy with the Law No.4752 on Agricultural Sales Cooperatives and Unions on 16th June 2000, which was issued with the aim of restructuring the unions. In 2006, it has started its activities in Aydın city. Following the evacuation of the Alsancak Tariş facilities, the parcels were identified as risky buildings area according to the law numbered 6306. Then, the structures were demolished.

The property owned by Tariş was transferred to Emlak Konut Real Estate Investment Trust (GYO) Inc. for the purpose of fulfilling the requirements of the new city centre on 31th October 2018 (İzmir Konak Umurbey Evora İzmir 1.Etap Projesi Değerleme Raporu, p. 29). Emlak Konut Real Estate Investment Trust (GYO) is the subsidiary of Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI). There is a basic scheme that the real estate investment trust (Emlak Konut GYO) buys land from TOKI and takes out the auction these properties and sell them. Then a construction company starts to develop a project on this land. This organization is an example of public-private partnership.

As mentioned before, the project area has the functions of tourism, trade, and culture in the 1/5.000 scaled New City Center Master Plan in the 16th June 2010 approval. Following that, the 1/1.000 scaled the Rear Port of İzmir Alsancak and Salhane Region Implementation Development Plan was approved by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Assembly on 16th December 2011. FAR is determined as 3.50 and BCR also as 0.45 as the construction conditions for “tourism, trade and cultural facilities”. It is determined that shopping centres, all kinds of trade and tourism facilities and offices and cultural facilities can be found there. Also, it is possible that 1/3 of the construction area can be used for housing.

Changes in the plan notes of these development plans have undergone a highly speculative process. Although the development plans have the impression that it is composed of different regions defined by different decisions of use, it is seen that these regions have similar construction conditions. For this reason, the lawsuits for cancellation have been filed by the related organizations. This speculative process was repeated several times in 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017.

The İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, the Chamber of Planners, and the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning were the parties of this transformation process. The Ministry concluded the long litigation process between local government and the professional chamber. The Ministry’s authority is defined by the No.1.Presidential Decree.

The transformation of the Tariş lands exemplifies one of the important speculative developments to be witnessed in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. The following list shows how different actors determine the urban built environment through the mechanisms of neoliberalism.

- The 1/5.000 scaled New City Center Master Development Plan Revision in the plan note was cancelled with the 2015/1186 decision of the 1st. Administrative Court. In accordance with the court decisions, the amendment was approved by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality on 24th November 2016 through 1/5000 scaled Master Development Plan.
- The 1/1000 scaled the Rear Port of İzmir Alsancak and Salhane District Implementation Plan was approved by the No. 05.359 numbered revision decision in the plan note by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality on 13th April 2015. However, it was decided by the 5th Administrative Court of İzmir to resign the plan notes and legend changes in the decision dated on 24th November 2016. The reason for this cancellation was that the plan note of the 1/1000 scaled Rear Port of İzmir Alsancak and Salhane District Implementation Plan accepted that housing should be implemented in only 1/3 of total construction rate. However, housing could be made up 40 per cent of the total construction area in the revised plan note. Moreover, the social infrastructure and technical infrastructure that is needed by the growth of the population are left to the urban design project.
- The parcellation in the 1/1000 scaled plan was carried out by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. With the decision no. 2017/254 dated on 15th February 2017, the parcellation revision plan was cancelled.
- The plan note of the 1/1.000 scaled Alsancak Port and Salhane Region Implementation Development Plan was revised. Housing was added to the use of tourism, trade, and cultural facilities by the No. 05.270 numbered decision of the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality on 13th March 2017.

With the Decree-Law no. 644 and No.1 Presidential Decree, as it was mentioned in the previous chapters, the authority of plan approval in all kinds of scales endowned to the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning. To conclude, the Ministry approved changes in the 1/5000 scaled Master Development Plan and the 1/1000 scaled Implementary

Development Plan which make possible the project in the Tariş lands. This confirmation gets by in accordance with Law No.6360 about risk areas, Decree Law No. 644 and Law No.3194 Physical Development Planning Law. The Chamber of Planners also opened the case against this plan approval on 10th March 2017. The case procedures continue at present time.

According to this plan, "tourism, trade and housing uses" were proposed (Figure 47-48). The first tender for Tariş lands was made in June 2017. Following the tender, the project was approved by the Ministry Environment and Urbanisation in August 2018. The project is named Evora İzmir. The project of Evora İzmir consists of 1049 residences, 41 commercial areas, a hotel of 121 rooms, and cultural areas. The total project area is 226 square meters. The project construction began in October 2018. Construction is planned to be completed in 2021.

The second tender for Tariş lands was made in June 2017. A private construction company purchases the land. However, the construction of the project has not started yet. The project is named Allsancak. Within the scope of the Allsancak project, 1070 residences, 35 commercial areas, a hotel of 130 rooms, cultural centres, private colleges and a primary school are planned (Figure 49).

Figure 47. The renders for the Evora İzmir Project, 2018
(Source. İzmir Konak Umurbey Evora İzmir 1.Etap Projesi Değerleme Raporu, 2018)

There are also two speculative projects across the Meles River, between Halkapınar and Hilal stations. The first one is named as Mahall Bomonti and is located in the Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory. The second one is named as Folkart Vega which is nearby Mahall Bomonti project. Firstly, **The Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory** operated by the TEKEL was shut down after the privatization of TEKEL in 2001. The 1/5000 scaled İzmir

