

**CRITICAL SPATIAL STANDPOINT ON
NEOLIBERAL URBAN RESTRUCTURING:
A CASE STUDY ON URBAN RESTRUCTURING
PROCESSES IN NARLIDERE, İZMİR**

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ABSTRACT

CRITICAL SPATIAL STANDPOINT ON NEOLIBERAL URBAN RESTRUCTURING: A CASE STUDY ON URBAN RESTRUCTURING PROCESSES IN NARLIDERE, İZMİR

The thesis proposes a critical spatial approach to reveal the political, economic, and social dimensions of the urban development plans and projects (UDPs) in the context of neoliberal urban restructuring in Turkey. . It aims to enrich the theoretical and methodological foundations of critical urban studies and spatial planning, focusing on UDPs as a key neoliberal urban strategy. Despite extensive research on cities and their spaces, there is still a lack of critical understanding of the ‘urban process’, and of the actors and networks underlying these processes. The study tries to fill this gap by providing a critique of capitalism and its inherent uneven development, neoliberal political and economic restructuring, and neoliberal urban policy from a political-economic perspective.

The thesis concentrates on the neoliberal plans and projects produced by the state and capital as mechanisms to overcome capitalist crises. The thesis problem is to contribute to a critical urban theory that can explain and transform the socio-spatial processes in urban spaces, especially in light of the global expansion of 21st-century capitalism. The methodology used in the thesis is methodological pluralism, using various qualitative and quantitative research techniques to critically analyze the socio-spatial processes of neoliberal urban restructuring.. It argues that UDPs are driven by the logic of profit and land rent, and that they exclude the participation and the rights of the poor and marginalized inhabitants. It seeks to critically elaborate on issues such as gentrification, dispossession, displacement, segregation, and polarization in the spaces of UDPs, instrumentalized as a mechanism of neoliberal urban restructuring processes in Narlıdere.

Keywords: critical urban theory, neoliberal urban restructuring, urban development plans and projects, the right to the city, dispossession, Narlıdere gecekondus.

ÖZET

NEOLİBERAL KENTSEL YENİDEN YAPILAN(DIR)MA ÜZERİNE ELEŞTİREL MEKANSAL YAKLAŞIM: İZMİR, NARLIDERE'DEKİ KENTSEL YENİDEN YAPILAN(DIR)MA SÜREÇLERİ ÖRNEĞİ

Tez, Türkiye'deki neoliberal kentsel yeniden yapılanma bağlamında kentsel dönüşüm planlarının ve projelerinin (KDP'ler) politik, ekonomik ve sosyal boyutlarını ortaya çıkarmak için eleştirel bir mekansal yaklaşım önermektedir. Önemli bir neoliberal kentsel strateji olarak KDP'lere odaklanarak, eleştirel kentsel çalışmaların ve mekansal planlamanın teorik ve metodolojik temellerini zenginleştirmeyi amaçlanmaktadır. Şehirler ve mekanları üzerine yapılan kapsamlı araştırmalara rağmen, hala “kentsel süreç” ve bu süreçlerin altında yatan aktörler ve ağlar hakkında eleştirel bir anlayış eksikliği var. Çalışma, kapitalizmin ve onun için eşitsiz gelişiminin, neoliberal politik ve ekonomik yeniden yapılandırmanın ve neoliberal kentsel politikanın politik-ekonomik bir perspektiften eleştirisini sunarak bu boşluğu doldurmaya çalışmaktadır.

Tez, kapitalist krizlerin üstesinden gelme mekanizmaları olarak devlet ve sermaye tarafından üretilen neoliberal plan ve projelere odaklanmaktadır. Tezin problemi, özellikle 21. yüzyıl kapitalizminin küresel genişlemesi ışığında, kentsel alanlardaki sosyo-mekansal süreçleri açıklayabilen ve dönüştürebilen eleştirel bir kentsel teoriye katkıda bulunmaktır. Tezde kullanılan metodoloji, neoliberal kentsel yeniden yapılanmanın sosyo-mekansal süreçlerini eleştirel bir şekilde analiz etmek için çeşitli nitel ve nicel araştırma tekniklerini kullanan metodolojik çoğulculuktur. Tez, KDP'lerin kâr ve toprak rantı mantığı tarafından yönlendirildiğini ve katılımın ve yoksul ve marjinallerin haklarının dışlandığını tartışmaktadır. Narlıdere'de neoliberal kentsel yeniden yapılanma süreçlerinin bir mekanizması olarak araçsallaştırılan KDP'lerin mekanlarındaki soylulaştırma, mülksüzleştirme, yerinden etme, ayrışma ve kutuplaşma gibi konuları eleştirel bir şekilde irdelenmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: eleştirel kentsel teori, neoliberal kentsel yeniden yapılandırma, kentsel dönüşüm planları ve projeleri, kent hakkı, mülksüzleştirme, Narlıdere gecekonduları.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“...By seeking to point the way towards a different space, towards the space of a different (social) life and of a different mode of production, this project straddles the breach between science and utopia, reality and ideality, conceived and lived. It aspires to surmount these oppositions by exploring the dialectical relationship between ‘possible’ and ‘impossible’, and this both objectively and subjectively.” (Lefebvre 1991, 60)

Today’s city, with exceptions of the particular geographies of the world, is the city of the 21st century capitalism. And this city, beyond the traditional ecological theoretical approaches, is political, economic, social and multi layered and multi scalar. While on the one hand, capitalism is materialized in today’s city; on the other hand, its mode, form and the produced formation can indeed only be possible by the city as a whole and by the particular spaces of the city. Yes, currently, the urban space is a commodity of the capitalist system and this commodity is at the same time is integral to the whole political, economic and social relations and processes. The concrete processes materialized in urban space are both the production of the particular spaces and particular times, and are the producers of those spaces, too.

Accompanying the introductory chapter, following chapters comprise the work explained below:

- Chapter 2 elaborates on the need for and possibility of a critical theory of space while bringing about the positioning of critical spatial thinking and hence, critical spatial approaches within urban theory where the production of space is at the core concern. The conceptual and methodological contributions of Critical Theory on spatial praxis will be elaborated where critical theory will be described in terms of its usage within Critical Urban Theory. Here, Frankfurt School Critical Theory is related to contemporary approaches throughout critical urban theoretical standpoint.
- Chapter 3 is mainly concerned with the Neoliberal Urban Restructuring(s) and the concept of the Right to the City as a critical spatial debate in Critical Urban Theory. This chapter is where the proponents of the

critical urban theory and the proponents of the field of critical urban studies are cited. The role and the position of the state throughout the neoliberal urban restructurings and the uneven nature of capitalist development are elaborated within theoretical discussions.

- Chapter 4 is concerned with the urbanization or the urban process in Turkey with respect to urban development policy and practices. The historical geography of the global south as well as Turkey with its restructuring practice since the early 2000s are decriptively given and critically elaborated with respect to neoliberal project and practice. On the one hand Turkey is taken as a southern country strongly affected by the restructurings of the neoliberalization. And on the other hand, it comprises major metropolises which are the project areas of the urban development projects on the gecekondu neighborhoods. As the following chapter will concretely concentrate on such project and practice that the local and central governments try to implement Urban Development Plans and Projects is concerned as a case study in the district of Narlıdere of İzmir.

- Chapter 5 deals with a case study on İzmir, the district of Narlıdere critically elaborating on the urban development (transformation) project and plan subjected to four Narlıdere Gecekondu quarters. Here, the context is the historical geography of the capitalist neoliberal restructuring processes in Turkey, in İzmir and in Narlıdere as the main foci in a multiscalar approach. The declared year 2012 legal framework for urban development (transformation) and its implementation processes within the four quarters are critically explored within actors, networks, policies and people all acting on/by space. And finally, a critical evaluation of the deveelopment plans for the risky area of Narlıdere is made.

- Chapter 6 is a summary of the whole work accompanied by concluding remarks and it also provides suggestions for future critical study on neoliberal urban restructuring.

1.1. Subject Matter and Aim of the Thesis

Dealing with the urban space as the urban planners, geographers, social researchers and the researchers and scientists of related disciplines, we need a critical

spatial standpoint on neoliberal urban restructuring processes immensely materialized in 21st century capitalist city instrumentalizing the urban development (kentsel dönüşüm) plans and projects and the processes that has been restructuring the socio-spatial formation of the urban.

There is no doubt that this concern is not a newly founded one when we think of the vast collection of researches on the city and critical engagements on its space(s); but the point is that, it is also an incomplete one. Today we are still lack of understanding the ‘urban process’ (Harvey 1978), the underlying and background actors and networks behind these processes despite our inherited critical eye as researchers.

Therefore;

- How can we bring about a theoretical contribution on theorizing a concrete political-economic-social process – in the thesis, “the Urban Development Plans and Projects (UDPs) (Kentsel Dönüşüm Planları ve Projeleri) and inherent processes” in Turkey- which is a strong neoliberal restructuring mechanism in space, on space, and by space?

Having this problem summarized above;

- This thesis aims at providing knowledge on neoliberal urban restructuring processes by taking a departure from a critical spatial approach as to make a theoretical and methodological contribution to critical urban theory and critical urban studies. Such knowledge is to be useful in spatial planning studies.
- Accompanying the theoretical arguments and insights, a case study will be provided which is mainly concerned about the critiques of Urban Development Projects (UDPs) (Kentsel Dönüşüm Projeleri) and processes which have been on the agenda since the beginning of 2000s in Turkey. Thesis puts these projects as one of the Neoliberal urban strategies accompanying the urban restructuring processes throughout the production and reproduction of urban space. Neoliberal ‘urban processes’ and their implementations will be explored in relation to UDPs in Turkey’s third largest metropolis, İzmir. As a case study, Narlıdere district will be the field of research.

In order to bring off the above aim, by taking a departure from the theoretical concerns, the “problem” (the theoretical/conceptual framework) of the thesis will be constituted by the following critiques and an elaborate discussion on the debates in the field overviewed through the preliminary literature survey; hence, the

theoretical/conceptual insights within the problematique (theoretical/conceptual framework) of my dissertation is constituted around the following critiques, theoretical and conceptual debates:

- Critique of Capitalism, its inherent Uneven Development, and the State (Smith (1996, 2008), Harvey (1978, 1982, 1985, 2001), Jessop (1990, 2008));
- Neoliberalism, Neoliberalization, Neoliberal Political and Economic Restructuring, and Neoliberal Urban Policy from a political-economic perspective (Harvey (2001, 2005, 2007), Brenner (2005, 2002, 2009, 2010), Mayer (2009), Peck (2009), Theodore (2009));
- Critical Theory of Urban Space and Critical Urban Theory (Lefebvre (1991, 2003, 2015), Soja (1996, 1998, 2000), Brenner (2009, 2011, 2013), Marcuse (2009, 2012));
- The Right to the City and Urban Social Movements - Urban Resistance - Socio-Spatial Polarization, Segregation, Exclusion, Gentrification, Dispossession, Involuntary Displacement. (Lefebvre (2015), Castells (1977, 2020), Smith (1979, 1996, 2002), Mayer (2009), Harvey (2008)).

As the thesis aims at providing knowledge on Urban Development Projects and Plans by taking a departure from a critical spatial approach as to make a theoretical and methodological contribution to critical urban studies of cities and regions, such knowledge is to be useful in spatial planning studies in the case of planning research on urban processes and on neoliberal urban policies. As an attempt to contribute to the re-theorization studies of the 21st century urban processes in the geographies of the global south, the contribution that this thesis will have are the notion of ‘criticality’ and ‘spatiality’. And with its case study, the thesis will provide critical knowledge on neoliberal urban restructuring processes materialized through urban development plans in a particular geography, Narlıdere. What makes Narlıdere worth to study lies at its both historical geography and as it was chosen by the state as a place for its intervention. Narlıdere, as a place within the western axis of İzmir, has been home to housing capital investment as well as a home to gecekondu.

Therefore; the thesis tries to explore the path-dependent, contextually specific interactions between inherited regulatory landscapes and emergent neoliberal, market-oriented restructuring by means of UDPs through the lenses of actually existing neoliberal urban policies.

1.2. Problem of the Thesis

We need a critical urban theory providing conceptually, methodologically and politically conscious of explaining and transforming the socio-spatial processes acting in/on/by urban space(s). The urban is no doubt a complex one, especially when we think of the capitalism's 21st century metropolis urbanizing through its production and trying to expand in a global pattern. Though, we are supposed to critically theorize socio-spatial processes, and finally the production of and reproduction of urban space(s) in/on/by which economic and physical processes are materialized under the conditions of historical-geographical formation of capitalism. In this sense, the increasing role of the city in the accumulation and circulation of capital is to be inquired while developing, but not leaving the inherited theory and research richness of the political economic approaches through a critical and inevitably socio-spatial approach. The thesis focuses on the neoliberal urban development plans and projects and their implementations produced by the state and the capital on/by urban space as to overcome the capitalist crises where a critical spatial standpoint is needed throughout the study.

The thesis considers urban space as produced and also as a subject of the social production processes. Therefore, it is proper to question whatness and howness of an urban theory, of a methodology, and of methodological tools on historically, geographically and socially understanding and theorizing current social space. The arguments of this concern and the methodology and tools are to be discussed.

The positioning of critical spatial thinking and approach within urban theory and urban studies is another concern. The production of space and the reproduction of space is elaborated with their relation to critical spatial thought and practical studies. Here, critical theory is taken only with its relation to critical urban theory.

Having elaborated on the conceptual and heuristic tools from the above mentioned debates and issues in the literature, by the help of the questions and their possible answers provided, it will be proper to inquire well into UDPs in a district of Turkey's third largest metropolis (İzmir), Narlıdere by passing through the question 'How can we critically elaborate on UDPs?' On particular site of research following the critical literature on Turkey and İzmir with respect to Actually Existing Neoliberalism as the theoretical references, the concrete inquiry will be gathered from the field research which we will provide by working on a district in İzmir, Narlıdere. The reason

behind choosing Narlidere lies at the answers to the question on the historical geography of UDP spaces in Turkey.

1.3. Methodology of the Thesis

A methodological pluralism is a crucial point as we will deal with the question on ‘how?’ while a plurality of the qualitative and quantitative research techniques and tools will be utilized through the critical elaboration on socio-spatial processes of neoliberal urban restructuring.

It is the historical geography of capitalism to be looked through analyses of the changing mosaics of uneven regional development within the capitalist state and the evolution of urban form of the capitalist city. Various reconfigurations of international spatial division of labor (the role of Turkey) and the public policy acting on urban space are to be explored by the empirical analyses with respect to their affects on urban development processes. Such a standpoint implies a scalar approach where different geographic scales juxtapose each other while forming a totality of geographic scales.

Through a reviewing of the literature on the debates listed before, it is possible to bring about three main sub-levels of inquiry as formulating the problematique at the theoretical/structural/abstract level followed by the empirical level (the field research). There are three interrelated approaches, each of which refers to a constitutive debate and scale in urban studies that the thesis considers:

1. The macro socio-spatial approach considers the context of restructuring processes and neoliberalism. Major concerns are the urbanization processes through urban restructuring by global capitalist restructuring especially experienced within the past thirty years, and the emergence of “a neoliberalized urban order” (Brenner 2005).
2. The approach that aims at understanding the neoliberal processes of urbanization and restructuring from a variety of perspectives will be elaborated. Here, the role of the state in urban restructuring is of special emphasis. The explanations they provided for urban and regional theory will be given. The relationship between capital and urban processes, neoliberalism and governance, and capitalist urban restructuring and UDPs will be investigated and analyzed.
3. A political economic approach that covers the restructuring of social

conditions, formations and status of people subject to UDPs acting on and by space. Gentrification, involuntary displacement and resettlement, socio-spatial segregation are among the problems generated by UDPs which will be critically elaborated on within the thesis with respect to particular examples within a critical spatial perspective.

Throughout the case study; geographic information systems (GIS) based analyses on physical space as well as socio-spatial analyses are critically implemented with the help of gathered data as well as produced data within the study. On the site spatial analyses and explorations are used as means of the analyses done. Geographic information systems are used through the socio-spatial analyses at two spatial scales: the scale of the four quarters and the scale of the surrounding Narlıdere study area. Also, interviews were made, attendance to neighborhood meetings and news from web sites of the local newspapers, web sites of Narlıdere municipality and of the ministry are analysed as to bring about the ongoing processes, networks and actors within.

Between years 2017-2022 several interviews had been made with representatives of the actions throughout urban restructuring processes in the four quarters of Narlıdere district. Below is a list of the interviews made which contribute to the findings of the case study on the four quarters and on the critique of the UDP processes:

- Interview with an officer who is working as a city planner at the Narlıdere Municipality (2017 - 2022).
- Interview with a representative of the residents of Çatalkaya quarter (2017).
- Interview with a representative of the residents of Narlı quarter (2017).
- Interview with a representative of the residents of 2. İnönü quarter (2017).
- Interview with a representative of the residents of 2. İnönü quarter (2017).
- Interview with a representative of the architecture and construction firms working in Narlıdere (2019).
- Interview with a representative of the quarters (2022).