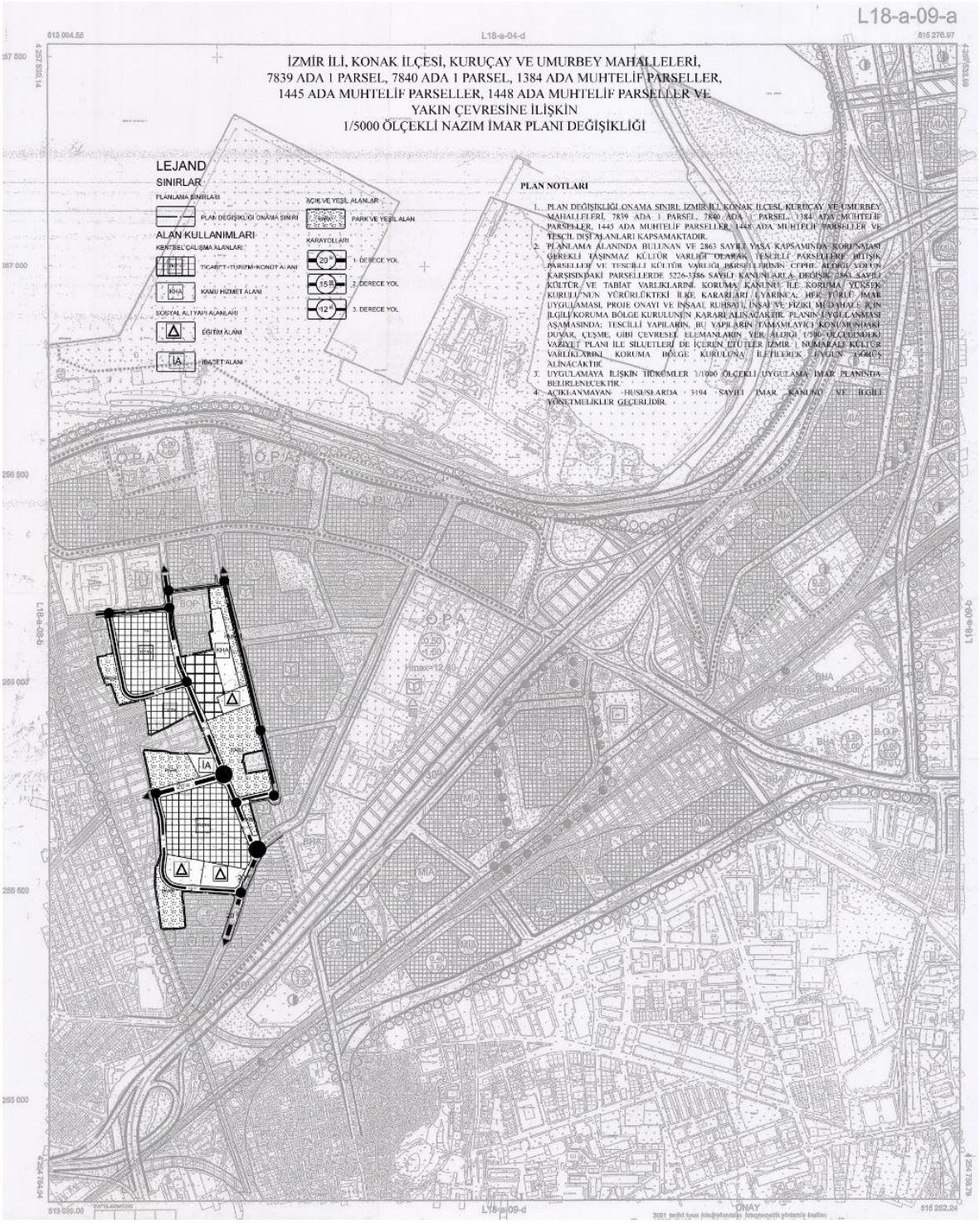

Figure 48. The 1/5000 scaled the Revision of Master Plan, for Tariş lands

(Source. The Chamber of City Planners in İzmir, 2018)

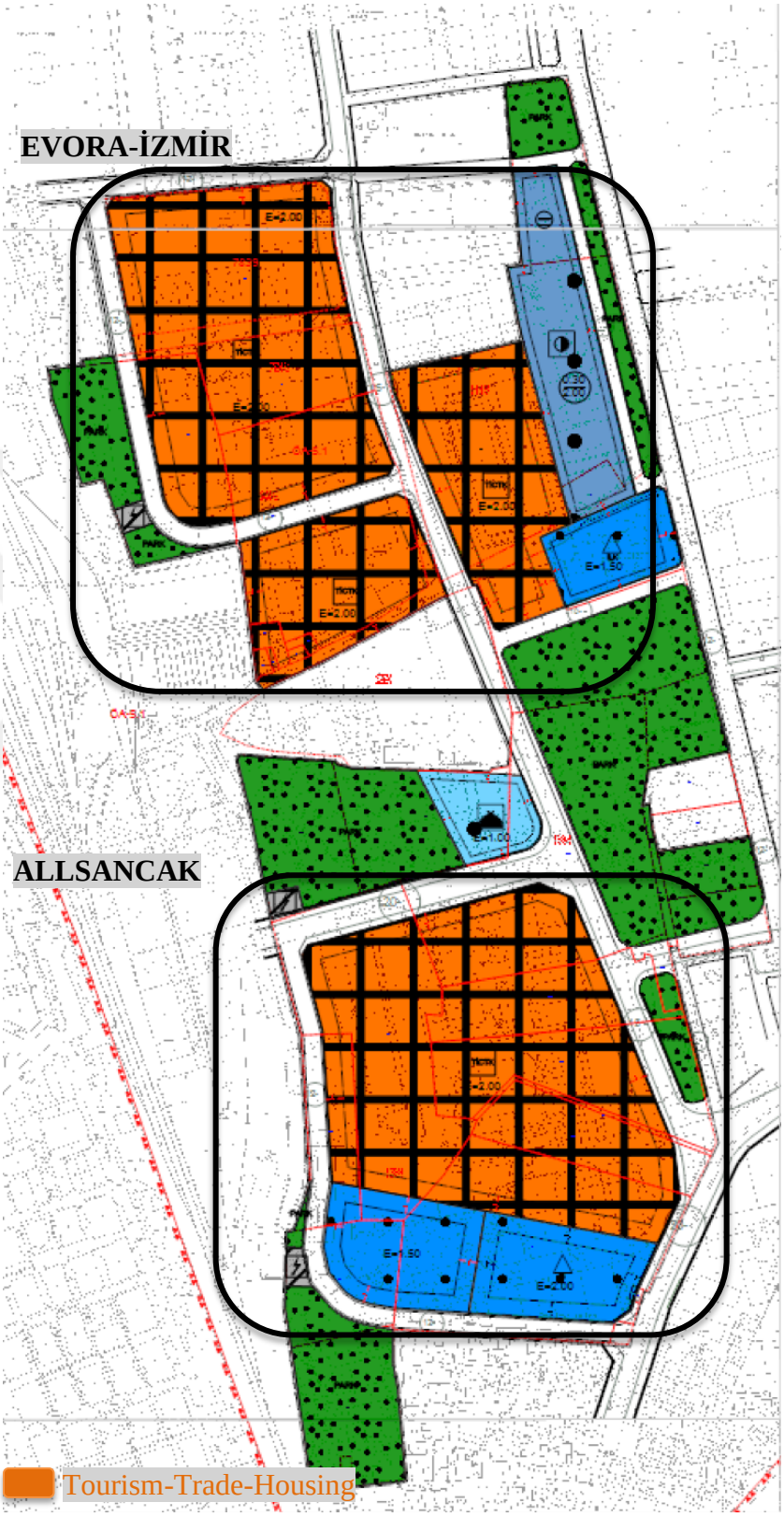

Figure 49. The 1/1000 scaled Revision of Master Plan of Tariş lands

(Source. The Chamber of City Planners in İzmir, 2018)

New City Centre Master Development Plan was approved by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Council on 21th January 2011 with the decision number of 01/916. The plan states that this area is under the authority of the Privatization High Council of Prime Ministry. According to Article 9 in the Physical Development Planning Law (No.3194), the authority to prepare and approve the development plan in any scale for the lands in the privatization program belongs to the Privatization High Council.