Following these explanations of the methodology of the thesis, it is now proper to list the research questions brought about by the undertakings of the thesis on which the following chapters of the thesis will elaborate:

- What is ‘Urban Development/Transformation’ (Kentsel Dönüşüm), and why and how, under what political, economic and social conditions the Urban Development process case as a neoliberal restructuring instrument existed in Narlıdere?
- Who decides, when and by whom it is decided, an urban space is ‘now!’ and ‘urgently!’ proper for and requires urban development?
- Which spaces and places, which social conditions, and finally what kind of socio-spatial formation is produced and reproduced by Urban Development Plans and Projects to be implemented in Narlıdere and how it is materialized in/on/by space?
- What makes these urban development plans as a foremost agenda of the central and local governments, investors, speculators?
- What is the role of the state, governments, the private sector, and the community itself positioned throughout these processes and what kinds of socio-spatial networks are produced in Narlıdere?
- Who are the winners and who are the losers of the urban development/transformation processes? What about the ‘The Right to the City’, the ‘Right to Housing’, the ‘Right to Participation’ throughout these processes?
- How can we critically elaborate on gentrification, dispossession, displacement, segregation, and polarization existed in those spaces of Urban Development Plans and Projects instrumentalized as a mechanism of neoliberal urban restructuring processes in Narlıdere?

CHAPTER 2

ON CRITICAL URBAN THEORY

As revealed in the introductory chapter, the method of the thesis is a concrete analysis of the actual things and processes and then turning back to theory –turning back to the abstract- and back again to concrete as explained by Sayer in his fundamental study:

“...the understanding of concrete events or objects involves a double movement: concrete to abstract, abstract to concrete. At the outset our concepts of concrete objects are likely to be superficial or chaotic. In order to understand their diverse determinations we must first abstract them systematically. When each of the abstracted aspects has been examined it is possible to combine the abstractions so as to form concepts which grasp the concreteness of their objects.” (Sayer 1992, 87)

Therefore; first we need a critique of our understanding of the world, its social system and formation; then we need a practical action against what we criticize; and then, again to reestablish our understanding of the world we live in by taking the things we learned from our practice into consideration.

2.1. Critical Spatial Thinking in Urban Theory and Urban Studies

The theoretical perspectives, the methods, and means of the Critical Urban Theory and Critical Urban Studies are crucial for the thesis study to be explored within the case study of the thesis. The need for an urban theory which is both critical and explanatory will be practised within the case study of the thesis. And originating from the propositions of both the critical theory and critical urban theory, the contemporary debates, questions and proposed study fields are contributory. Here, the context is the condition and positioning of space in social theory and the philosophical and scientific choice, the level and context of the choice is to be put forth. But the thesis is not a set of philosophical and scientific propositions; rather, it is practical, emphasis on capitalism is at the forefront and subject-object relationship is within.

Critical spatial thinking, as described by Soja (1998), involves a reconsideration

of social life and practices and a reconceptualization of city and regional studies based on the perspective of historical geography. He emphasizes the historical geography of capitalism, uneven regional development, and the evolution of urban forms within capitalist formations.

In “Thirdspace,” Soja (1996) explores the concept of space and spatiality, with reference to Lefebvre’s theoretical elaboration of space. This involves a shift in thinking about space, including challenging traditional definitions and promoting a contemporary understanding of spatiality that remains open to redefinition and reevaluation.

In “Postmodern Geographies,” Soja (1998) focuses on contemporary Los Angeles, emphasizing space over time, and proposing a new critical human geography attuned to contemporary political and theoretical challenges in the context of Marxism. In “Postmetropolis,” Soja (2000) explores changes and transformations in contemporary cities and positioned within urban studies, he questions traditional frameworks and also points to continuities with the past. Here the focus is on spatial justice and regional democracy. He proposes that we need new constructs to understand the radically transformed urban formation, and highlights the necessity of transdisciplinary studies in the context of all aspects of the spatiality of human life.

Soja points out the importance of critical spatial studies highlighting the interplay between spatiality, history, and sociality, and he tries to put forth the need for a shift in thinking about space that is open, inclusive, and resistant to narrow or restrictive interpretations. This standpoint on critical spatial thinking is considered as crucial within the thesis.

A “critique” should be at least four-fold (four dimensions):

1. The critique of existing and previous theories (be it philosophy, science, or any discipline including city planning/urban design)
2. The critique of existing order of things/existing order (be it in science, philosophy, any discipline or in social world)
3. The critique of our critique (including previous two ones)
4. Critique of (the knowing subject) ourselves (be it philosopher, urban planner, etc) with reference to /in terms of his/her political, economic, ideological condition.

While elaborating on the four mutually constitutive propositions on critical theory as given below, Brenner (2009) tries to put forth a theoretical basis for grounding the critical urban theory debate with its historical roots. Building upon Harvey’s critical

standpoint on urban space and emphasis on ‘urban processes’, in his earlier work, Brenner (2004) tries to point out the context of history and geography while dealing with urban space critically:

“...Over two decades ago, radical urban scholars began to break out of these intellectual constraints by introducing more dialectical, processual concepts for describing the contemporary city – for instance, urbanization or, in Harvey’s (1978) more precise terminology, the urban process. Against traditional approaches to urban locational analysis, which conceived space in Euclidian–Cartesian terms, as a flat surface upon which economic activity is extended, Harvey introduced a more dynamic, historically specific view...” (Brenner 2004, 450)

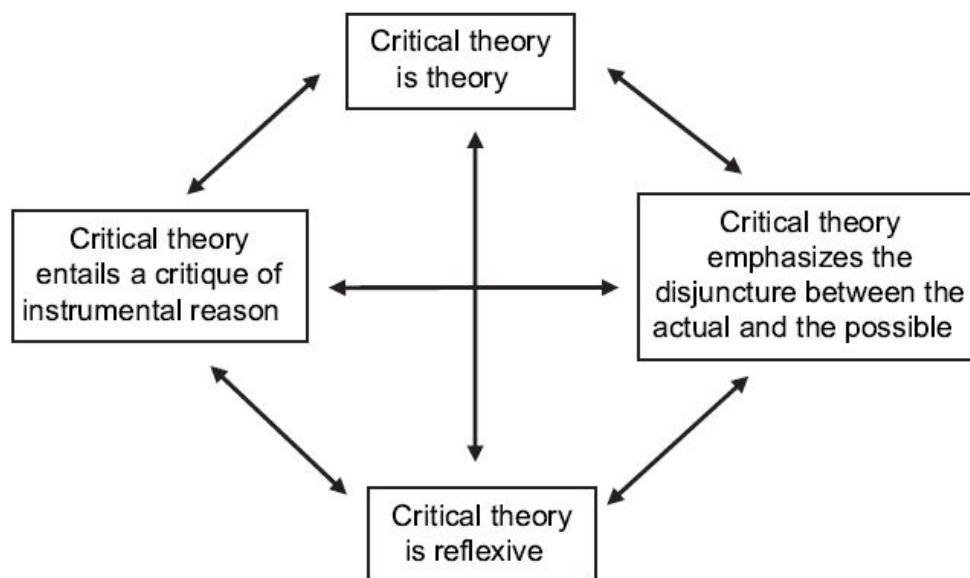


Figure 2.1. The four mutually constitutive propositions on critical theory
(Source: Brenner 2009, 201.)

Brenner explains the need for a critical spatial theory throughout a historical look:

“...Theoretical ambition need not be pursued through the construction of reductionist, simplifying frameworks; the task, rather, is to create concepts and methods that open up new questions and horizons – for both thought and action. Accordingly, in contrast to some of the more closed models of urbanism that prevailed during the highpoints of Chicago School urban research in the 1930s through the 1960s and, in a different way, within the structuralist Marxisms of the 1970s, urban theory today must embrace, and even celebrate, a certain degree of eclecticism.” (Brenner et al. 2011, 227)

And he also states the role of a critical urban theory to be of use in urban studies:

“Today, more than ever, there is a need for a collaborative, open-minded spirit to prevail in urban studies, particularly among those scholars who are most committed to confronting the daunting challenges of reconceptualizing the parameters and purposes of this research field. When such scholars make divergent or opposed theoretical, conceptual, and methodological choices, useful opportunities may emerge for all those involved to clarify the stakes of such choices, and their possible implications.” (Brenner et al. 2011, 227)

2.2. On Critical Urban Theory

In his later work on Critical Urban Theory, Brenner attempts to formulate and develop a theoretical and conceptual background for critical urban research on the 21st century city while criticizing the mainstream theories and approaches on urban space pointing out whatness of critical urban theory and its departure from Chicago School urban sociology:

“Critical urban theory rejects inherited disciplinary divisions of labor and statist, technocratic, marketdriven and market-oriented forms of urban knowledge... critical theory differs fundamentally from what might be termed ‘mainstream’ urban theory—for example, the approaches inherited from the Chicago School of urban sociology, or those deployed within technocratic or neoliberal forms of policy science... involves the critique of ideology (including social–scientific ideologies) and the critique of power, inequality, injustice and exploitation, at once within and among cities.” (Brenner 2009, 198)

Castells (1977, 2020), Harvey (1978, 1982, 1985, 1995, 1996, 2005, 2007), Smith (1996, 2008), Massey (1995, 2005), Marcuse (2009, 2016), Brenner (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2016, 2014), Jessop (1990, 2008), Peck (2002, 2003, 2009), Tickell (2002), Theodore (2009), Mayer (1994, 2007, 2009), Thrift (2000), Bridge (2000, 2002), Watson (2000, 2002), Schmid (2008, 2015), Madden (2011, 2016), Wachsmuth (2011), Soja (1987, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2003), Merrifield (1997, 2016), Swyngedouw (1997, 2002, 2003) - and the list goes on- are the authors contributing to the critical urban theory and critical urban studies literature, seeking for a coherent theoretical approach on the constitutive and intertwined processes of the capitalist urban phenomenon which is social, political, economic and hence, spatial.

Among the contributions of the urban researchers to the critical urban theory or to the critical urban studies, there is no doubt that the Marxists lead the field. A considerable work is also done by the Marxists. For instance, Smith (2008) elaborates deeply on the relationship between capitalism as a political-economic system and space in his critical study on uneven development:

“It is not just a question of what capitalism does to geography but rather of what geography can do for capitalism. Thus in addition to the essentially geographical question, the theory of uneven development also addresses the political question: how does the geographical configuration of the landscape contribute to the survival of capitalism?” (Smith 2008, 4).

There is no doubt that claiming that a historical departure from the traditional conceptions is on the run although there is a considerable amount of work done on critique of the socio-spatial processes and the actual existences in the urbanizing capitalist world accompanying the search for the spatial justice and the right to the city following the earlier works of Lefebvre, Castells, and Harvey.

Marcuse (2009) highlights and seeks for a critical urban theory that aims at implementing the Right to the City while questioning ‘whose right?’, ‘what right?’ and ‘to what city?’.

“A critical urban theory, dedicated to supporting a right to the city, needs to expose the common roots of the deprivation and discontent, and to show the common nature of the demands and the aspirations of the majority of the people. A critical urban theory can develop the principles around which the deprived and the alienated can make common cause in pursuit of the Right to the City.” (Marcuse 2009, 195)

On the other hand, to provide and seeking for a critical urban theory which can be described as an emancipatory project can be structured and flourished on the roots of an earlier tradition, the Critical Theory of Frankfurt School, where the authors emphasizes while trying to both spatialize and carry towards the compemporary urban processes. Brenner points out the mutual standpoint of the current critical urban research and critical theory of Frankfurt School.

“Critical theory is thus not intended to serve as a formula for any particular course of social change; it is not a strategic map for social change; and it is not a ‘how to’-style guidebook for social movements... the Frankfurt School conception of critical theory is focused on a moment of abstraction that is analytically prior to the famous Leninist question of ‘What is to be done?’” (Brenner 2009, 201-202)

And, according to Brenner, the academicians placed within the intellectual literature of critical urban studies, will consent to the conception of critical theory which is articulated through the four propositions given below:

- “they insist on the need for abstract, theoretical arguments regarding the nature of urban processes under capitalism, while rejecting the conception of theory as a ‘handmaiden’ to immediate, practical or instrumental concerns;
- they view knowledge of urban questions, including critical perspectives, as being historically specific and mediated through power relations;
- they reject instrumentalist, technocratic and market-driven forms of urban analysis that promote the maintenance and reproduction of extant urban formations; and

- they are concerned to excavate possibilities for alternative, radically emancipatory forms of urbanism that are latent, yet systemically suppressed, within contemporary cities.” (Brenner 2009, 204)

There is no doubt that the intellectuals given above do not wholly occupy the field of critical urban research. For instance, Soja, Scott, Storper, Beauregard... are also looking for a new, but a comprehensive theory of the urban encompassing the 21st century city realities from a different perspective through different approaches.

An excerpt from a work of Brenner et al. (2011) is given below which is on pointing out how our theoretical standpoint should be in relation to the critique of reductionist and simplifying frameworks:

“...there is today a need for ambitious, wide-reaching engagements— theoretical, concrete and practical—with the planetary dimensions of contemporary urbanization across diverse places, territories and scales. Yet it would be highly problematic to suggest that any single theory, paradigm or metanarrative could, in itself, completely illuminate the processes in question. Theoretical ambition need not be pursued through the construction of reductionist, simplifying frameworks; the task, rather, is to create concepts and methods that open up new questions and horizons—for both thought and action.” (Brenner et al. 2011, 226-227)

Brenner (2009) points out that critical urban theory does not accept the current state of cities as an inevitable result of timeless social organization principles, bureaucratic logic, or economic efficiency. Instead, Critical Urban Theory deals mainly with the political, ideological, and socially contested nature of urban space. Urban spaces are seen as easily influenced and controlled, constantly being reshaped as a location, medium, and outcome of historically specific power dynamics. Rather than merely opposing inherited urban knowledge or existing urban structures, critical urban theory takes a different stance. It highlights that a more democratic, socially just, and sustainable form of urbanization is possible, even if such possibilities are currently prevented by dominant institutional systems, practices, and ideologies. Henceforth, such theory, according to Brenner, focuses on challenging both ideology (including social-scientific ideologies) and power imbalances, inequality, injustice, and exploitation, both within the individual cities and among the different cities (Brenner 2009, 198).

According to Brenner (2009), Critical Urban Theory is mainly linked with the works of scholars like Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, and Manuel Castells in their efforts to change and transform traditional disciplinary boundaries and market-oriented urban knowledge within urban theory and urban studies. Critical urban theory focuses on the critique of the existing formation of cities and it emphasizes the politically and

ideologically mediated, socially contested nature of urban space, highlighting its potential for democratic, socially just, and emancipatory urbanization.

As throughout the 20th century, after Marx, the critique of political economy was developed further by the Frankfurt School, emphasizing the critique of capitalism, revealing its contradictions, and exploring alternatives to it; putting forth the critique of the urban formations has been the main concern of critical urban theory with the inherited perspective of Critical Theory. Again, to Brenner with the increasing urbanization rates of the world in the 21st century, the project of critical social theory and critical urban theory have become common and overlapped. Now the the focus is on revealing the forms of power, exclusion, injustice, and inequality underpinning capitalist social formations while looking for the potential situations for creating alternative systems and formations to ongoing capitalist destructions.

Brenner (2009) states that although the Frankfurt School's notion of critical theory diverged from orthodox Marxism, critiquing aspects like fascism, technology, mass consumerism, and suppressed possibilities for human emancipation, this tendency evolved over time, with figures like Adorno and Habermas. According to Brenner (2009) they challenged positivism and technocracy in social sciences, while Marcuse also focused on destructive tendencies and power within capitalist society.

As a consequence; it is proper to state that critical urban theory is a complex, reflexive theoretical framework that critiques existing and exisited capitalist social formations, and it points out inherent contradictions and exploitative nature of capitalism. Furthermore, critical urban theory tries to explore potential alternatives for a more democratic and socially just form of urbanization throughout a critical effort and process.

2.3. Current Debates, Issues, and Research Agendas within Critical Urban Theory

There are several debates, issues and research agendas within critical urban theory which have been on the core concern of the scholars of the field hand in hand with the capitalist restructurings of the worldwide urban world. Brenner puts forth some study areas put forth by the urban studies researchers:

“...Among the key agendas for such researchers is to investigate the evolving positionalities of cities – and urban landscapes more generally – within such large-scale,

long-term trends as geoeconomic restructuring, market-driven regulatory change (including both privatization and liberalization), the worldwide flexibilization/informalization of labor, mass migration, environmental degradation, global warming, the creative destruction of large-scale territorial landscapes, and the intensification of polarization, inequality, marginalization, dispossession, and social conflict at all spatial scales.” (Brenner et al. 2011, 226)

Below are listed the key issues and debates and also proposed research agendas with which Critical Urban Theory is deeply concerned:

- Neoliberalism, Neoliberalization (Brenner 2002, 2009, 2012; Theodore 2005; Peck 2010, Harvey 2005, 2007)
- Neoliberal urbanism (Peck, Theodore, Brenner 2009, 2002)
- Urban restructuring (Brenner 2002, Soja 1987)
- Right to the city (Lefebvre 2015, Harvey 2008, Marcuse 2009; Mayer 2009)
- Uneven development (Smith 2008)
- Urban social movements (Mayer 2009)

Among the above listed debates, neoliberal urbanism and the right to the city are of major concern of the thesis. Here it will be proper to state that as first proposed by Henri Lefebvre, right to the city mainly points out the right that all urban residents should reach all the provided services of the city and that they have a say in the development and governance of their cities. In this context, urban democracy, participation, and social justice are all included within the debate.

As a major debate, right to the city is pointed out and emphasized by Marcuse:

“The question, then, is: how do we understand the right to the city today, and how can a critical urban theory contribute to implementing it? ...an approach to action that relies on three steps a critical theory could follow: exposing, proposing, and politicizing. The conclusion presents a perhaps far-fetched idea of what the possibilities for largescale and enduring social change might actually be today. Is another world not only possible, but realistically attainable?” (Marcuse 2009, 185).

On the other hand, the concept of neoliberal urbanism, which conceptualizes what we have been experiencing for the past several decades, implies the adoption of market-oriented policies and practices in urban planning and urban policy that is conceived to be worth to be a major concern in the field of critical urban theory. And in this debate, issues such as privatization of public spaces and services, and prioritization of economic growth over social equity and justice, changing role of the state are all elaborated on.

CHAPTER 3

NEOLIBERAL URBAN RESTRUCTURING AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: A CRITICAL SPATIAL DEBATE IN CRITICAL URBAN THEORY AND URBAN STUDIES

In this chapter, the whatness and howness of urban restructuring within the city of capitalism and its neoliberal mode of emergence and flourishing as to overcome capitalist crises after 1970s will be elaborated on. Also the the neoliberal policies extended to southern countries of the capitalist world are also concerned. While doing these, a critical exploration of capitalism is tried to be made; its uneven and contradictory nature, its policy and implementation mechanisms and its relationship with the neoliberal ideology are explored.

3.1. Capitalist Urban Restructuring and Uneven Development of People and Spaces in Contemporary Capitalism

According to Soja (1987, 178), restructuring refers to a significant shift in the trends and configuration of social, economic, and political life, indicating a process of dismantling and rebuilding. This is due to weaknesses in the existing order that require substantial structural change. The restructuring of capitalism with many dimensions is rooted in crisis and competition between the old and new order. Restructuring is not automatic or predestined, and it involves a mix of both continuity and change, representing a state of flux and transition.

There is no doubt that there is a direct connection with the macro scale, the world wide capitalist restructuring processes and urban restructuring processes at the regional and local scale. Here, within this relation, urban space is not just a place for these restructurings, but rather it is an actor throughout these processes. The production of space and its reproductions not only shape the formation of the urban but also stand as one of the background factors of those restructurings.

A prominent scholar in the field of critical urban theory is Neil Smith, especially well known with his study on “Uneven Development”. According to Neil Smith (2008), the main characteristic of capitalism’s geography is its uneven development as a structural aspect of capitalism itself. The result is brought about in distinct geographical patterns that are unique to capitalism, which are the systematic geographical manifestations of the contradictions inherent in the structure of capitalism.

Smith also states that uneven development within capitalism originates from the conflicting tendencies of capital towards differentiating and equalizing production levels and conditions. According to Smith (2008), capitalism’s uneven development can be seen as a geographical reflection of the fundamental contradiction between use value and exchange value.

The statements and propositions as well as cited explanations derived from the neoliberal policy and practices are crucial and are worth to be questioned in geographies of the Global South where such large scale Urban Development Plans and Projects are on the agenda. As a southern country, in Turkey, Urban Development Plans and Projects at various locations and scales are the most well-known practices of the neoliberal urban restructuring.

3.2. Neoliberalism, the State and the Neoliberal Urban Policy

The role and the position of the state throughout the neoliberal urban restructuring programmes are pivotal in the context of drastic uneven urban capitalist development in countries such as Turkey. In Turkish case, with the introduction of neoliberal economic rules in conformity with the structural adjustment programs during the 1980s under the rule of a new economic elites, real estate consortia entered the housing market and took an interest in gecekondu areas geographically and potentially profitable sites bypassing in some cases statutory regulations and institutional bodies.

Swyngedouw et al (2002) puts forth a scheme given below which points out the relationships between new economic policy, new urban policy and urban development projects formulated under the conditions of neoliberalization processes materialized in European geographies; and the authors also emphasize that:

“...they were initiated by means of “exceptionality” measures, such as the freezing of conventional planning tools, bypassing statutory regulations and institutional

bodies, the creation of project agencies with special or exceptional powers of intervention and decision-making, and/or a change in national or regional regulations. On occasion, national governments became the main developers, setting aside both local authorities and constituencies. (Swyngedouw et al. 2002, 548)

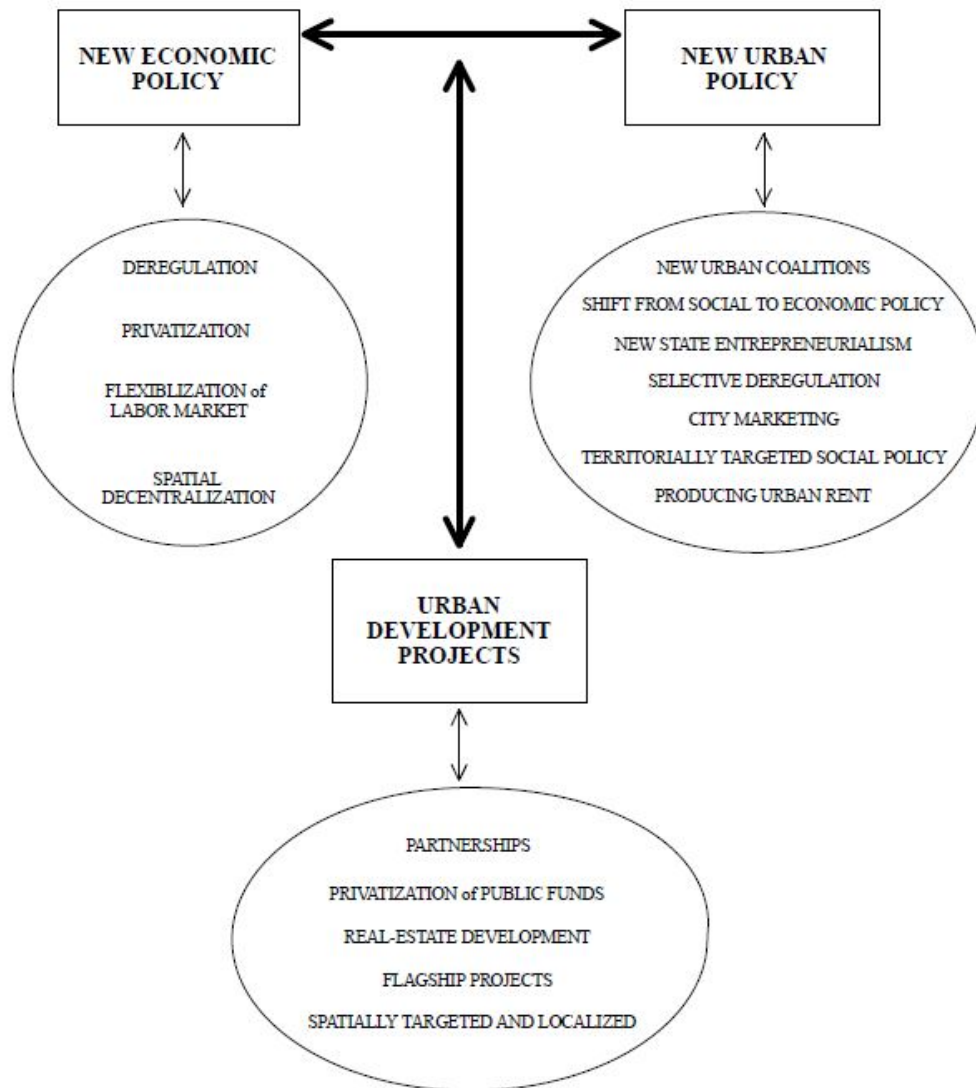


Figure 3.1. Relationship between New Economic Policy (NEP), New Urban Policy (NUP), and Urban Development Projects (UDPs).

(Source: Swyngedouw et al. 2002, 553.)

Questioning the new economic policy, the new urban policy and the urban development projects especially with respect to the globalization and liberalization processes, Swyngedouw et al highlight important points derived from their empirical work on large-scale Urban Development Projects (UDPs) in Europe. Their study brings

forth that UDPs often used as a means of implementing the neoliberal “New Urban Policy”. This emergent policy emphasize the priorities of the elite where local participation is mostly missing or just a case of formal requirement. But on the other hand it is also brought about that the social movements has an influence for the social benefits of the disadvantaged groups through participation. As the authors discuss the challenges and consequences of urban development projects (UDPs) in cities, they argue that UDPs are often disconnected from the general comprehensive aims and field of urban planning, and that they increase social inequality, and transform the power relations in urban governance for the sake of urban elites.

In addition to the above statements of Swyngedouw et al (2002), also Mayer (1994) highlights, a number of fundamental realignments of urban governance subsequently arose throughout these processes which are clearly experienced in the northern countries as well as the southern such as Turkey where government has been on the agenda to be transformed to governance:

- local authorities were constrained to engage more extensively and proactively in local economic development projects;
- local welfarist and collective consumption policies were increasingly marginalized or subordinated to production-oriented policies; and
- new forms of local governance, such as public-private partnerships, became increasingly prevalent.

The relationship between the state and neoliberalism as an ideology represents itself especially through the neoliberal urban policy of both the central and the local governments. We must be clear of what neoliberalism and neoliberal ideology is.

Harvey (2005, 2) states that neoliberalism is a political-economic theory emphasizing the individual entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework of strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. Here, according to Harvey, the state’s role is to establish and maintain this framework, ensuring the quality of money and the security of private property rights, even using force to uphold market functionality if needed. He adds that the state is also tasked with creating markets where they don’t exist, such as in areas like land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution. According to Harvey, the theory of neoliberalism puts forth that the state intervention in the socio-economic processes should be minimal, as it lacks the necessary information to efficiently intervene in market signals and is sensitive to distortion by powerful interest groups.

One of the most important concepts that the thesis elaborates on is what Brenner calls as Actually Existing Neoliberalism by which a clear relationship between neoliberalism as an ideology and material outcomes of the practices of this ideology are put forth. As Brenner and Theodore state:

“...An understanding of actually existing neoliberalism must therefore explore the path-dependent, contextually specific interactions between inherited regulatory landscapes and emergent neoliberal, market-oriented restructuring projects at a broad range of geographic scales. These considerations lead to a conceptualization of contemporary neoliberalization processes as catalysts and expressions of an ongoing creative destruction of political-economic space at multiple geographical scales.” (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 4)

And it is the relationship between neoliberal urbanization processes and urban restructurings that the thesis seeks for. Urban Development Projects and processes are where the thesis aims at critically looking for where the actually existing neoliberalism is materialized.

Below are the four distinct interpretations of neoliberalism put forth by Springer (2012, 136-137) following the work of Ward and England (2007):

1. Neoliberalism as an ideological hegemonic project
2. Neoliberalism as policy and program
3. Neoliberalism as state form
4. Neoliberalism as governmentality

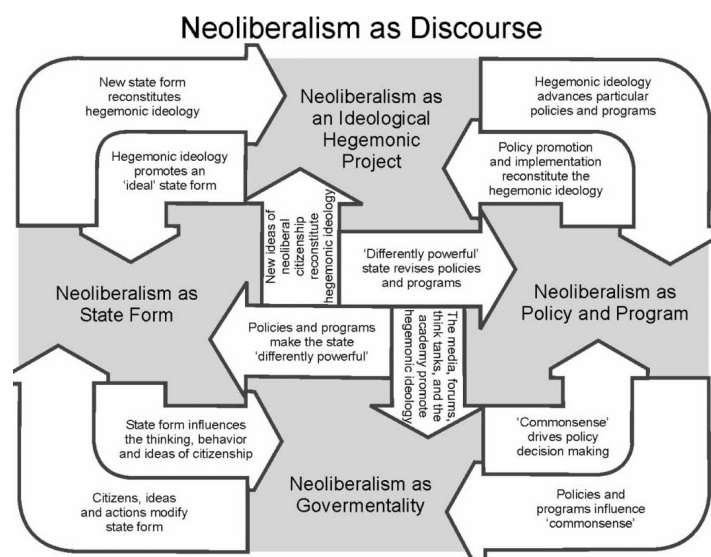


Figure 3.2. Neoliberalism as discourse: a circuitous understanding of neoliberalism

(Source: Springer 2012, 138.)

Springer's article (2012) compares different approaches to understanding neoliberalism as a discourse. The diagram given below (Figure 3.2.) shows how neoliberalism operates both as a form of governmentality and as an ideological hegemonic project. The diagram also includes the economic, political and cultural dimensions of neoliberalism as we have been experiencing also through urban development plans and projects that the thesis mainly elaborates on.

Harvey (2007) emphasizes that neoliberalism although could not succeed in operating as an engine of economic growth, but it directed the wealth from the weak and poor to the dominant classes and at a global level from the poorer countries to richer ones. So the institutions and narratives of the former periods were also transformed throughout these processes pointing out that there occurred creative destruction in the form of neoliberalism. A restructuring, replacing the old structures and relations with the new ones, was the creative destruction. According to Harvey neoliberalism demolished former periods' division of labor, social relations, welfare implementations and the as well as institutional frameworks. Also new market mechanisms, globalization, financial capital flows and new consumption cultures were created through neoliberalism and that the powerful actors used the state and international organizations for their own benefits.

Analyzing the Destructive and Creative moments of Neoliberal localization -and criticizing neoliberalism while seeking for the alternatives- Peck et al (2009) (see Table 3.1. below) reminds Harvey's emphasis on the concept of creative destruction of capitalism. Peck et al try to elaborate on analyzing the connections between neoliberal urbanization processes and urban transformations while pointing out the effects and traces of neoliberalism at a broader view and scale.

Table 3.1. Destructive and Creative moments of Neoliberal localization

(Source: Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2009, 59-62.)

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
Recalibration of intergovernmental relations	Dismantling of earlier systems of central government support for municipal activities	Devolution of new tasks, burdens, and responsibilities to municipalities; creation of new incentive structures to reward local entrepreneurialism and to catalyze “endogenous growth”
Retrenchment of public finance	Imposition fiscal austerity measures upon municipal governments	Creation of new revenue-collection districts and increased reliance of municipalities upon local sources of revenue, user fees, and other instruments of private finance
Restructuring the welfare state	Local relays of national welfare-service –provision are retrenched; assault on managerial-welfarist local state apparatuses	Expansion of community-based sectors and private approaches to social service provision Imposition of mandatory work requirements on urban welfare recipients; new (local) forms of workfare experimentation
Reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state	Dismantling of bureaucratized, hierarchical forms of local public administration Devolution of erstwhile state tasks to voluntary community networks Assault on traditional relays of local democratic accountability	“Rolling forward” of new networked forms of local governance based upon public-private partnerships, “quangos,” and the “new public management” Establishment of new institutional relays through which elite business interests can directly influence major local development decisions
Privatization of the municipal public sector and collective infrastructures	Elimination of public monopolies for the provision of standardized municipal services (utilities, sanitation, public safety, mass transit, etc)	Privatization and competitive contracting of municipal services Creation of new markets for service delivery and infrastructure maintenance Creation of privatized, customized, and networked urban infrastructures intended to (re)position cities within supranational capital flows
Restructuring urban housing markets	Razing public housing and other forms of low-rent accommodation Elimination of rent controls and project-based construction subsidies	Creation of new opportunities for speculative investment in central-city real estate markets Emergency shelters become “warehouses” for the homeless Introduction of market rents and tenant-based vouchers in low-rent niches of urban housing markets
Reworking labor market regulation	Dismantling of traditional, publicly funded education, skills training, and apprenticeship programs for youth, displaced workers, and the unemployed	Creation of a new regulatory environment in which temporary staffing agencies, unregulated “labor corners,” and other forms of contingent work can proliferate

Table 3.1. Destructive and Creative moments of Neoliberal localization (Cont.)

(Source: Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2009, 59-62.)