There are also registered buildings which are required to be protected as cultural assets in the parcels of planning, and are subjected to the numbered 862 decisions on 12th April 1985 and the 2586 numbered decision on 20th September 2007 of the İzmir No.1 Conservation Board. It is stated in the plan report that it is necessary to prepare surveying and restoration projects for these registered structures.

The 1/5000 scaled Master Plan and the 1/1000 scaled Implementary Development Plan were approved for those parcel by the Privatization High Council on 6th February 2012 with the decision number of 2012/18. Besides, the 1/1000 scaled Implementary Development Plan was prepared by the Privatization High Council. Then, new such amendments were made in plan decisions. The central business function was planned before. However, this decision is updated with "trade and housing functions". All kinds of trade, office, commercial storage, multi-storey stores, entertainment areas, and residential use are considered within the context of trade and housing use. Also, the construction conditions are defined as 3.50 for FAR value, 0.40 for BCR value. The height of the building is specified as unlimited. The process of adopting the development plans for the project and how the actors participate in the process are listed as follows:

Figure 50. The historical photos of Halkapınar Tekel Alcohol Factory, 2017

(Source. Mahall Bomonti İzmir, 2019)

- The Chamber of City Planners opened annulment action regarding the project's plans to the 6th Council of State Council on 28th April 2013. In 2014, an expert report on this case was prepared. According to the expert report, the Chamber of City Planners argues that these development plans which are prepared by Privatization High Council are contrary to the principles of urbanisation discipline due to the fact that increasing the human and car population density, decreasing in open public spaces, and lack of social and cultural facilities and inefficiency of infrastructure.
- The 6th Council of State decided to suspend its execution until the expert report was prepared on 06th November 2013.
- The Directorate of Privatization Administration objected to the decision on 04th March 2014 and its objection was rejected on 10th April 2014.
- The private contractor company implement the project, requested to be involved in the case on 04th April 2014 and the court accepted its request.
- The private company submitted a petition on 15th September 2014 to the Presidency of the 6th Council of State.
- The prominent point is that for the area included by the privatization program, the local government does not have an authority according to the Physical Development Planning Law (No.3194).
- As a result of the expert report in (2014), it was decided that the upper scale plans were made by related institutions (the 1/100.000 scaled, the 1/25.000 scaled, the 1/5.000 scaled) and the 1/5000 scaled and the 1/1000 scaled plans were prepared by Directorate of Privatization Administration did not differ in terms of the construction conditions and the content of the proposed uses. However, the project was decided to be against the principles of urbanisation based on above-mentioned reasons.
- As a result, the Council of State decided to reject the case regarding the amendment of the 1/5000 scaled Master Plan. However, it was decided to cancel the 1/1000 scaled Implementation Development Plan on 11th October 2016 with the decision of 2019/1888.
- With the decision no. 2018/19 on 22th January 2018, the 1/1000 scaled Implementation Development Plan was approved by the Privatization High Council (Figure 52).

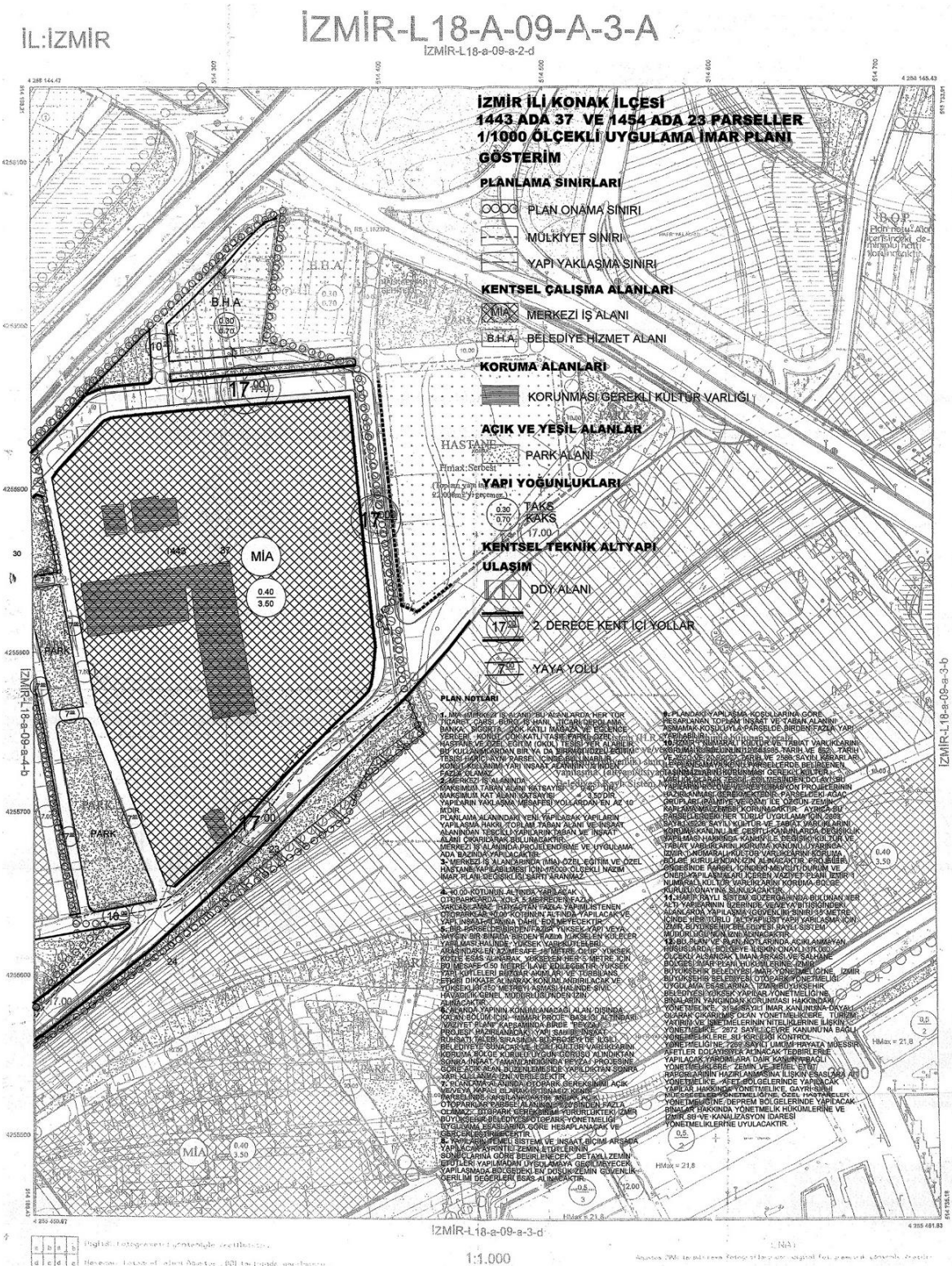

Figure 51. The revision of the 1/1000 scaled Implementary Development Plan of Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory, 2018 (Source. The Chamber of City Planners in İzmir, 2018)

Following the end of the case procedure, the architectural works of the “Mahall Bomonti” project were completed (Figure 51). It consists of 12 buildings, nine registered buildings and three new buildings, also a total construction area of 45 thousand square meters. The project includes 470 residences, 580 offices, 90 commercial units and cultural facilities such as showrooms, meeting rooms, and shopping stores. The construction works of the project were started in 2018, and continue 2019.