Restructuring strategies of territorial development	<p>Dismantling of autocentric national models of capitalist growth Destruction of traditional compensatory regional policies Increasing exposure of local and regional economies to global competitive forces Fragmentation of national space-economies into discrete urban and regional industrial systems</p>	<p>Creation of free trade zones, enterprise zones, and other deregulated spaces within major urban regions Creation of new development areas, technopoles, and other new industrial spaces at subnational scales Mobilization of new “glocal” strategies intended to rechannel economic capacities and infrastructure investments into “globally connected” local/regional agglomerations</p>
Transformations of the built environment and urban form	<p>Elimination and/or intensified surveillance of urban public spaces Destruction of traditional working-class neighborhoods in order to make way for speculative redevelopment Retreat from community-oriented planning initiatives</p>	<p>Creation of new privatized spaces of elite/corporate consumption Construction of large-scale megaprojects intended to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns Creation of gated communities, urban enclaves, and other “purified” spaces of social reproduction “Rolling forward” of the gentrification frontier and the intensification of sociospatial polarization Adoption of the principle of “highest and best use” as the basis for major land-use planning decisions</p>
Interlocal policy transfer	<p>Erosion of contextually sensitive approaches to local policymaking Marginalization of “home-grown” solutions to localized market failures and governance failures</p>	<p>Diffusion of generic, prototypical approaches to “modernizing” reform among policymakers in search of quick fixes for local social problems (eg welfare-to-work programs, place-marketing strategies, zero-tolerance crime policies, etc) Imposition of decontextualized “best practice” models upon local policy environments</p>
Re-regulation of urban civil society	<p>Destruction of the “liberal city” in which all inhabitants are entitled to basic civil liberties, social services, and political rights</p>	<p>Mobilization of zero-tolerance crime policies and “broken windows” policing Introduction of new discriminatory forms of surveillance and social control Introduction of new policies to combat social exclusion by reinserting individuals into the labor market</p>
Re-representing the city	<p>Postwar image of the industrial, working-class city is recast through a (re-emphasis) on urban disorder, “dangerous classes,” and economic decline</p>	<p>Mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas</p>

3.3. Urban Development Plans (UDPs) and Projects as the Means of Neoliberal Urban Restructuring

Neoliberal urban restructuring processes are which the concrete ones we have been experiencing at the Urban Development Plans and Project spaces. While elaborating on Neoliberal Urban Development Plans, Projects and Processes critically, we are supposed to use theoretical references and conceptual tools through reviewing the literature on Neoliberalism, Urban Restructuring, Urban Development which are shedding light on the 'real' materialized on the one hand and the possible spaces of the alternative on the other.

It is possible to find considerable research on political and economic restructuring processes experienced at first the 'developed' capitalist countries and henceforth expanded towards the Developing and the geographies of the global south worldwide since the early 1970s. Studies on Globalization, Post-Fordism, Neoliberalism, Post-Modernism, etc. all accompanied and enriched these works. All of this literature owes much to the political economic approaches.

In a recent work, Brenner and Schmid (2015) tries to reformulate the urban question in order to reveal a current epistemology of the urban space by seeking answers to the questions what categories, methods and cartographies should urban life be understood through urban restructuring:

“It is essential, therefore, to connect debates on the urban question to assessments of their practical and political implications, institutional expressions and everyday consequences in specific contexts of urban restructuring. Such a task may only be accomplished, however, if the underlying assumptions associated with framing conceptualizations of the urban are made explicit, subjected to critical scrutiny and revised continually in relation to evolving research questions, normative-political orientations and practical concerns.” (Brenner and Schmid 2015, 164-165)

The ideological-political backstage of Urban Development by reference to its geographical-historical dimension is to be explored through references to geographical-economic systems, regulations, reforms, and restructuring(s) ('path dependency'). The main aim of the Urban Development Projects, the actors and processes of these projects and the question of money and commodity flows through these projects are to be explored critically. The aspects of urban restructuring in connection with neoliberal urbanization and its restructuring(s) where the uneven development of space is produced and reproduced by Urban Development Projects are to be of major foci within

the thesis in a way that critically elaborating on as an internal process of capitalist production of space to overcome economic crises, and the uneven development of space produced and reproduced by Urban Development Projects.

Harvey (2007) puts forth a critical and comprehensive elaboration of Neoliberalism - and the positioning of the state in theory- at a time when the neoliberal processes had been immensely existed in capitalist geographies of the world:

“Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices...” (Harvey 2007, 2)

Peck et al. (2009) contributes to the elaboration of ‘neoliberalization’ while criticizing the neoliberal ideological assumptions highlighting to seek for the ‘actually existing neoliberalism’ where it is crucial to reveal ‘the path-dependent interactions between neoliberal projects emphasizing ‘the geographically variable, yet multiscalar and translocally interconnected, nature of neoliberal urbanism’:

“...an adequate understanding of contemporary neoliberalization processes requires not only a grasp of their politico-ideological foundations but, just as importantly, a systematic inquiry into their multifarious institutional forms, developmental tendencies, diverse sociopolitical effects and multiple contradictions. While the ideology of neoliberalism rests on a deference to a singular, ahistorical and uniquely efficient market, the infinitely more murky reality is that actually existing programs of neoliberalization are always contextually embedded and politically mediated, for all their generic features, family resemblances, and structural interconnections...” (Peck et al. 2009, 51-52)

Brenner and Theodore (2002), dealing with the spaces of actually existing neoliberalism, emphasize that;

“...An understanding of actually existing neoliberalism must therefore explore the path-dependent, contextually specific interactions between inherited regulatory landscapes and emergent neoliberal, market-oriented restructuring projects at a broad range of geographic scales. These considerations lead to a conceptualization of contemporary neoliberalization processes as catalysts and expressions of an ongoing creative destruction of political-economic space at multiple geographical scales.” (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 4).

There is no doubt that there has been existing considerable amount of social movements’ resistance and challenges to neoliberal urban restructuring provided at a variety of social scales stemming from particular sites of localities to global, where the actually existing neoliberalism is materialized through policies, plans, projects and

consequently socio-spatial restructuring(s). Mayer (2007) highlights the literature on the urban social movements contesting neoliberalization processes:

“As neoliberal restructuring strategies have reconfigured individual states across the various Western welfare regimes, a variety of social movements have responded by addressing and challenging neoliberal urban policies and their consequences. However, these policies and their consequences have transformed not only the forms and spaces of urban governance but also social movement terrains, breaking up familiar patterns and creating new frontiers and cleavages of contestation. The urban movement literature has barely begun to take note of these transformations.” (Mayer 2007, 90)

Above given findings and statements are crucial and are worth to be questioned in geographies of the global south where such large scale Urban Development Projects have been on the agenda for the past decades. As the social formation differs in southern and northern geographies, so does the urban policy. On the other hand, neoliberal policies and hence the New (Neoliberal) Urban Policy goes hand in hand with the capital which originates from the Northern countries, especially where Europe and America are the foremost.

In Turkey, the large-scale Urban Design Projects and Urban Development Projects are the most well-known policy and practice cases where the state and the capital intends to intervene, produce and get profit from urban space. City Regions of İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir as well as many Anatolian cities have been tried to be transformed by the regulations and legal instruments arranged by the state.

Urban Development Projects and Large Scale Regeneration Projects have been implemented in Europe and today another form of them the “Urban Development Projects” have been implemented in Turkey. “Urban Renewal” is not a new phenomenon, and UDPs are the very contemporary examples of a related renewal type regarding the properties of the area on which they are implemented. Types of Urban Interventions by instruments of planning and architecture can be listed as: Renewal, Clearance, Redevelopment, Improvement, Rehabilitation, Preservation, Conservation, Restoration, Reconstruction and Regeneration (see Table 3.2. below). Especially after the Second World War, urban renewal (with urban conservation) had been a strong planning tool for the rebuilding of Europe’s destructed cities. In addition to conserved historic environments, urban renewal mechanisms created many newly built but useless housing blocks, powerless immigrant neighborhoods, and socially and physically segregated cities.

Roberts (1999) puts forth the evolution of urban regeneration with respect to

historical periods in which a different type of urban renewal is implemented towards the regeneration of the 1990s:

Table 3.2. The Evolution of Urban Regeneration

(Source: Roberts 1999, 14.)

Period Policy type	1950s Recon- struction	1960s Revital- isation	1970s Renewal	1980s Redevelop- ment	1990s Regener- ation
Major strategy and orien- tation	Reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities often based on a 'masterplan'; suburban growth.	Continuation of 1950s theme; suburban and peripheral growth; some early attempts at rehab- ilitation.	Focus on <i>in- situ</i> renewal and neigh- bourhood schemes; still development at periphery.	Many major schemes of development and redevelop- ment; flagship projects; out of town projects.	Move towards a more com- prehensive form of policy and practice; more emphasis on integrated treatments.
Key actors and stakeholders	National and local government; private sector developers and contractors.	Move towards a greater balance between public and private sectors.	Growing role of private sector and de- centralisation in local government.	Emphasis on private sector and special agencies; growth of partnerships.	Partnership the dominant approach.
Spatial level of activity	Emphasis on local and site levels.	Regional level of activity emerged.	Regional and local levels initially; later more local emphasis.	In early 1980s focus on site; later emphasis on local level.	Reintroduction of strategic perspective; growth of regional activity.
Economic focus	Public sector investment with some private sector involvement.	Continuing from 1950s with growing influence of private investment.	Resource constraints in public sector and growth of private investment.	Private sector dominant with selective public funds.	Greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding.
Social content	Improvement of housing and living standards.	Social and welfare improvement.	Community- based action and greater empower- ment.	Community self-help with very selective state support.	Emphasis on the role of community.
Physical emphasis	Replacement of inner areas and peripheral development.	Some continuation from 1950s with parallel rehabilitation of existing areas.	More extensive renewal of older urban areas.	Major schemes of replacement and new development; 'flagship schemes'.	More modest than 1980s; heritage and retention.
Environmental approach	Landscaping and some greening.	Selective im- provements.	Environmental improvement with some in- novations.	Growth of concern for wider approach to environment.	Introduction of broader idea of environmen- tal sustain- ability.

Until the economic crisis in the early 2000s in Turkey, governments did not undertake a massive program of regeneration in these areas, fearing the reactions of the population and an electoral defeat. This pragmatism has changed after two major events in Turkey: the great 1999 earthquake in the Sea of Marmara near Istanbul, which killed 18.373 people and destroyed thousands of buildings; as well as the financial crisis of 2001 which caused a considerable economic and political disruption (leading in particular to the ousting of the parliament of the political parties in place). That was a prelude to a period of new state entrepreneurialism in neoliberal reproduction of urban spaces in Turkey throughout the creation of project agencies and giant firms of construction maintaining clientalist links with local administrations and surveillance bodies.

Since 2002, a series of development and urban transformation projects have been undertaken within the framework of public policies of construction, roads and leisure spaces profoundly restructuring the social, political and cultural morphology of the cities in Turkey. These projects, which constitute a turning point in the history of the country's urban policies, are characterized by a mixture of neoliberalism and economically coercive urban governance in the service of a repressive policy towards economically weak inhabitant groups.

3.4. On the Right to the City

In this section, as an important debate in Critical Urban Theory and Urban Studies, "the Right to the City" will be elaborated on. Originating from the earlier works of Lefebvre, also works of Harvey and Marcuse will be reviewed here.

Criticizing the capitalist mode of urbanism, Lefebvre (1996) emphasizes that the city is produced and reproduced as a social space, the inhabitants of the city have the right to participate in the production processes of urban spaces as the elites and the property owners are not the only owners of the city. And this participation is an active one where social as well as physical production of space should be materialized by both the urban poor and the disadvantaged against the alienation and marginalization.

Therefore, Lefebvre (1996) proposes something more than right to housing or right to accessing urban facilities or services by the inhabitants of the city. Lefebvre's statements and his standpoint also is a critical inquiry within the capitalist system with

respect to wider scope of relations of the urban. Right to the city reminds us the notable struggles of the social movements for living, inhabiting, using, shaping and creating the city in relation to their demands for social justice, for public space or for better urban life as well as the struggles against gentrification, commodification of urban space, involuntarily displacement, ecological crises. In an understating of Lefebvre, it is possible to state that the inhabitants of the city have the right to participate in the decision-making processes producing and reproducing the urban such as within the urban development plans, projects and processes where policy and (spatial) planning is quite important. As control over urban space brings about the power, according to Lefebvre, so it is clear that the democratic control over the space can be provided by participating mechanisms towards the actors and the labor producing urban space.

Another major figure within the Right to the City debate is David Harvey as Marxist geographer. Harvey (2008) states that the bourgeoisie for only its own needs and desires produces the city space against the needs of the poor and the working throughout the urban process. They claim to solve the urban problems of the central areas of the cities so as to bring about features such as health, business, transportation, or beauty while destroying the working-class neighborhoods. But Harvey also discusses that although there is a destruction of the claimed problems, the problem persists and just replaced and moved to somewhere far away from these sites. With these statements as the reasoning, Harvey proposes the democratic control over the urban space with respect to its allocation of surplus. And he sees control over the production and use of surplus is essential to the right to the city while from the Marxist standpoint criticizing neoliberalism which we have been experiencing for the past decades. According to Harvey we are to understand contemporary patterns of urban restructuring and their implications for action where such mode of understanding is essential for producing alternative, radical, and revolutionary responses to the ongoing global capitalist processes and crises. Among many, for sure, climate crises, food crises, agricultural crises, ecological crises are quite important debates as well as global financial crises to be major foci of our orientation towards the critical action against planetary capitalist urban processes.

According to Marcuse (2009), “The Right to the City” is a vision of a fundamentally different society rather than the existing capitalist system and the formation. To Marcuse, the right to the city points out change and transformation towards a democratic society favoring basic human needs and rights of living based on

the guidance of socialism or communism. Marcuse highlights the potential of critical urban theory to focus on and realize what is proposed with the actions within the concerns of the right to the city movement among the other social movements. Linking between theory and practice, Marcuse proposes a critical urban theory which aims at exposing the common foundations and reasons of deprivation and discontent, resembling the common nature of the demands and aspirations of the majority of people, and providing principles for the deprived and the alienated to make common reason and sense for the struggle on the Right to the City.

Here, it is important to highlight that for Lefebvre and for his followers, the 'Right to the City' is not only about accessing existing urban resources or participating in existing urban governance structures. It is something a more radical demand for inhabitants, or for the residents of a neighborhood as to change and transform the city, the urban space -which is socially produced- in accordance with their own needs and desires which are socially constructed. This reminds us the emancipatory praxis that involves both the theoretical and the practical actions against the capitalism as a social system which most of the activists struggling against the capital and the state all around the globe demand for in a common way.

CHAPTER 4

THE NEOLIBERAL URBAN RESTRUCTURING IN POST-2000s' TURKEY: A CRITICAL INQUIRY ON URBAN RESTRUCTURING POLICY & PRACTICES OF THE STATE

In this chapter, the urban restructuring processes and the economic, social and governmental policies within Turkey since the very beginning of 2000s are put forth with their historical background. In this context; the regulatory and administrative role and policies of the state, its being as an active subject throughout the economic and social processes of the restructuring(s) and its legal regulations in relation to urban development/transformation processes are of major concern.

It is critically elaborated on the “Urban Development/Transformation Plans and Projects” as the mechanisms of the restructuring processes and on the regulations which have been aiming at making urban development/transformations possible since 2000s. Related literature is on urbanized city space of Turkey which developments/transformations were on the run especially in İstanbul and Ankara and where those processes have been immensely materialized.

4.1. A Critical Historical Geographic Review of the Neoliberal Restructuring in Turkey throughout the Urban Process since 2000

Eraydın (2012, 61-78) elaborates on the changes and transformations in urban policies and planning in relation to neoliberalism and global processes. Eraydın emphasizes that the state did not lose its power in urban but rather it has a redefined role. And in Turkish case, Eraydın argues that the central and the local governments have conflicting and contradictory policies and practices in relation to urban restructuring and urban development. And she adds that there occurred conflicts between different actors which brought about criticisms in relation to the restructured interests and concerns of the state on urban areas in the neoliberal era. She emphasizes

that the state continued to intervene in the context of urban development while being a dominant actor over urban transformation and housing projects through the creation of public institutions such as TOKI. She states that in the neoliberal era, that we have been experiencing for several decades, the state of Turkey has changed its role and policies and that it tried to decentralize its particular functions to the local governments while increasing its power over urban areas.

As a level of inquiry, the literature on the jurisdictional geographical unit of Turkey in general on the one hand and on the sub-unit as the city of İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir on the other, are to be critically elaborated. It is essential to review the discourses, debates and the actually existing neoliberalism(s) of “Urban Development/Transformation” phenomenon in these two units as there has been a growing literature accompanying the urban development agenda immensely materialized since the early 2000s’ Turkey. It is possible to find answers on the underlying reasons behind Urban Development Plans and Projects (UDPs) in Turkey which are immensely regulated and boomed nationwide as the engine of economic sectors by the state, capital and sometimes by the community himself; but, the background processes of UDPs are essential to this inquiry.

As the thesis elaborates on the socio-spatial processes beginning from the neoliberal urban restructuring in Turkey, a historical review of urban housing and gecekondü (and illegal housing) policies is required as the historical background of the ongoing neoliberal policies and the spaces (re)produced. Such a historical review can be put forward accompanied by the periodization of state’s policies and administrative regulations since 1950s when the first gecekondus occurred. Having these multi faceted concerns on the one hand, the literature on socio-spatial processes of the uneven development of spaces and people can be approached critically in Turkey and İzmir as the third large metropolis of the country, on the other. As a means of, for example, gentrification, where and how the Urban Development/Transformation plans and projects are instrumentalized? So we have to explore socio-spatial segregation, involuntary displacement in UDPs. Such knowledge does exist in the growing literature on Turkey’s the first largest two city-regions of Turkey: İstanbul and Ankara. The concrete findings of the researchs on UDPs in Turkey will shed light on our inquiry on the theoretical level which will provide both questions and answers to the following field research level.

According to Güzey (2016, 41) since the 1990s, the role of the state has been

changed with respect to the reforms that that has been introduced and favored the market. Güzey states that in this period the inner city has become the main source of capital growth. These changes and transformations went on with their similarities with the other parts of the world where a New Urban Policy has been brought about. And this policy, according to Güzey, caused new forms of urban interventions that are less democratic and had priorities driven by the elites where high quality office and residential areas mostly in central locations were favored (see Figure 4.1. below).