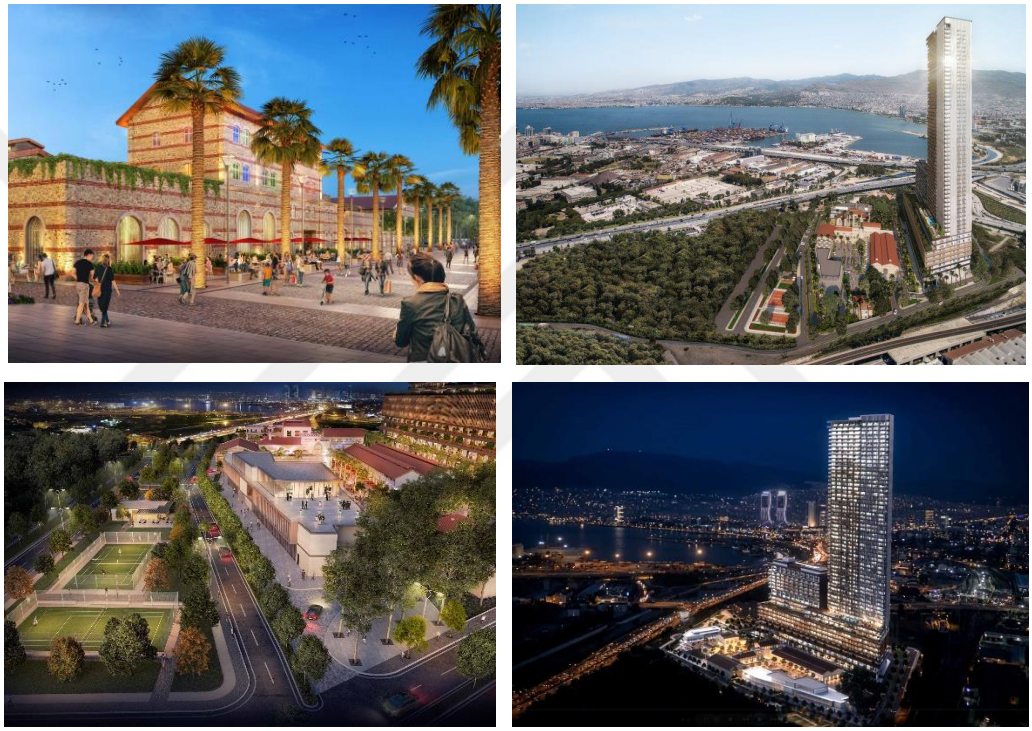

Figure 52. The renders of Mahall Bomonti Project, 2018

(Source. Mahall Bomonti İzmir, 2019)

As mentioned above, in 1/5000 New City Center Master Development Plan, the central business district was approved for the parcels across the Meles River. The central business function was planned for this area. The master plan decides in the construction conditions that the building height is unlimited, the FAR value is 3.50 and the BCR value is 0.45. This master plan made possible a private consturciton company, **Folkart,** to build a high-rise tower named Folkart Vega with mixed-use function on a large and single-owned parcel. The company purchased the small and privately-owned parcels in this area (Figure 53). The Folkart Vega project is planned with 53 commercial units and 843 houses with many

cultural facilities. The project is constructed on a 21 thousand square meter area with four blocks. Project construction was started in 2018 (Figure 54). It is targeted to complete the project in 2021.

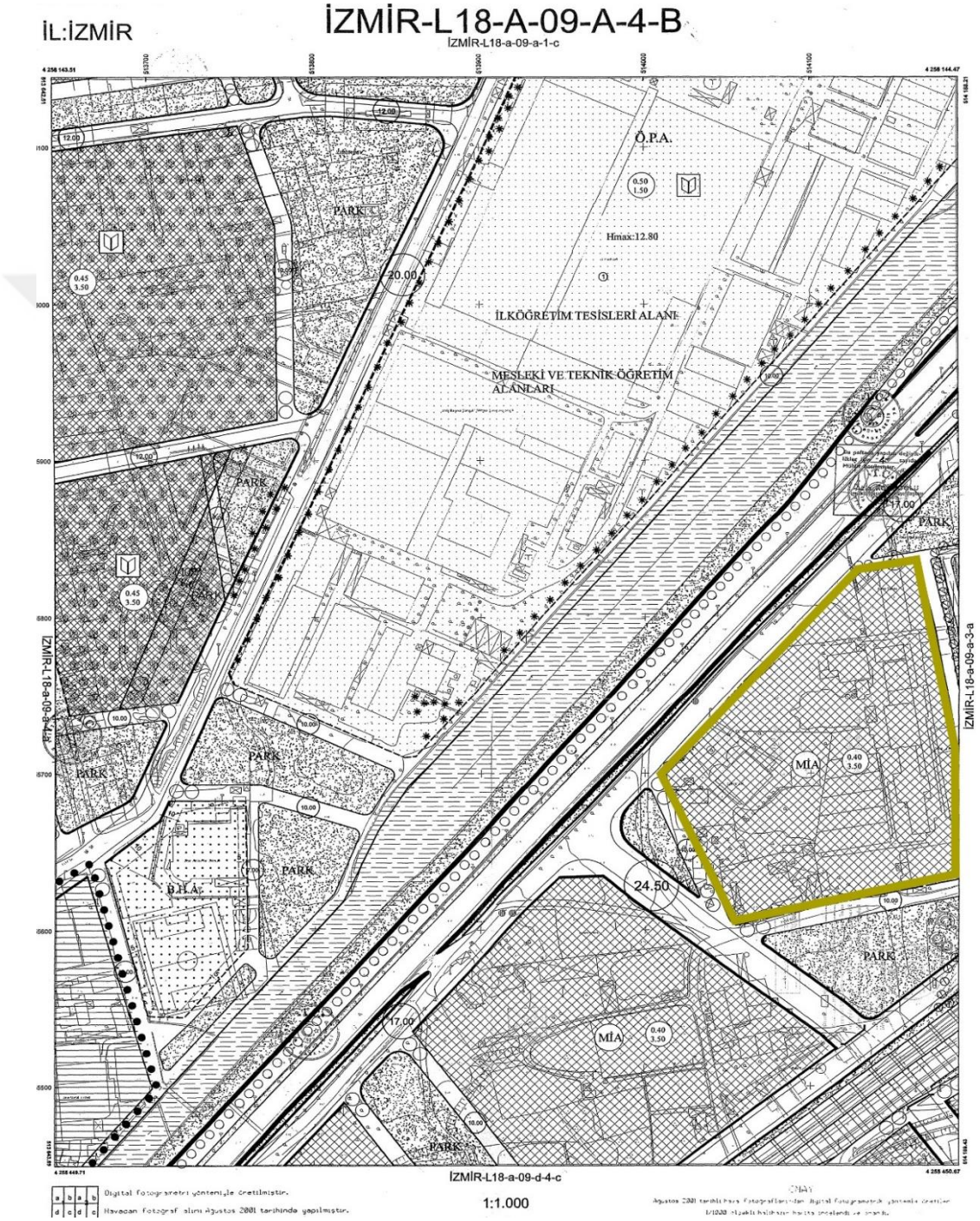

Figure 53. The location of Folkart Vega in the 1/1000 scaled the Rear Port of İzmir Alsancak and Salhane District Implementary Plan (Source. The Chamber of City Planners in İzmir, 2018)

Figure 54. The renders of Folkart Vega Project, 2018

(Source. Folkart Vega, 2019)

Finally, the urban regeneration project in the **Ege Neighbourhood** is going to be presented briefly. The contract of the international urban design competition states that there are two small residential areas. The first one is located between the İzmir Şark Company and Sümerbank Basma Factory. Another one is the Ege Neighbourhood, which is located in the southof the area.

Ege Neighbourhood is planned as a special planning area (Ö.PL.A.1.) in the new city centre master development plan in 2003. The construction conditions for this area is determined that FAR is 2.50. Also, the plan notes that other construction conditions will be determined in the sub-scale development plans after the completion of the analyses about property texture, and social structure research, etc. (Ege Mahallesi Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi Plan Raporu 2014).

Figure 55. The current photos of the Ege Neighbourhood

(Source. Google Images, 2019)

The Ege Neighbourhood is a special area due to its physical and social boundaries. The Ege Neighbourhood are surrounded by the old industrial areas in the North, the railway in the West, the Meles River and Mürsel Paşa Boulevard in the Southeast. Moreover, there are social factors defining social boundaries with lower income, unemployment, and illegal housing. As a result, Ege Neighbourhood is a poor housing area that is spatially, economically and socially limited (Figure 55).

The boundary of the Ege Neighborhood Urban Regeneration Project was found to be appropriate with the decision of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Council dated 16th September 2011 and numbered 05.790. The Council of Ministers' decision was published in the Official Gazette on 13th March 2013, and the project was entered put into force. To form a participatory process, "the advisory board" was founded by civil society organizations, the professional chambers, private sector representatives, public sector representatives, architectural bureaus and the public. In 2013, the urban design and idea competition was opened by the advisory board of the project. The purpose of the competition is to set an example for the contractor construction firm and support the participatory process (Ege Mahallesi Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi Plan Raporu, 2014). On 13th June 2014, the urban design and architectural works of the project were completed (Figure 56).

The urban regeneration project of Ege Neighbourhood is planned. The total project area is 7 hectares. Approximetly 3250 people live in this area. There are 809 independent units. The number of independent units to be planned is 1764 houses, 104 working places and 280 offices. However, the project has not been completed yet, it is not possible to know the number of housing to be given to right holders. The Reconciliation negotiations have been continuing since 2014 (Interview with Özge Dinç Bayrak, a city planner in İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2018).

Figure 56. The renders of the urban regeneration project of Ege Neighbourhood, 2017 (Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2018)

The municipality is to be the guarantor in this project. The local government is convicted for handing rights to the right holders mentioned in the Municipality Law No.5393. According to this law, rights holders in the urban regeneration project are property owners. It is not possible for tenants to have any right in the prospected regeneration project. 60% of the houses produced by the project belong to the local government and 40% belong to the contractor firm. After completing the construction, according to the plan, the Municipality will transfer the apartments to the property right owners and the contractor firm will sell the other apartments to the new owners. However, the tender was not completed in 2018. Therefore, the implementation and reconciliation negotiations process of the project continue in current time (Interview with Özge Dinç Bayrak, a city planner in the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 2018).

Figure 57. The layout of the urban transformation project of Ege Neighbourhood, 2017 (Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2018)