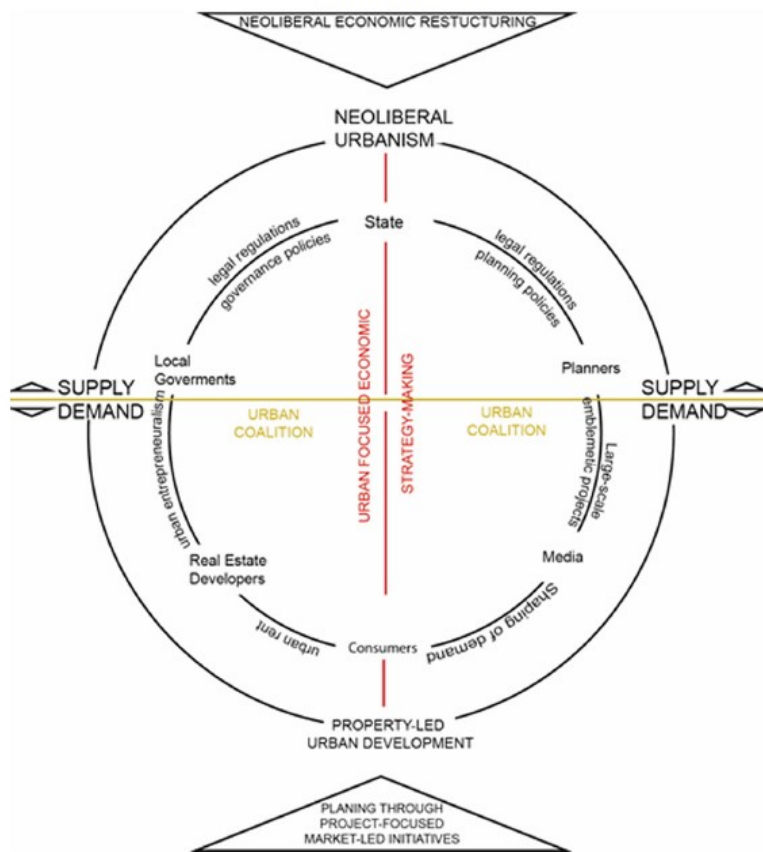


Figure 4.1. A Representation of the Neoliberal Restructuring Process in Turkey
(Source: Güzey 2016, 42.)

In Turkish case, Urban Development/Transformation is termed as “Kentsel Dönüşüm” in Turkish literature firstly as a blurring discourse followed by the emerging socio-spatial-economic policy brought about as a foremost agenda of the governments by the neoliberal wave. Beginning in the early 1980s, all the existing socio-spatial interventions by means of restructuring Turkey’s cities may be consired as the

extensions of this neoliberal wave which produced such mechanism within capitalist historical geographies to overcome the inherent capitalist crises. How are neoliberal urban restructuring projects concretized in Turkey's urban space?

Most of the research on the subject is focused on İstanbul and Ankara cases, the first two largest urban formations of Turkey where immense restructurings have been experienced. Through a review of this literature, it is possible to find critical elaborations on historical geographies on which Urban Development Projects materialized. Most of the study within this literature is quite critical, and socio-spatial accompanying the vast majority of descriptive studies. One can find a richness of research expanding from the periodizations of the history of socio-spatial policies of Turkey to the outcomes of the urban restructuring processes materialized on space by the Urban Development Projects.

On the other hand, the historical specificity of urban space in Turkey, looking deeply and critically on the concrete and existing processes in/on/by cities of Turkey and its particular sites, is not properly theorized, nor it is properly conceptualized. The thesis will also be concerned with this issue within its field research explained in the following section of this thesis.

As a challenge to widespread belief which is also formulated on a very theoretical basis, the state of Turkey is a strong and major regulatory political, economic, and governmental actor throughout these processes. The enacted laws and implementing regulations, and the socio-spatial practices of central, local and sometimes both central and local governments despite these laws and implementing regulations and all the institutional regulatory restructurings in particular times and spaces, are all representations within this period of capitalist destruction. Urban Development Projects and the Processes are the one very examples of Actually Existing Neoliberalism emerging in Turkey especially within the three largest metropolises - İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir- in which considerable socio-spatial processes are produced. And these processes are to be critically revealed.

Theoretical insights to be derived from the literature on neoliberal urban restructuring policy and practice in Turkey will critically focus on urban development policy and practice in Turkey; legal, administrative and economic regulations of Turkish State; and spatial rescaling and the rescaling of the state in Turkey. By the restructurings and ideological implications, the state is supposed to be a minor actor rather than the forerunner of the development projects by means of legal and

administrative regulations, i.e. TOKİ. So, we have to discuss the role of the state throughout these projects. Another point is that a critique of the shift from Turkey's social housing policy of 1970s to UDPs of 2000s will give us some historical-geographical crucial foci in our understanding of this restructuring.

The risk of earthquake and hazardous events, old and derelict physical building stock and construction of new and more qualified housing and commercial uses, underutilized neighborhoods, the social problems, etc. are the highlighted reasons put forth for the sake of Urban Development Plans and Projects by the governments since the very beginning of 2000s in Turkey. Discourse is produced, and reproduced throughout these processes. The resistance for the right to the study and the struggle for the social justice has been at the core concern of the social movements. Yet, the legitimacy of urban development plans and projects has never been provided.

As this thesis elaborates on the socio-spatial processes beginning from the neoliberal urban restructuring, a historical review of urban housing and *gecekondu* (and informal housing) policies is required as the historical background of the ongoing neoliberal policies and the spaces (re)produced. Such a historical review needs to be put forward accompanied by the periodization of state's policies and legal and administrative regulations since 1960s when the first *gecekondus* occurred.

Urban Development Plans and Projects are not only subjected to housing areas, but also to the public spaces, to the city centers and to the derelict production sites of the cities as the active land uses of the previous periods. These sites are conceived as the potential sites of investment where land rent is produced and reproduced by means of several types of interventions.

During the post-2000 period, urban renewal or the Urban Development Projects have become the base of urbanisation policy and hence urban planning concern –in fact business- by the implications of the neoliberal urbanisation policies which are widespread implemented in urban processes. Public-private partnerships and project-based spatial interventions are among the concerns of the thesis.

Urban renewal, or the so called “urban development/transformation agenda” is not a new one: Turkey has *gecekondu* areas since the 1950s-1960s and illegal (informal) developments which have been accompanying the urban process. Social (mass) housing policy of the 1980s provided considerable housing stock at the outskirts of the large metropolises. But most of the *gecekondu* areas and illegally developed land remained in the inner cities. As now, it has also been discussed whether these areas and lands are

people's own state-less solutions to rapid urbanization and housing. Local governments provided infrastructure (never completely) to these places as they were at least considered to be the vote pools of local and nation-wide elections.

Table 4.1. A Chronology of Urban Development Practice in Turkey

(Source: Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 60.)

DÖNÜŞÜM DEĞİŞKENLERİ VE UYGULAMALARI	1950 – 1980	1980 – 2000	2000 SONRASI
YAPISAL / BAĞLAMSAL	<i>Ekonomik Politikalar:</i> Ekonomik Büyüme <i>Demografik Değişim:</i> Kentlere göç ve hızlı kent nüfus artışı	<i>Ekonomik Politikalar:</i> Ekonominin dışa açılması; Küreselleşme ve yerelleşme <i>Demografik Değişim:</i> Kentsel nüfus artışı; metropollerde doğurganlık oranının düşmesi	<i>Ekonomik Politikalar:</i> Özelleştirme; AB ilişkileri <i>Demografik Değişim:</i> Doğudan batıya göç
SOSYO-EKONOMİK	<i>Konut Sunum Biçimleri:</i> Yap-satçı konut, kısıtlı sayıda kooperatif, Toplu Konut <i>İşgücü-Konut ilişkisi:</i> Düşük gelirli işgücünün sanayi ve sanayi dışı istihdamı; Konut ihtiyacına çözüm olarak gecekondular	<i>Konut Sunum Biçimleri:</i> Ruhsatlı ve ruhsatsız yapılaşma <i>İşgücü-Konut ilişkisi:</i> Kent merkezlerindeki küçük üretim birimlerinde çalışanların çevre gecekondular ve merkez mahallelerde yaşayan niteliksiz ve düşük gelirli nüfustan oluşması; Orta gelir grubunun yaşam alanlarının desantralizasyonu	<i>Konut Sunum Biçimleri:</i> Belediye Toplu Konut Kooperatifleri, özel sektör lüks konut siteleri, düşük nitelikli apartmanlar, kent merkezlerindeki tarihi konut, deprem riski olan alanlarda devlet kredisi ile afet konutları <i>İşgücü-Konut ilişkisi:</i> Yüksek gelir grubu kent dışında konut çevreleri oluşturuyor; gecekondularında istihdam yapısındaki değişime göre konut biçim ve standartları değişiyor
YÖNETİM / UYGULAMA	<i>Yetkilerin Dağılımı:</i> Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı; İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı; Yeni Belediyecilik Hareketi <i>Planlama Uygulamaları:</i> Merkezi Planlı Kalkınma Modeli; Bütüncül Planlama Yaklaşımı <i>Politikalar ve Yasal Düzenlemeler:</i> Belediye, Gecekondular, Arsa Ofisi, İmar ve Kat Mülkiyeti kanunları	<i>Yetkilerin Dağılımı:</i> Yerel ilçe belediyelerine planlama yetkisinin verilmesi; Yerel Gündem 21 <i>Planlama Uygulamaları:</i> Kentsel gelişmeye desantralizasyon; Nazım İmar ve Uygulama Planları; Yerelde yukarıdan-aşağıya yönetim anlayışı <i>Politikalar ve Yasal Düzenlemeler:</i> Büyükşehir Belediye, İmar, Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma, Çevre, Boğaziçi, Milli Parklar kanunları ve Af yasaları	<i>Yetkilerin Dağılımı:</i> Büyükşehir belediyelerinin yetkisinin genişletilmesi <i>Planlama Uygulamaları:</i> Stratejik Planlama; katılımlı planlama uygulamalarının başlaması <i>Politikalar ve Yasal Düzenlemeler:</i> Büyükşehir, Belediye, Mali İdareler, Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma kanunları
KENTSEL MAKROFORM	"Azman Kent" (merkezde yoğunlaşma; gecekonduların gelişimi)	Çok Merkezli Metropolitan Kentleşme (kentsel yayılma; ruhsat dışı yapılaşmanın yasallaşması)	Bölgesel Yayılma (merkezlerin farklılaşması ve yeni ilişki ağlarının kurulması)
KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM UYGULAMALARI	1. Gecekonduların bölgelerinin sağlıklılaştırılması; 2. Kent merkezinin çöküntü alanına dönüşümü; 3. Gecekonduların yeniden yapılandırılması; 4. Bu alanlarda kentsel yenileme.	1. Yaşam kalitesi düşmüş ve riskli alanlarda kentsel yenileme; 2. İyileştirmeye yönelik sağlıklılaştırma ve islah-imar uygulamaları; 3. Tarihi değeri olan alanların korunması ve soylulaştırılması.	1. Kentsel alanlarda yenileme; 2. Apartman alanlarının iyileştirilmesi; 3. Yeni siteler ve kapalı yerleşim alanlarının yeniden geliştirilmesi; 4. Tarihi konut alanlarının soylulaştırılması;

Following the urban policies, practices and processes since 1950s represented in the above table, “The Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks” was enacted in year 2012 where Ministry of Urbanisation was authorized. This was a major regulation of the state intervening all potential “development” urban areas. It was declared in the act that these areas would be subjected to development/transformation with respect to their physical condition or whether their actual or virtual potential of hazardous risks. And gecekondu areas were again subject to state’s interventions by means of these regulations.

4.2. The Situation of the Gecekondu in the Urban Process in Turkey since 2000s

Gecekondu areas were the housing solution of their residents hand in hand with the rapid urbanization and industrialization of Turkey especially since the 1950s. They were located at the outskirts of the urbanized areas on which the treasury land of the state were existing. They were -and some of them are still- at most two storey buildings and socially, were mostly resembling the neighborhoods as the symbolic communities of the provinces from which the residents had been migrated. The residents of the gecekondu were the members of the working class who were mostly working in factories as well as in the marginal sectors of the urban economy.

As these gecekondu areas have been home to the workers, to the proletariat of the city who worked for many sectors of the urban economy, the residents of the gecekondu neighborhoods did produce anything allocated within the division of labor. Before the local and central governments’ elections, gecekondu areas were considered by their potential millions of votes while the residents were hoping to upgrade their housing to legal status to overcome the risk of destruction provided by the government.

After decades, some of these areas were demolished by the governments and some remained in their existing place where their residents were remembered while it was during the time for the central and local political elections were closing.

Below is given the list of construction amnesties enacted in Turkey since the emergence of gecekondu and illegal physical developments:

Before 775 Numbered Gecekondu Act (1966), 5 amnesty laws were enacted:

- Year 1948: 5218 Numbered Act

- Year 1948: 5228 Numbered Act
- Year 1949: 5431 Numbered Act
- Year 1953: 6188 Numbered Act
- Year 1959: 7367 Numbered Act

After 775 Numbered Gecekondu Act (1966), 9 amnesty laws were enacted:

- Year 1976: 1990 Numbered Act
- Year 1983: 2085 Numbered Act
- Year 1984: 2981 Numbered Act
- Year 1986: 3290 Numbered Act
- Year 1987: 3366 Numbered Act
- Year 1988: 3414 Numbered Act
- Year 1989: 2981 Numbered Act
- Year 2008: 5784 Numbered Act
- Year 2018: 7143 Numbered Act

The last of these regulations, namely the 7143 Numbered act (Vergi ve Bazı Alacakların Yeniden Yapılandırılması İle Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına İlişkin Kanun) was enacted and announced in 18.05.2018 dated and 30425 numbered Official Gazette. According to this act, 16. Temporary Article of İmar Kanunu was added and it is declared that buildings without building licenses and buildings contradictory to licences and to license additions would be recorded and “reconstruction peace” will be provided with respect to the buildings built before 31.12.2017. After the recordings dated to 31.12.2018, building registration certificates would be provided as to state that all these “illegal” constructions would be now “legal”.

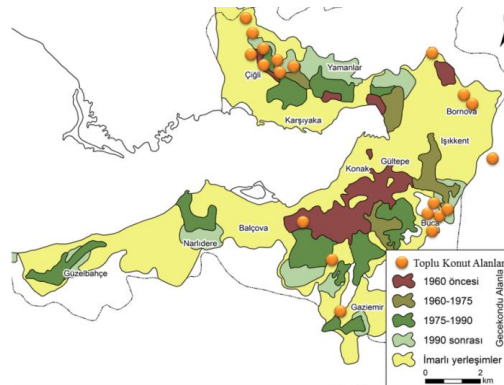


Figure 4.2. Historical-spatial distribution of gecekondu and mass housing areas in İzmir
(Source: Karadağ 2014, 48.)

It is possible to discuss the role and position of the state within the neoliberal urban restructuring programs in countries such as Turkey with respect to the state's standpoint in relation to the gecekondu areas and to the residents of the gecekondus. The state's assumption of investment risks and use of public funds and finance-credit mechanisms are seen as a decisive factor in urban capitalist development. And the process of real estate consortia taking an interest in gecekondu areas and bypassing legal regulations and institutional bodies in some cases after the introduction of neoliberal economic rules in the 1980s is quite important. We witnessed the period of increased state entrepreneurship and neoliberal reproduction of urban spaces through project agencies and construction giants after the 1999 earthquake and 2001 crisis. And TOKİ became the central authority in determining the areas of construction and sale, privatizing public lands and developing real estate projects as subcontractors to private construction companies. It is proper to state that throughout the urban restructuring processes by means of UDPs, the decision-making and implementation process is closed to democratic discussions, focused on security and land speculation, and has a market-centered logic and top-down operation rather than the provision of the right to the city. And by the implementations of UDPs, the habitat in gecekondu areas has been demolished and the local people, the residents of the gecekondus have been mostly involuntarily displaced to peripheral neighborhoods without infrastructure and services. And throughout these processes powerful interest groups distorted and influenced state interventions for their own benefit against the powerless people.

4.3. The Emergence of Urban Development/Transformation

Plans and Projects (UDPs) as the Means of Urban Restructuring in Turkey

As the thesis is concerned with a criticism of UDPs and processes which have been on the agenda since the beginning of 2000s in Turkey, so the UDPs are considered as one of the neoliberal urban strategies, means and mechanisms of urban restructuring. The production of space through UDPs and its implications for neoliberal urban restructuring is explored in Turkey's third largest metropolis, İzmir. Having been placed within the context of neoliberal urban restructuring, Narlıdere district is focused on as a representative case in the following chapter.

The central government enacted the “6306 numbered the Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks” in year 2012 and favored the development plans and projects on urban development anywhere possible but especially on the ‘potential redevelopment/regeneration/renewal lands’ of the cities. Some local governments conceived the process as a chance to overcome the urban socio-economic problems provided by the *gecekondu* and informal settlements as they have been mentioning for decades. On rhetoric, both types of governments have produced a discourse where they stated that they see the projects as a means of “cleaning” the “dirty” lands while providing solutions of residents of those lands. But on the other hand, (not all but most of the) residents of the related areas of the cities, the NGOs, and some political parties have already taken the opposite side in as defense and resistance against the so-called development. Academic writers are also divided into two.

In fact this “agenda” is not a new one: Turkey has *gecekondu* areas since the 1960s and informal developments have been accompanying these areas. Social housing policy of the 1980s provided considerable housing stock at the outskirts of the large metropolises. But most of the *gecekondu* areas and informally developed land remained in the inner cities. As now, it can also be discussed whether these areas and lands are the poor’s own state-less solutions to rapid urbanization and housing. Local governments provided infrastructure (never completely) and sometimes property ownership to the people of these places as they were at least considered to be the potential vote pools of local elections.

Economic and political restructuring processes went in hand in hand with the capitalist globalization since the 1980s. In order to overcome the capitalist crises, the Northern capitalist world began to expand capitalist relations at a world wide scale. The Global South was redefined: it was now a room for old industries, cheap labor, and loose government intervention for the sake of local, national and global capital and also of FDIs. As the North is redirected by the capitalist restructurings, it also imposed the South to make political and economic restructurings under the guidance of World Bank, IMF and other supra-national institutions. And space and place, both as a commodity and a symbol, are produced and reproduced throughout these processes. Gated communities, big shopping centers, skyscrapers, luxury resorts and residences are all among the representations of neoliberal urban restructuring(s) which produce a transformed urban space by means of new processes.

Table 4.2. Policy trends influencing the evolution of housing renewal in Turkey, 1923-2010

(Source: Günay et al. 2015, 218.)

Policy trends	1923–45	1945–60	1960–80	1980–2000	2000–onwards
The political context	Foundation of the modernity project of the newly established nation-state; urbanisation	Closed economy based on state investments, industrialisation. Planning of urbanisation, first wave rural–urban migration	Planned urbanisation, 1961 Constitution, Industrialisation, urbanisation, migration	Globalisation, liberal movement, 1982 Constitution, second wave rural–urban migration	Neoliberal urbanism
Housing provision and type	Housing stock inherited from the Ottoman Empire, new housing for government employees and state-owned factory workers, planning efforts in Ankara and Istanbul	First signs of squatter settlements	Build & sell, housing (building) co-operatives, squatters, multi-family housing	Illegal housing & settlements, mass housing, co-operatives and growth of construction firms	Satellite cities, gated communities
Mainstream housing renewal approach	Individual initiatives *Housing as a <i>modernity project</i>	Individual initiatives, clearance of deprived areas for the opening of new transportation arteries *Housing as an <i>economic instrument</i>	Squatter upgrading/clearance	Housing improvement, rehabilitation, bulldozer renewal	Large-scale property-led renewal schemes
Management of housing renewal	Central planning (Law on Municipality, Buildings and Roads, Land Register, Expropriation, Ministry of Public Works)	Central planning (Ministry of Public Works and Settlements, Bank of Provinces, Law on Land Development and Planning)	Central planning (State Planning Organisation, 5-Year Development Plans), rise of private sector	Central planning, (Mass Housing Law, Mass Housing Development Authority), local government reforms, private sector	Local governmental agencies, Mass Housing Development Authority, public-private partnerships
Major concerns	Construction and planning of new urban centres as symbols of the new Republic	Legal and administrative structure, housing shortage for low-income groups, uncontrollable transformation and development	Urban poverty and inequality	Conservation of historic buildings and environment, social classes, urban poverty and inequality	Social exclusion, forced evictions, conservation of historic buildings and environmental sustainability

The Urban Development Projects and the Large Regeneration Projects have been implemented in Europe and today another form of them, the “Urban Development/Transformation Plans and Projects” have been on the run to be implemented in almost all the large cities of Turkey. Policy trends influencing the evolution of housing renewal in Turkey is pointed out in the above table representing that urban renewal is not a new phenomenon in Turkey. And today it is seen that Urban Development Plans and Projects are the very contemporary examples of a related renewal type regarding the properties of the area on which they are implemented. Historically speaking, every type of urban renewal has its for and against supporters. Especially after the Second World War, urban renewal (with urban conservation) had been a strong planning tool for the rebuilding of Europe’s destructed cities. And Europe, with its follower, the United States gained as much as it lost by the great urban renewal projects. In addition to conserved historic environments, urban renewal mechanisms created many newly built but useless housing blocks, powerless immigrant neighborhoods, and socially and physically segregated cities.

“Urban Transformation” has been on the agenda with its proposed-changed-and re-proposed Act, counter struggles and protests, and implementations since the very beginning of 2000s. Many activities for and against “Urban Development Plans and Projects” have been presented, and various groups are represented by their voices in these political and academic activities.

Although there had been a strong resistance to state power on urban areas with respect to interventions, to make urban development/transformation possible, the state of Turkey has developed several regulations in addition to the existing frameworks. Although practices of the revisions of the implementation plans were on the run, for the sake of the state, it was not always possible to develop/transform urban space by these planning processes because of property problems or of the reactions against the authorities with respect to the right to the city. Currently there exist the below listed regulations of urban development/transformation in Turkey:

- 6306 numbered act (building and area) – central government (and local government)
- 5393 numbered act article 73 (local government with the metropolitan municipality)
- 5366 numbered act (historical sites)
- Plan revisions (of many sizes of urban areas) for several types of urban

renewal

- Partial implementation plan changes (of limited areas)

In their critical and comprehensive work, Tezcan and Çelik (2020: 363-4) summarized the acts and the types of interventions provided by the state directly influencing the urban development/transformation in Turkey by means of the regulations:

Table 4.3. A list of acts channeling the practices of urban development/transformation in Turkey.

(Source: Tezcan and Çelik 2020, 363-4.)

Kanun no	Kanun adı	Kanun yıl	Müdahale biçimi
5218	Ankara Belediyesine, arsa ve arazisinden belli bir kısmını mesken yapacaklara 2490 sayılı Kanun hükümlerine bağlı olmaksızın ve muayyen şartlarla tahsis ve temlik yetkisi verilmesi hakkında Kanun	1948	Düzenleme Önleme Mülkiyet Hakkı
5228	Bina Yapımını Teşvik Kanunu	1948	Düzenleme, Önleme Mülkiyet Hakkı
5431	Ruhsatsız Yapıların Yıkılması ve 2290 Sayılı Belediye Yapı Yollar Kanununun 13. Maddesinin Değiştirilmesine Dair Kanun	1949	Düzenleme Önleme Mülkiyet Hakkı
6188	Bina Yapımına Teşvik Ve İzinsiz Yapılan Binalar Hakkında Kanun	1953	Önleme Mülkiyet Hakkı
7367	Hazineden Belediyelere Devredilecek Arazi Arsalar Hakkında Kanun	1959	Önleme
634	Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu	1965	Düzenleme
775	Gecekondu Kanunu	1966	Mülkiyet Hakkı Önleme
1164	Arsa Üretimi ve Hakkında Kanun	1969	Önleme
1990	Gecekondu Kanununda Bazı Değişiklikler Yapılması Hakkında Kanun	1976	Mülkiyet Hakkı
2805	İmar Ve Gecekondu Mevzuatına Aykırı Olarak Yapılan Yapılara Uygulanacak İşlemler Ve 6785 Sayılı İmar Kanununun Bir Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkındaki Kanun	1983	Mülkiyet Hakkı
2981	İmar ve Gecekondu Mevzuatına Aykırı Yapılara Uygulanacak Bazı İşlemler ve 6785 sayılı İmar Kanunu'nun Bir Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun	1984	Mülkiyet Hakkı
2985	Toplu Konut Kanunu	1984	Dönüşüm
3194	İmar Kanunu	1985	Dönüşüm Yetki
3290	3290 Sayılı Kanun İle Bazı Maddeleri Değiştirilen Ve Bazı Maddeler Eklenen 2981 Sayılı Kanunun Uygulanmasına Dair Yönetmelik	1986	Mülkiyet Hakkı Dönüşüm
3366	2981 Sayılı Kanunun Bazı Maddelerinin Değiştirilmesi Ve Bu Kanuna Bazı Maddelerin Eklenmesi Hakkındaki Kanun	1987	Mülkiyet Hakkı
3414	22.05.1986 Tarih Ve 3290 Sayılı Kanun İle Değişik 24.02.1984 Tarih ve 2981 Sayılı Kanunun Bazı Maddelerinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkındaki Kanun	1988	Mülkiyet Hakkı Dönüşüm
3811	775 Sayılı Gecekondu Kanununun Bazı Hükümlerinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında 03.05.1985 Tarih Ve 247 Sayılı Kanun Hükümünde Kararname İle Bu Kanun Hükümünde Kararmamenin İki Maddesinde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair 16.08.1985 Tarih Ve 250 Sayılı Kanun Hükümünde Kararmamenin Değiştirilerek Kabulü Hakkındaki Kanun	1992	Yetki
4706	3414 Sayılı Kanunda Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkındaki Kanun Hükümünde Kararmamenin Kabulüne Dair Kanun	2001	Mülkiyet Hakkı
4833	2003 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu	2003	Mülkiyet Hakkı
5027	Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu	2003	Mülkiyet Hakkı
5104	Kuzey Ankara Girişi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi Kanunu Toplu Konut Kanununda ve Genel Kadro ve Usulü Hakkında Kanun Hükümünde	2004	Mülkiyet Hakkı Dönüşüm
5162	Kararmamenin Eki Cetvellerin Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığına Ait Bölümünde Değişiklik	2004	Yetki

Table 4.3. A list of acts channeling the practices of urban development/transformation in Turkey (cont.).

(Source: Tezcan and Çelik 2020, 363-4.)

Kanun no	Kanun adı	Kanun yıl	Müdahale biçimi
	Yapılması Hakkında Kanun		
5216	Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu	2004	Yetki
5226	Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma	2004	Dönüşüm
5237	Türk Ceza Kanunu	2004	Düzenleme
5273	Arsa Ofisi Kanunu ve Toplu Konut Kanununda Değişiklik Yapılması ile Arsa Ofisi Genel Müdürlüğünün Kaldırılması Hakkında Kanun	2004	Yetki
Tasarı	Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Kanunu Tasarısı	2005	Tasarı
5302	İl Özel İdaresi Kanunu	2005	Yetki
5393	Belediye Kanunu	2005	Düzenleme Dönüşüm Yetki
5366	Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun	2005	Dönüşüm
5377	Türk Ceza Kanununda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun	2005	Yetki
5398	Özelleştirme Uygulamalarının Düzenlenmesine ve Bazı Kanun ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun ve Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun	2005	Mülkiyet Hakkı
5437	2006 Yılı Bütçe Kanunu	2006	Mülkiyet Hakkı
Tasarı	Dönüşüm Alanları Hakkında Kanun Tasarısı	2006	Tasarı
5998	Belediye Kanununda Değişiklik Yapılmasına İlişkin Kanun-73. Madde	2010	Mülkiyet Hakkı Dönüşüm Yetki
6306	Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun	2012	Mülkiyet Hakkı Dönüşüm Yetki
6360	On Üç İlde Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Yirmi Altı İlçe Kurulması İle Bazı Kanun ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun	2012	Yetki
6360	On Dört İlde Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Yirmi Yedi İlçe Kurulması İle Bazı Kanun ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun	2012	Yetki
6639	Bazı Kanun ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun	2015	Düzenleme
7143	3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu Geçici Madde 16	2018	Mülkiyet Hakkı

After “6306 numbered the Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks” which was declared by the state in year 2012, we have been witnessing the gentrification of our major cities’ low income, ethnically and culturally diverse neighborhoods by the implementation of Urban Development Plans and Projects. Most of these transformations have been bringing about “involuntary replacement” of the residents. Real estate prices of the transformed areas have been boosted and contributed to the rising inflation in Turkey.

There are several actors each representing and resembling its own power on space and people and they all are part of a network acting on space through path dependent urban development processes. And the partnerships among crossing these

actors bring about a huge power almost irresistible. Since especially the very beginning of 2000s, in favor of housing construction, and the related industries such as finance industry, these projects and their implementations are done by restructured legal arrangements done by the state. TOKİ, the modern building machine, is one of the main actors carrying the flag of the central government, having great authority on especially land acquisition processes. The local governments, say the municipalities, but especially the greater municipalities, are the other major actors. Besides these two major, also the local, regional construction/transformation companies are also important. There is no doubt that İstanbul is the major arena and experimental space of this urban restructuring practice.

The thesis puts the question at the very core part of the city of İzmir through Narlıdere gecekondu which is subject to urban development/transformation where the concrete processes are elaborated as to bring about the abstract and back again to the concrete.

Urban Development Plans and Projects have been on the agenda since the beginning of 2000s in Turkey. The thesis puts these projects as one of the Neoliberal urban strategies accompanying the (urban) restructuring processes throughout the production and reproduction of urban space. ‘Neoliberal urban processes’ and their implementations are explored in relation to urban development plans and projects in İzmir, especially Narlıdere with respect to gecekondu quarters of Narlıdere district, the declared Risky Area.

Neoliberalization and global capitalist restructuring are also represented in the urban policy agendas. Turkey, is quite affected by neoliberalism originating from the advanced capitalist economies, the North. On the side of spatial planning, the policies are represented by project oriented, short term targeted, and partnership involving implementations.

The thesis pose itself in as a theoretical-empirical study to contribute to critical urban and regional studies where theoretical contributions are of major importance. The focus is on the production and reproduction of space and the notion of critical spatial thinking on the urban processes where urban development plans and projects on related geographies are taken into consideration in Turkey.

The table given below lists the selected type of actions and processes provided by urban development plans and projects which are under critique in the thesis. They are the neoliberal policy dimensions implicit in urban development/transformation plans

and projects experienced in Turkey and which are selectively provided for the purposes of the thesis. Each implication has different effects on the social, physical, political-economic environments not only on which they are implemented, but also on the macro scale. The list will provide a basis of critique of the UDPs provided for the four gecekondu quarters of Narlidere which will be elaborated in the following chapter in section V.IX.II. of the case study.

Table 4.4. A list of selected dimensions and their implications of the UDPs in Turkey:

A general inquiry

(Source: Author)

	Dimensions	Implications
1.	<i>Location of UDPs' areas</i>	Central cities, inner cities, gecekondu settlements, older industrial sites, obsolescent or dilapidated areas
2.	<i>Declared reasons for the transformation/development by the government(s)</i>	Geological hazardousness, physical decay and/or social problems
3.	<i>Plan/Project type</i>	Partial, having short term projections
4.	<i>Development/Transformation type</i>	Mostly redevelopment and regeneration
5.	<i>Socio-spatial Strategy</i>	Gentrification and mostly involuntary displacement
6.	<i>Kind of intervention on the existing socio-spatial structure</i>	Demolition of the existing physical structure and segregation of the existing social formation
7.	<i>Affected social class</i>	Working class and the others of the society
8.	<i>Transformation of land uses</i>	Mostly residential to commercial + residential
9.	<i>Transformation of public space and place</i>	Both the form and the function(s) of the public spaces and places are transformed into gentrified spaces in their new places
10.	<i>Type of planned and projected housing</i>	Luxury housing, sometimes middle class housing
11.	<i>Planned population and building density</i>	Mostly high
12.	<i>Gainer of the construction profit</i>	Private construction firms, mass housing administration (TOKİ)
13.	<i>Payment of the newly built up land-financing of construction</i>	Indebtmnt of the existing residents in relation to 'established' property rights and type of new buildings

Table 4.4. A list of selected dimensions and their implications of the UDPs in Turkey:

A general inquiry (Cont.)

(Source: Author)

14.	<i>Affordability of the newly produced land by the existing residents</i>	Mostly not affordable and long-term debt-making
15.	<i>Production of and gainers of the land rent</i>	Land rent is always produced by the authorities by means of UDPs and new owners of the built entities are the gainers of it
16.	<i>Legal framework</i>	6306 numbered act; 5393 numbered act article 73; 5366 numbered act; urban revision plans and projects for urban renewal
17.	<i>The authority</i>	Ministry and the municipality
18.	<i>Project Coalition Type</i>	Government and private sector partnerships
19.	<i>Clearness in the execution of the processes</i>	Always ambiguities from the very beginning of the stages
20.	<i>Principle of transparency</i>	Non-transparent
21.	<i>Level of public participation to planning processes</i>	Almost none
22.	<i>Duration of the planning processes and of the constructions</i>	Long time (sometimes more than ten years)
23.	<i>Emergence/existence of urban social movements</i>	Mostly (local and nation-wide movements)
24.	<i>Responses to plans and projects</i>	Existence of objections during public display period of the approved plans and afterwards the rejection of objections existence of cases
25.	<i>The winners and the losers</i>	The winners are the state, the capital and the losers are the poor and the dispossessed residents of the gecekondu/slum areas; the tenants have no rights, they are always the losers

CHAPTER 5

A CASE STUDY ON URBAN RESTRUCTURING PROCESSES IN İZMİR, NARLIDERE

5.1. Introduction

By taking a departure from critical urban theory, and by using its methodological and conceptual tools, in the case study; we closely examine how the actors, networks, legal mechanisms, the local and central governments' planning decisions and discursive practices involve in actual neoliberal production of space in Narlıdere district of İzmir, Turkey.