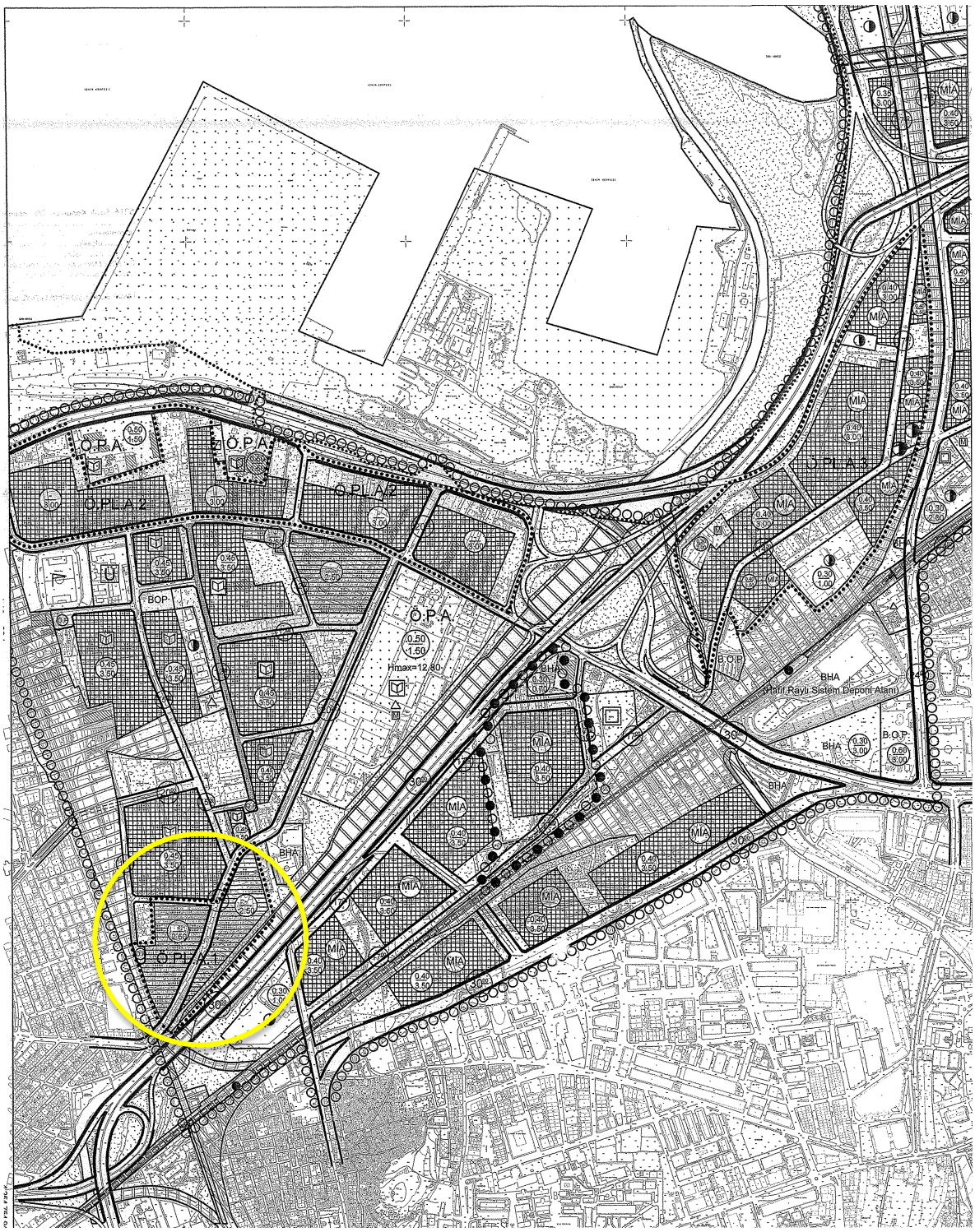

Figure 58. The location of Ege Neighbourhood in the 1/5000 scaled İzmir Master Development Plan (Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2018)

Table 5. The Comparison of Each Fragmentary Projects-1

(Source. Prepared by the author, 2019)

	Urban Regeneration	**Privatization**	**Restoration**	**Included in decision of CBD**	**Private Ownership**	**Public Ownership**	**Public-Private Partnership**
İzmir Alsancak Port		+					
İzmir Gas Plant			+			+	
Alsancak Electricity Factory		+				+	
Halkapınar Tuzakoğlu Flour Factory			+	+		+	
Alsancak Tekel Cigarette Factory		+					
Sümerbank Basma Factory		+				+	
İzmir Şark Company					+		
TARİŞ (Evora-İzmir and Allsancak)		+					+
Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory (Mahall Bomonti)		+	+	+			
Folkart Vega				+	+		
Ege Neighbourhood	+						

Table 6. The Comparison of Each Fragmentary Projects-2

(Source. Prepared by the author, 2019)

	Actors	**Current situation in 2019**
İzmir Alsancak Port **(1)**	• The Privatization Administration • The National Assest Fund • Proffesional Chambers • The 6th Council of State	Contiuning works for a cruise and cargo port
İzmir Gas Plant **(2)**	• The İzmir Metropolitan Municipality • İzmir No.1.Cultural and Natural Heritage Protection Board	Historical Gas Plant Congres and Culture Center
Alsancak Electricity Factory **(3)**	• The İzmir Metropolitan Municipality • Privatization Administration • Professional Chambers • İzmir No.1.Cultural and Natural Heritage Protection Board	Land transferring to The İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Not started construction
Halkapınar Tuzakoğlu Flour Factory **(4)**	• The İzmir Metropolitan Municipality	City College and Vocational School
Alsancak Tekel Cigarette Factory **(5)**	• The Privatization Administration • The General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums • The Ministry of Culture and Tourism • A foundation Organization	Rented by a foundation organization Not started construction
Sümerbank Basma Factory **(6)**	• The Privatization Administration • The Special Provincial Administration • The Teasury • The İzmir Metropolitan Municipality • The İzmir Governorship	Continuing conflicts about land ownership Not started construction

(Continued on the next page)

Table 6. (Continued)

İzmir Şark Company **(7)**	• Private Ownership	Not started construction
TARİŞ **(Evora-İzmir and Allsancak)** **(8)**	• Tariş as a cooperative • Emlak Konut Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT) • Proffesional Chambers • The İzmir Metropolitan Municipality • The Ministry of the Environment and Urban Planning • The Construction Firms	Under construction in order to build a high-rise luxury housing and commercial facilities
Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory **(Mahall Bomonti)** **(9)**	• The Privatization Administration • The Privatization High Council • İzmir No.1.Cultural and Natural Heritage Protection Board • Proffesional Chambers • The Construction Firm • The 6th Council of State	Under construction in order to build a high-rise luxury housing and commercial facilities
Folkart Vega **(10)**	• A Private Construction Firm	Under construction in order to build a high-rise luxury housing and commercial facilities
Ege Neighbourhood **(11)**	• The İzmir Metropolitan Municipality • A Designer Firm • Neighbourhood residents and right owners	Continuing in negotitation meetings of the urban regeneration project

The rear port of İzmir Alsancak provides a multidimensional example of the neoliberal urbanisation process in the last 20 years (Table 5-6). A multi-layered transformation with multi-actor is taking place within an area limited by train lines. Especially after the deindustrialisation and the rising neoliberal policies, port cities and their rear regions are considered as new attraction centers of the cities. As mentioned above, port cities that transform according to urban entrepreneuralism are seen in many world cities. The rear port of İzmir Alsancak is a multi-dimensional example should be included in the

literature at this point. Besides, these fragmentary projects in the port and its rear under the boundaries of the new city centre are mapped (Figure 59).

Figure 59. Fragmentary projects in the new city centre master plan boundaries (Source. Chamber of City Planners in İzmir, 2019 & Revised by the author, 2019)

The starting point of this transformation process is the international design competition in 2001. In order to create more attractive center in İzmir city, local government of İzmir takes an entrepreneurial stance with this competition since 2001. Therefore, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality is an actor in almost all projects (Table 6). The issue that should be emphasized at this point is that the decisions of the new city centre master development plan (prepared by the local government) is parallel to the structural decisions and land use decisions of each fragmentary projects. Thus, it is seen that an urban entrepreneurial approach prevails in İzmir city. There is no public participation in the process. During the process of creating new city centre, a participatory process is followed only for the Ege Neighborhood regeneration project. However, it is seen the participation of the professional chambers in every stage of the process. That's why, the professional chambers are another key actors in this process.