In the case study, Narlıdere district of İzmir city region, as one of the major city-regions of Turkey, is critically explored with respect to the urban development/transformation processes throughout capitalist urban restructuring. The act declared on by the state in year 2012 has been on the agenda for the four gecekondu quarters of Narlıdere, namely Narlı, Çatalkaya, Atatürk and 2. İnönü. As these quarters have been subjected to urban development/transformation, there occurred historical geographical actors, networks and processes within the transformation/development process. So, it is aimed in the case study to bring about what is acting behind these processes while producing and reproducing the urban space.

The locations of the urban development project areas are crucial and the question on why and how, and by offering what through the urban development project(s) in Narlıdere are to be critically elaborated in such studies. The role of the state in Urban Development Projects in İzmir, and in our particular site –Narlıdere- will be critically inquired. The network between central and local governments, private sector and the community itself positioned as actors in such projects will be of major foci on Narlıdere field research site.

So; the questions for which the case study tries to provide answers are: What is (are) the reason(s) behind the declaration of the 'Risky Area' in 2013 and why such a gecekondu site is selected which provides a reason of socio-spatial restructuring? What

are the discourses provided by the governments on this Urban Development Project? How can we deal with the right to the city and to the housing within these processes? How can we critically elaborate on the actors, relations and networks throughout the restructuring processes in/on/by urban space in Narlıdere case? These main question are considered as to be pointed out within critical urban studies on UDPs also which shed light here on our inquiry within the case study.

5.2. The Urban Process in Narlıdere

Narlıdere is among the spaces and places of neoliberal urban restructuring processes since the beginning of the 1990s' which had been materialized within the city region of İzmir. The residents of the so called 'development areas' in Narlıdere have been living in the areas which were once the outskirts of İzmir and are now located within the inner city. These people are now forced to resettle (mostly involuntarily) to today's outskirts of the city. And the gecekondü areas which are once located at the outskirts of İzmir city has been under pressure of luxury housing investments and produced rent since the very beginnings of 2000s are now to be considered to be located at the very core of the central city of the urbanized İzmir city region.

Not only Narlıdere, but the whole central city of İzmir city region has been on the agenda of immense restructuring announced by the central government who cannot be the power of this city region as governor of the Greater (Metropolitan) Municipality but is the governor of the Province. The difference that Narlıdere makes lies in the historical geography of the district which is now a favored place for investors especially looking for the potential rent to be provided by the Urban Development Projects to be implemented at the four gecekondü quarters. The destructive growth of the central city is accompanied by the need for 'vacant' land to be redeveloped where the gecekondü quarters are the very exemplary considered ones. Therefore; the Risky Area of Narlıdere which consists of four quarters, is supposed to be historically elaborated, and the socio-spatial process are to be brought about within their historical, economic and social contexts.

Among the reasons for the gecekondüs in the region are the agricultural lands providing employment opportunities, the region's location on the transportation axis, the presence of treasury and multi-share lands in the property structure, the existence of

those who allow low-income groups to make gecekondus, and the similarity of the immigrants with the cultural characteristics of the Narlıdere's historical residents.

The most intense migration period took place between 1985-1989. After the 1990s, slum construction decreased, but continued. With the gecekondus transformation project implemented by the Narlıdere municipality in 1995-1996, it was the earlier interventions of the local government to restructure the gecekondus quarters providing the initial steps of physically different texture began to form in the quarters.

The most intense migration period was determined by Özdemir, et al (2005) as 1985-1989 and as a result of the 51 household interviews made in the same study it was concluded that the highest rate of gecekondus was built in the 1985-1989 period. After the 1990s, the construction of gecekondus continued, although not intensively. With the gecekondus transformation project put into practice by the Narlıdere municipality in 1995-1996, a physically different texture began to form in the area.

By year 2022, Narlıdere district has a population of 62.923 people. Annual growth rate of population is -8,2 %. As seen in the below graph, 2. İnönü neighborhood is the most populated neighborhood of Narlıdere by 8976 people. Atatürk neighborhood has a population of 5616 people, Çatalkaya neighborhood has a population of 5616 people, Çatalkaya neighborhood has a population of 6771 people and Narlı neighborhood has a population of 7646 people.

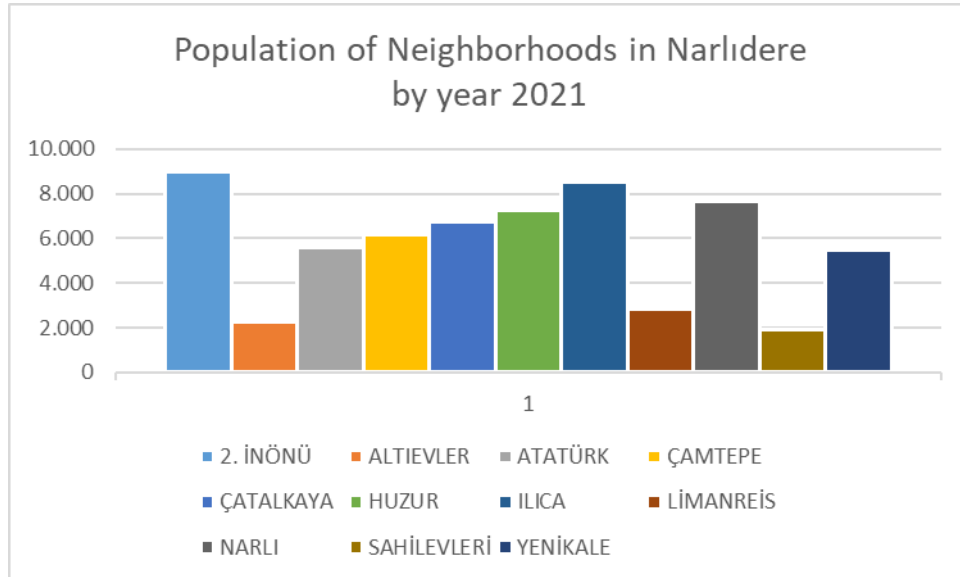


Figure 5.1. The Population distribution of neighborhoods in Narlıdere District by year 2021

(Source: Data gathered from TSI (TÜİK), 2023)

Historical geography of the urban process in Narlıdere can be elaborated throughout a periodization which is generally used for Turkey's urbanization processes as well as for historical political explorations on Turkey. The following three sections of the thesis bring about the elaboration of these three periods of the urban process in detail with respect to:

1. Pre-1980 period (especially referring to the period after the 1950s and 1960s)
2. The 1980-2000 period
3. Post-2000 period

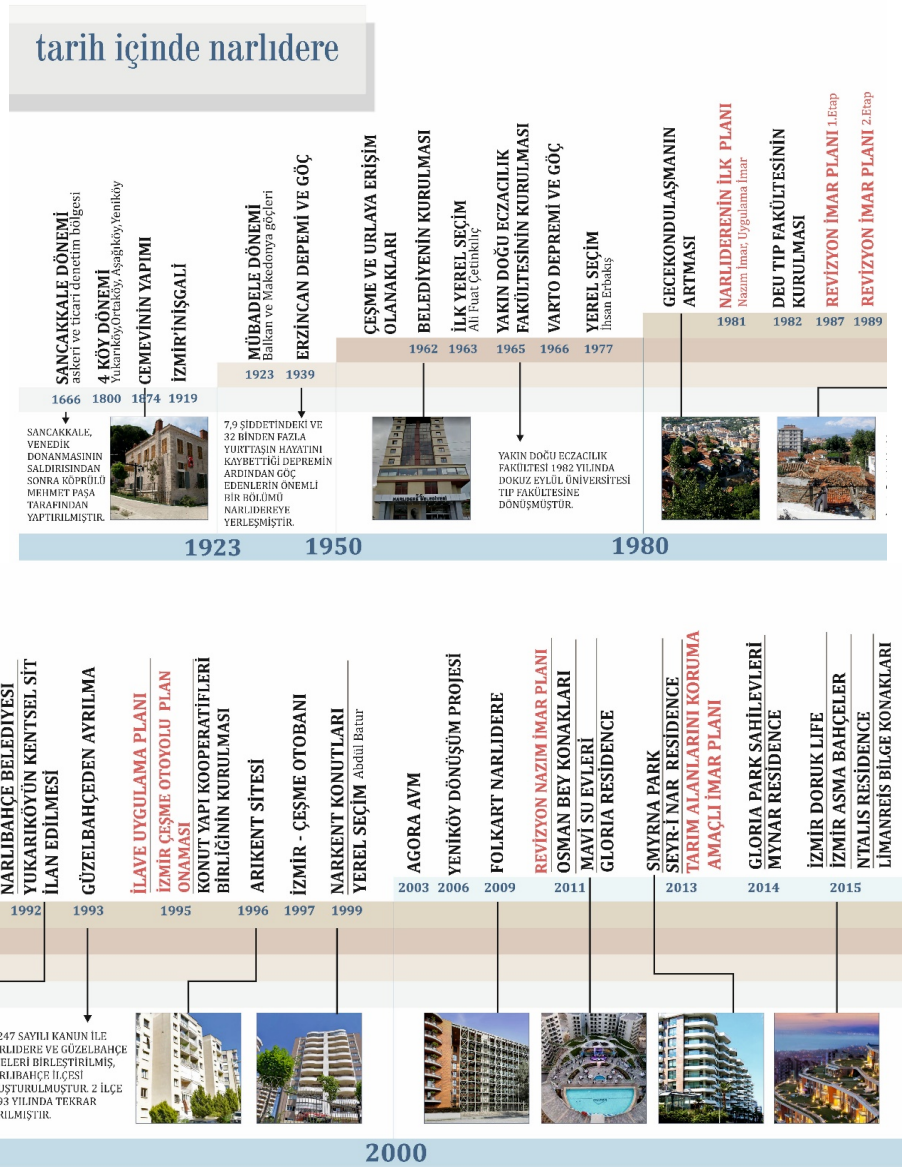


Figure 5.2. A Reading as a Periodization of the Historical Geographical Process in Narlıdere

Source: Dokuz Eylül Univ., Dept. of City and Regional Planning, Studio Work, 2017.

As the thesis is concerned mainly with the changes and transformations within Narlıdere in the post-2000 period, so the following section of the thesis elaborates on this period.

5.3. On the western development axis of İzmir and the ‘housing boom’ in Narlıdere throughout the post-2000 Period

Narlıdere has been a place of attraction for both housing investors and the residents of middle and upper classes who have wanted to live nearby the city center having access to central facilities, clean air, vista of the bay, proximity to the natural environment and the availability of variety of produced housing types. The early housing projects of the cooperatives are the predecessors of today’s housing production within the southern parts of the district.

The physical evolution of the central areas in Narlıdere as well as the southern regions can be seen from the four different dated images:



Figure 5.3. Aerial image of southern parts of Narlıdere in 1963
(Source: Google Earth)



Figure 5.4. Aerial image of southern parts of Narlıdere in 1996
(Source: Google Earth)



Figure 5.5. Satellite image of southern parts of Narlıdere in 2005
(Source: Google Earth)



Figure 5.6. Satellite image of southern parts of Narlıdere in 2021
(Source: Google Earth)

As Narlıdere is located on the western axis of İzmir city-region, the district has been subjected to significant housing investments in the post-2000 period as also mentioned in Bal et al's study (2018, 54-59) on Narlıdere. According to Bal et al. (2018) the district of Narlıdere is within where different housing styles from different historical periods are seen together. Also in the same study, a list of sub-regions where different housing styles which are located in Narlıdere is provided. According to the study, Narlıdere gecekondu quarters are located within a mixed area with gecekondu areas on sloping lands in the south of the district and multi-storey housing estates developing landscape-oriented and multi-storey closed housing estates for high-income groups. Explaining the mode of the restructuring of Turkey's cities in the post-2000 period, the authors state:

“In the 2000s, cities in Turkey have become the most popular areas where neoliberal urbanization has turned its direction through high-scale urban projects such as gated housing estates and urban transformation projects that require large capital investments. This transformation, which focuses on growth based on high rent and speculation, has brought about the transformation of urban space in favor of the rising classes, integrating with the preferences of high income groups. In Narlıdere, especially after 2000, with large capital investments on the natural and built environment, luxury housing projects and urban transformation projects in slum areas are becoming prominent as practices of neoliberal urbanization specific to the 2000s.” (Bal et al. 2018)

In the post-2000 period, housing development on the western development axis of İzmir took place rapidly due to the expansion of the city and population growth. During this period, some important trends and developments have been experienced in the western regions of İzmir: Urban renewal and urban transformation, planned residential areas and commercial areas, luxury housing projects appealing to high-income segments, luxury housing construction in the coastal area and similar constructions. Narlıdere has been the district where real estate values increased the fastest. This structuring trend and pressure on the western axis, which took place especially after 1980 and after 2000, still continues. This process is based on local government, central government and capital collaborations.



Figure 5.7. A View from Narlıdere
(Source: Narlıdere Municipality)

Private Cooperatives have transformed some of the gecekondu in Narlıdere. About 300 gecekondu residents moved to Narkent Blocks. Cooperatives has a historical background in Narlıdere as a inherited mechanism of land development and transformation since the 1980s.



Figure 5.8. Site of 'Narbel' : Presented in Study on Narlıdere of Dokuz Eylül University Department of City and Regional Planning, 2017.



Figure 5.9. Gecekondus, Luxury Residences and ongoing constructions
(Source: Author)



Figure 5.10. A view from the gecekondus
(Source: Author)

5.4. The Four (Gecekondu) Quarters of Narlıdere

Narlıdere district is one of the central districts of the city-region of İzmir. It is both governed by the central government and the local government. Different political parties govern Narlıdere district and Narlıdere municipality. Narlıdere is located at the southern part of the central city of İzmir. And the four gecekondu quarters are located at the southern hills of Narlıdere settlement. The district is also on the very beginning of the western axis of İzmir where the construction investments had been politically and economically favored both by the central and local governments.

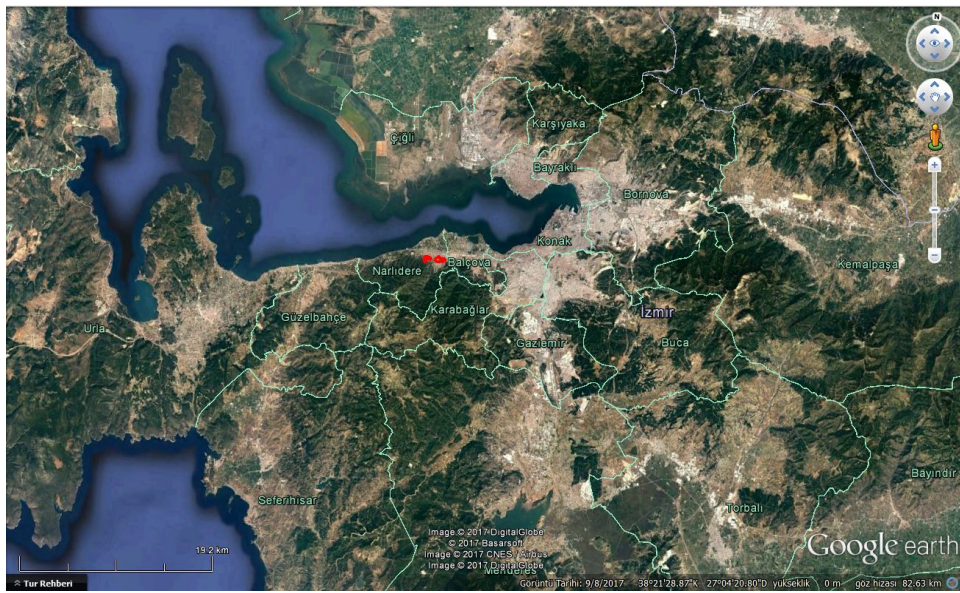


Figure 5.11. Location of the four Gecekondu Quarters of Narlıdere ('Risky Area') within City-Region of İzmir
(Source: Google Earth)

Narlıdere, especially the southern part of the highway, is where the high density building and high density population take place. This dense settlement is comprised of especially the housing areas which have high land values with respect to İzmir's some districts. Narlıdere development plans provide mostly separate buildings having yards in each parcel area. The urban form differs between northern part of the highway with that of the southern part. On the other hand, it is also different with the high rise, high density buildings of the southern part of the highway with that of the gecekondu quarters. The four gecekondu quarters, namely Narlı and Çatalkaya, and Atatürk and 2. İnönü are located at the two opposing hills of the southern part of Narlıdere having low

density, almost all residential and non-commercial buildings. They have a great vista of the bay of İzmir and are surrounded by the high density, mostly luxury housing units which have the same vista.