On the other hand, privatization is one of the most important mechanisms of neoliberal urbanisation. After completing the deregulation and reregulation reforms and creating the legal framework of privatization, the Privatization Administration has an authority in production of urban built environment. After any immovable property or land has been included in the privatization program, the authority to prepare and approve plans for these properites and lands in any scale belongs to the Privatization Administration. That's why, the Privatization Administration is another key actor in this process. Moreover, deregulation and reregulation reforms are other important mechanisms of neoliberal urbanisation. After the 2008 economic crisis, the government and economy in Turkey are centralized in an extraordinary way. Based on this centralization, deregulation and reregulation reforms are made. Within the framework of this economic and institutional restructuring, The Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning, which is a part of the central government, has the authority to approve plans at all scales. That's why, the Ministry and the Privatization Administration are the other key actors in this process.

As a result, the deindustriasalition of the world cities triggered profound socio-spatial transformations. Port cities had already been integrated to the world economy throughout history. Recently, port cities become the pioneers of the neoliberal waterfront development and regeneration process. In order to revive the local economy, to sustain the capital accumulation, and to convert the rent gap into profit, old industrial sites begin to be the

attraction centres. The starting point of this transformation in İzmir is an international design competititon in 2001. The city of İzmir joined this process in 2001 with the vision of a new city center. In accordance with the laws and deregulation and reregulations and privatization, many different actors, including local government, central government and professional chambers involved in the process. The Rear Port of İzmir Alsancak exemplifies a multi-layered and multi-dimensional case of urban entrepreneurialism. The transformation of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak in the last 20 years is also an important example among the cities of the world. As to be seen in the 3d render images the new city centre vision of İzmir city, as mentioned before, delineates that the main goal is to change the city's silhouette. It is also expected by the Municipality that this radical transformation for the urban centre should be pioneer of the transformation for other parts of the city (Figure 60-61). It is stated that in the competition's contract, the present silhouette of the İzmir city forms slums with "mediocre architecture". With the new city centre vision, the old silhouette is concealed behind these similar skyscrapers.

Figure 60. 3d Image-1 for İzmir Metropolitan Center, 2018
(Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2018)

Figure 61. 3d Image-2 for İzmir Metropolitan Center, 2018
(Source. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2018)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to examine the speculative transformation process of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. This transformation has been undergoing neoliberal urbanisation consisting of deindustrialisation, urban entrepreneurialism, and gentrification. According to Harvey (1989), urban space provides an arena for production, consumption, exchange, and circulation of capital. In this thesis, firstly, the relationship between urban space and capital was mentioned briefly. Secondly, the relation between the regime of accumulation and urban built environment was summarized. After the 2nd World War, the Fordist mass production was the dominant mode of accumulation. The assembly-line production and the monopolistic form were the basis of the Fordist regime of accumulation. Keynesian welfare state policies were implemented in this period. These policies were based on centralized management, modernist planning and municipal reformism. After the war of Arabian-Israel in 1973, the oil crisis emerged and the Fordist regime of accumulation has undergone a crisis. Besides, the Keynesian-welfare policies were left. The regime of accumulation was shifted to a flexible accumulation. The flexible, technology-based small-scale production caused changes in urban agglomerations. Manufacturing left cities and moved out to the outer of the cities. Deindustrialisation process began. Accordingly, the old industrial sites in the inner cities gained quiet important exchange value (Joffe 1990; Eraydın 1992; Filion 1995; Scott 2008; Bowe 2008).

Neoliberalism as a mode of regulation started after shifting to the post-industrial era. Neoliberalism bases on free and unregulated markets, private property and entrepreneurial approach with an institutional framework (Harvey 2005). In order to create an institutional (regulatory) framework, privatization, marketization, liberalization, deregulation, reregulation are used as the main mechanisms of neoliberalism (Castree 2008). Although it is a global phenomenon, how to apply neoliberalism and how to use these reforms varies from country to country. That's why, Turkey's neoliberal urbanisation process was

investigated in the third chapter of this thesis.

Turkey's urbanisation process was examined in three periods. Firstly, nation-state urbanisation was defined from 1923 to 1950. This period covered the first approximately 25 years in Turkey. The priority was given to the industrial sector by liberal economy policies. However, the Great Depression in 1929 changed the politic-economic approach. Statism was experienced in 1929-1950. State Economic Enterprises (SEEs) were started to be established in different cities of the country. Between these industrial enterprises and national transportation networks were established in order to serve each other. After the 2nd World War, modernization policies in agriculture were implemented in Turkey. However, this process unexpectedly led to a decline in the agricultural labour. Migration emerged from the rural to the urban. Then, the population of cities increased. That's why, the period from 1950 to 1980 is defined as the term of the urbanisation labour-force. After the oil crisis in 1973, Turkey experienced a great change. A Military Coup was happened in September 1980. Simultaneously, Turkey experienced a profound state restructuring with legal and administrative changes. So, the period following 1980 is identified by the urbanisation of capital (Şengül 2009).

On the other hand, neoliberalism in Turkey was examined in three sub-periods. The stabilization program on 24th January 1980 was the starting point of this neoliberal restructuring process. The free market economy and outward-oriented development strategies were enforced in this period. The state was withdrawn the production and this regression was supported by privatization programs. The role of the state was redefined as a regulatory state. Kuyucu (2017) emphasizes that economic crises are the driving force to determine economic policies. Turkey has undergone four main economic crises in 1994, 1997, 2001, and 2008. The stabilization program on 5 April 1994 was the starting point of the second phase of neoliberalism in Turkey. So, neoliberalism was internalized in Turkey on the whole. By the 2001 crisis, the third phase of the neoliberal process has begun in Turkey. The political understanding is changed after 2008, and the state has undergone a profound restructuring. Turkey was experienced decentralization in the 2000s, however, after 2008 crisis, Turkey is experienced "unprecedented level of centralization" (Kuyucu 2017; Temizel 2007; Sönmez 2001).

As Kuyucu (2017) states, profit-oriented urban transformation projects are

implemented in line with of entrepreneurial urban governance in order to cope with the economic crisis. The legal framework laide the foundation of deregulation, reregulation and privatization reforms in order to make possible these projects. Reproduction of the urban built environment provides a space for capital in order to overcome the crisis and maintain capital accumulation (Harvey 1989; Kuyucu 2017). By taking a departure from these elaborations, urban entrepreneurialism, speculative urbanisation, and gentrification were examined in this thesis.

Harvey (1989) states that there is a shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism in the 1980s. Deindustrialisation, privatization, market rationality, and outward-oriented economic policies, deregulation and reregulation reforms are effective in the rise of urban entrepreneurialism. The local governments adopted an entrepreneurial approach and policies are prepared to make cities attractive for capital by the local government. In order to ensure economic growth, large-scale and speculative investments are emerged. Moreover, Smith (1987) explaines "gentrification" with the concept of "rent gap". The rent gap is about the gap between the exchange value and the current value of the land. These speculative investments base on getting maximum exchange value on the land, determining the best land use for the land and getting maximum profit for the capital. As mentioned before, most port cities of the world have been experiencing a similar process under urban entrepreneurialism. Deindustrialisation left the rear port areas vacant. Together with this deindustrisalisation process, the rear regions of the port cities involve in a similar speculative and entrepreneurial regeneration process wherever in the world. That's why, the aim of this thesis is to present the rear port of İzmir Alsancak as an important example that each tool of the neoliberal urbanisation are implemented.

The first section of the fourth chapter in the thesis, the historical development of the city of İzmir and the industrialization process in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak were examined. The case area was the first industrial site of İzmir city. The area started to industrialize in the end of the 19th century. Industrialisation activities were continuing during the Republic period. The port activities, storage areas, and industrial activities were located in this area. Following that, the deindustrialisation process started in the rear port of İzmir Alsancak. After the 2001 crisis, fast-paced privatization programs came into force in Turkey. Except from İzmir Şark Company and the Electricity Factory, the other factories were closed

after privatization programs.

As it is pointed above, the methods of implementation of neoliberal policies differ from one country to another. The legal framework of the privatization program in Turkey is examined in the second part of the fourth chapter. Privatization programs in Turkey gained speed after 5 April 1994 Stabilisation Decisions. Privatization Law No.4046 came into force in 1994. With this law, the institutional structure of privatization was represented with the Privatization Fund and the Privatization High Council and the Privatization Administration. In addition, Law No.3194 on physical development planning came into force in 1985. The additional subclause was added to Article 9 of the law no.3194 in 1994. Thus, the Ministry has the authority to make and approve the master plans in all scales for the lands which were taken into the privatization program by the Privatization High Council.

The third section of the fourth chapter of the thesis is about international competition in 2001 and the master development plan in 2003. The case area is surrounded by Melez River, railway, and highway. These physical boundaries also represent social polarization and social boundaries. With deindustrialisation, the industry left the inner cities and the large and single-owned parcels remain abandoned. Large and abandoned parcels appeared within the physically and socially limited area. By the speculative urban development in the new CBD, a rent gap emerged in the old industrial sites. The exchange value of this area was very attractive for the capital.

As a result of the entrepreneurial approach, the Metropolitan Municipality of İzmir announced an international competition in 2001. The contract of this competition states that "the aim of this competition is to enhance the contemporary image of the İzmir city and to create a new city centre on the port area in the emerging international status of İzmir city". It clearly shows that the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality has an entrepreneurial approach. It can be also inferred that Izmir has an international competitive role like all other port cities. In this sense, the case study provides a clear example of entrepreneurial urban governance. The second aim of this competition is to get such urban design ideas for this new metropolitan plan. Following that, a new city centre master development plan was announced in 2003. After such revisions made in the plan, finally, the 1/5000 master plan was approved by the Municipal Council with the decision of July 2011. The plan is prepared for three regions. These are the Alsancak port and its rear, Salhane district and Turan district.

The aim of this zoning study was to get integrity with different land uses and different users with each other. However, in this process, revisions were made in the plan notes in a way of facilitating speculative redevelopment practices. The definition of tourism-culture-trade facilities or central business district were changed in the plan notes since 2011. The Chamber of City Planners objected to revision of the plan notes. In this process, the conflicts between professional chambers and local government are clearly seen. The main concern of the Chamber of City Planners is the homogenization of the plan under different headings. In addition, the international competition in 2001 states that there should be no housing proposal except the existing residential use in this region. However, housing was added to the plan notes after 2011. That's why, the population density proposed by the current master plan will be exceeded by these speculative and fragmentary projects. In the case of possible population growth, the current conditions of the city will not meet the demands of the new population in terms of the social and technical infrastructure in the future. The second concern of the Chamber of City Planners is that these speculative and fragmentary projects are contradictory with the planning discipline. Although the projects are raised on a single parcel, their impact will be at the city level. All in all, the transformation the rear port of İzmir Alsancak has a process directly related to the concept of local entrepreneurialism and neoliberalism.

In addition, Kuyucu (2017) states that Turkey is experienced "an unprecedented level of centralization" in the last 20 years. In 2018, the Presidential System is introduced as a form of government. The form of governance is based on the principle of separation of powers. Institutional arrangements are made to establish a new form of the government. One of these concerns is the definition of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation (No.1. Presidential Decree). With this change, the Ministry has the authority to prepare and approve development plans in any type and scale on the condition that if they are not approved by the relevant local authorities within 3 months. Thus, the central government took the authority of legal control over the urban built environment. Following these changes, the transformation process of the rear port of İzmir Alsancak is accelerated. The Ministry, The Privatization High Council, and the private sector can directly manage the privatization of the Alsancak port and the preparation of its master plan, the transformation projects of the Tariş lands, and the transformation of the Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory. These transformation projects have undergone a long and speculative process where local

government, non-governmental organizations or professional chambers remained on the confrontational side.

Afterwards, one type of projects has been put into practice with revised plan notes. Speculative redevelopment activities such as luxury housing projects, mixed uses with high rise buildings with shopping centres, offices, entertainment activities, restaurants, bazaars have been going on neoliberal urbanisation. The city continues to offer production, consumption, exchange and accumulation spaces for the capital by these redevelopment activities. Every tool of neoliberalism is used for this purpose. Firstly, the Folkart project was put into practice with the authorization of the master plan. Secondly, Mahall Bomonti, Evora İzmir, and Allsancak projects were made possible with the authorization of the Ministry and the Privatization Board. Thirdly, Sümerbank, the Electricity Factory and the İzmir Şark Industry areas that are not yet exposed to similar change implemented, however, they may be subject to a similar process in the future due to the rent gap between their existing uses and the speculative development that is adjacent to them. Lastly, Ege Neighbourhood is to be included in this social-spatial speculative redevelopment process. As large-scale luxury projects are fastly built around its surroundings, it is expected that the current cultural and social structure of Ege Neighbourhood can not continue to exist in this area.

To conclude, the transformation of Alsancak port represented all mechanism of neoliberal urbanisation in terms of "recalibration of intergovernmental relations as local entrepreneurialism, privatization of the municipal public sector and collective infrastructures, restructuring urban housing markets such as creation in speculative investments, and transformations of the built environment with gentrified large-scale projects, gated communities, socio-spatial polarization with the highest and best land uses and representing the city within supranational capital flows" (Brenner and Theodore 2002).

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