Figure 5.12. Location of the four Gecekondu Quarters of Narlıdere (‘Risky Area’) within District of Narlıdere (Source: Google Earth)



Figure 5.13. Satellite image of the four gecekondu quarters and the northern surroundings of the Gecekondu (Source: Google Earth)

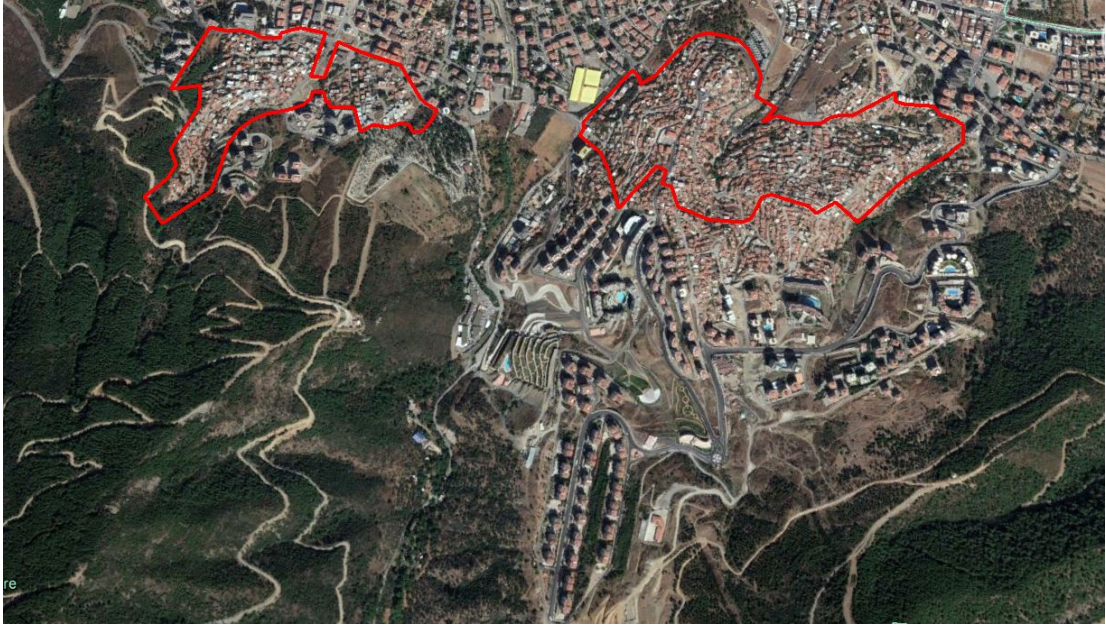


Figure 5.14. Satellite image of the four gecekondu quarters and the southern surroundings of the Gecekondus
(Source: Google Earth)



Figure 5.15. The Vista of the Luxury Residences and of the Gecekondus
Source: Panaromic photo (author)

Although Narlıdere is a historical and cultural district of İzmir, the process of gecekondu formation (squatting) started especially after the middle of the 20th century. Factors such as Turkey's rapid population growth, industrialization and migration from rural areas to cities have led to the emergence of gecekondu in districts close to the city center such as Narlıdere.

Since the 1950s, there has been a significant population movement from rural areas to cities in Turkey. İzmir has become one of the big cities that receive immigration due to job opportunities and educational opportunities. In this period, shantytowns with unplanned and inadequate infrastructure emerged in order to respond to the rapid population growth and housing demand in the city. Gecekondus and illegal

settlements in Narlıdere were also formed in the following period.

Narlıdere has been a district receiving immigration due to its location on the coastal part of İzmir and its proximity to the city centre. In the 1970s and 1980s, the shantytowns settled by rural immigrants grew larger during this period. During this time, squatting in Narlıdere caused social and economic problems such as infrastructure deficiencies, inadequacies in education and health services, and unemployment.

The socio-economic profile of the people living in Narlıdere gecekondu is characterized by individuals from low and middle income families and immigrant backgrounds. In order to solve the housing problem, searching for affordable housing for sale or rent, proximity to job opportunities, education, health and central points in the city, citizenship relations and socio-cultural and religious ties are important factors in choosing the places where immigrants and families will migrate. It is grasped from the interviews which were made that men in the labor force of the four quarters usually work in construction, there are also municipal workers; and women in the labor force are mostly day laborers, company workers in the municipality, etc.

Private Cooperatives have transformed some of the gecekondu of Narlıdere. About 300 gecekondu residents moved to Narkent Blocks. Cooperatives has a historical background in Narlıdere as a inherited mechanism of land development and transformation since the 1980s.

More recently, it is stated that Narlıdere is a small district and the works done are on the scale of parcels scattered throughout the district and that the architectural and construction works on Mithatpaşa Street are now finished “under the street” and continue “above the street”. (interview with the owner of an architecture, construction and consultancy firm, 15.06.2019). It is also stated that when the process for restructuring begins after the planning and project works in the Risky Area are completed, whoever wants to work with which architectural contracting firms on a building block basis should not be prevented, and that the municipality's firm should involve local and reliable investors and construction companies in the process in a fair manner. It is emphasized that the construction process should be solved with local contractor companies under the guarantor of the Municipality. It is clearly emphasized that local companies do not want companies outside of İzmir to take on business and that the mentioned factors are the general demand of the companies in Narlıdere (interview with the owner of an architecture, construction and consultancy firm, 15.06.2019).

Satellite images of the four gecekondu quarters present the organic pattern as the spatial fabric which was produced by the topography, ownership pattern and through the social-cultural formation of the residents.



Figure 5.16. Narlı and Çatalkaya Quarters - the 'Risky Area' Boundaries
(Source: Google Earth)



Figure 5.17. İnönü and Atatürk Quarters – the 'Risky Area' Boundaries
(Source: Google Earth)

5.5. The Historical Geography of the Gecekondu Quarters in Narlıdere in relation to implementation plans before the emergence of the 6306 numbered act in year 2012

This section is comprised of the data gathered from the planning department of Narlıdere Municipality. They are the compilations of the notes from the interviews with the officers of Narlıdere Municipality and of the translation of the gathered documents on the subject.

5.5.1. The Previous Planning Processes for the four Gecekondu Quarters

Narlıdere Municipality was formerly under the jurisdiction and responsibility of Konak Municipality. It was working as a branch of Konak Municipality. In 1987 and 1989 1st and 2nd phase plan revisions were made. Atatürk and 2. İnönü Neighborhoods were determined as they were the regions of which their plans were to be revised after the approval of the geological survey. In order to prevent the emergence of the new gecekondus, the 1994-1995 adjacent implementation plan for the gecekondu areas was provided. The cooperatives were encouraged and they were concerned with the municipal and private properties. Along with the mass housing movement Narbel Houses were built. Efforts were made to move around 300 gecekondus to the first blocks of Narkent Houses. Private property cooperatives have transformed gecekondus. Today's gecekondus within the risky area remain in the planning area of the former period to be revised. In year 2008 an implementation plan was contracted. It was declared that on-site development/transformation was targeted. But as there was no master plan of this plan as a legal responsibility, the Chamber of City Planners brought a suit against the municipality. And as a decision of the court of this case, the implementation plan was canceled legally. Ownership pattern within the area was diverse: Municipality+Treasury+Private Property. There are also buildings located at other people's private property.

5.5.1.1. The Previous Planning Studies for Narlı and Çatalkaya Quarters

The Improvement Plan, which was approved in 1987 in accordance with the decisions of the 1/5000 scaled Master Plan, determined the current ownership pattern with its implementation and distribution. In the 1/1000 scaled Implementation Plan Revision, which was approved on 25.05.1989, there were decisions to use separated (ayrık) residential areas. While the casualty rate in Çatalkaya quarter is 26%, this rate is 60% in Narlı quarter.

For Narlı and Çatalkaya quarters low-density residential land use and density decision were brought about by the 1/5000 scaled Master Plan Revision approved by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality on 11.04.2011.

5.5.1.2. The Previous Planning Studies for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Quarters

According to the 1/5000 scaled Master Plan of Narlıdere approved by the Ministry of Development and Settlement on 30.10.1981, a part of the gecekondü area was defined as a medium-density residential area, and some of it fell on the non-residential area. With the Master Plans revised in 1991 and 1994, the border of the master plan area was enlarged, and the entire region was included in the plan. In the Master Plan, the gross density for this region was determined as 300 persons/ha in low slope areas with favorable geological conditions, and as 200 persons/ha in other areas. The construction coefficients were determined as E: 0.50 – 1.00.

In the 1/1000 scaled implementation plan revision made throughout the district in 1989, the area in question was determined as the area to be revised after the approval of the geological surveys were made, but no planning work was carried out for a long time. In 2005, the geological survey of the area was prepared and approved by the General Directorate of Disaster Affairs of the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. Based on the approved geological survey report, the 1/1000 scaled implementation plan revision was prepared and approved. On the grounds that it was approved without a 1/5000 scale master development plan; as a result of the lawsuit filed by the Izmir

Governor's Office and the Chamber of City Planners, the 1/1000 scaled implementation plan revision was annulled by judicial decisions. The 1/5000 scaled Master Plan Revision was prepared by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and approved on 14.10.2011; the region has been determined as a medium density residential area within the renewal area boundary.

5.6. Existing Plans for the Four Gecekondu Quarters (the Risky Area) within Narlıdere Study Area before the approval of the UDPs

The district of Narlıdere within the city of İzmir is subject to types of macro-scaled plans: One is the 1/100.000 scaled İzmir Manisa planning region structure plan of the Ministry and the other is the 1/25.000 scaled structure plan of İzmir metropolitan municipality.

According to the 1/100.000 scaled structural plan, the land use decision for Narlıdere study area is the 'Urban Residential Built Up Area' which is also the land use planning decision of the 1/25.000 scaled structural plan. These two plans are given below:

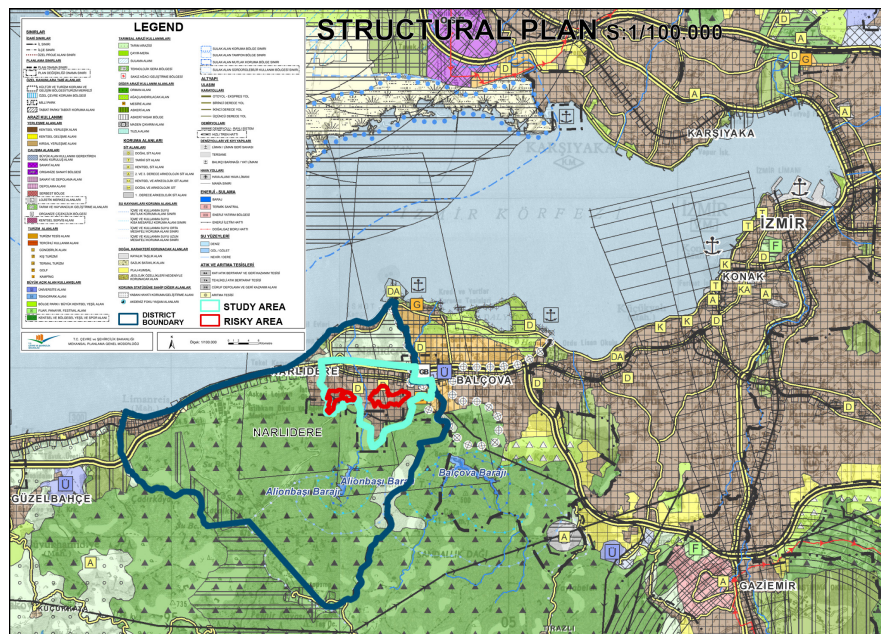


Figure 5.18. The Structural Plan (1/100.000 scaled)
(Source: Ministry of Environment and Urbanism)

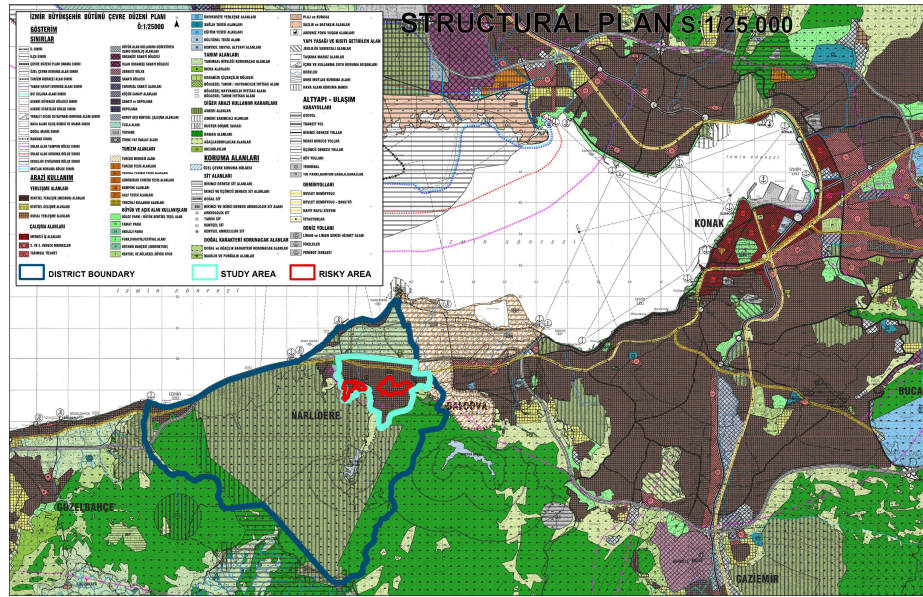


Figure 5.19. The Structural Plan (1/25000 scaled)
 (Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality)



Figure 5.20. Existing Master Plan of Narlı and Çatalkaya quarters before the approval of
 UDPs.

(Source: Report of Implementation Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area 2021, 40)

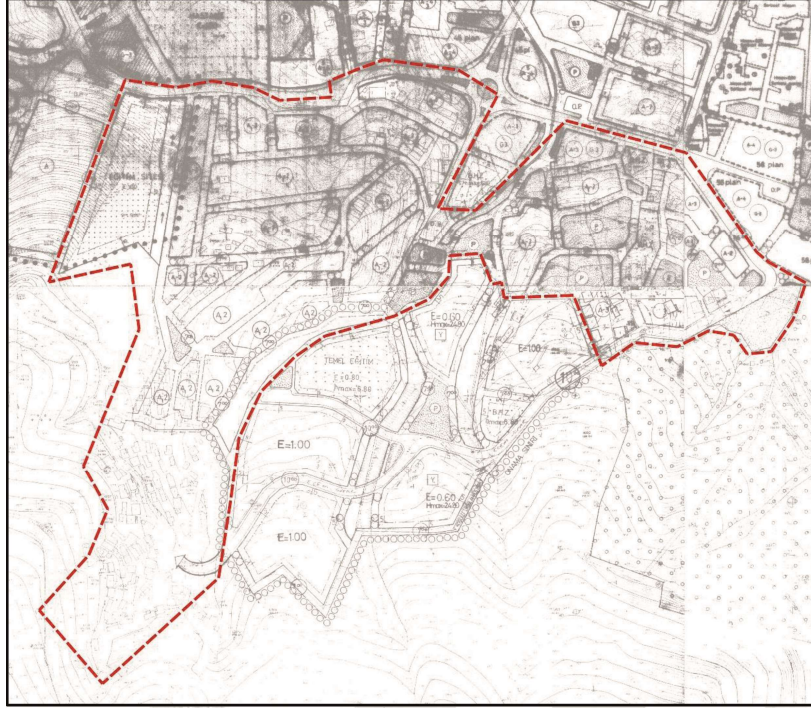


Figure 5.21. Existing Implementation Plan of Narlı and Çatalkaya quarters before the approval of UDPs.

(Source: Report of Implementation Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area 2021, 41)



Figure 5.22. Existing Master Plan of Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters before the approval of UDPs.

(Source: Report of Implementation Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area 2021, 42)

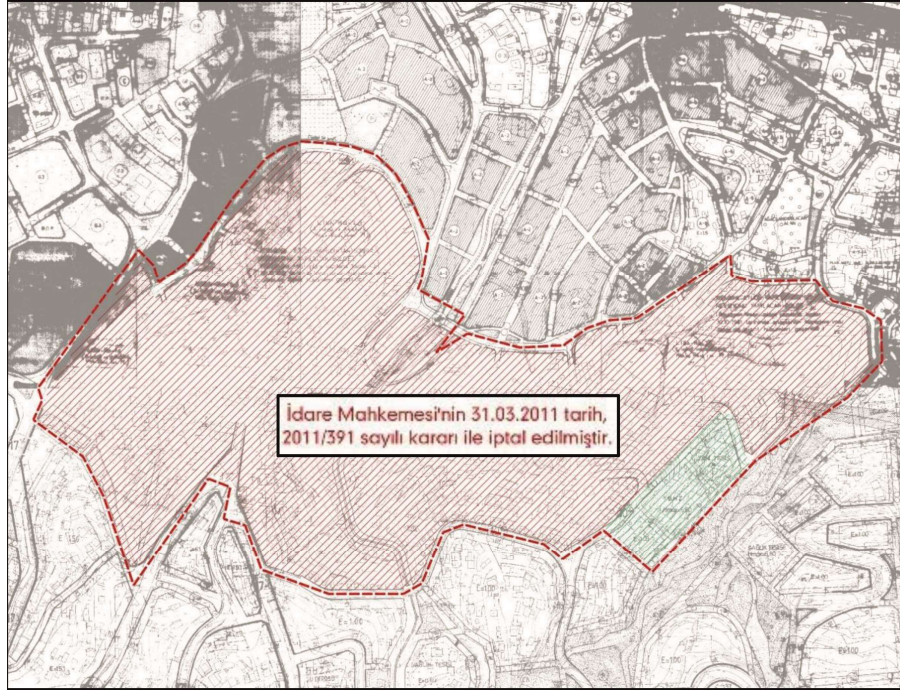


Figure 5.23. Existing Implementation Plan of Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters before the approval of UDPs.

(Source: Report of Implementation Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area 2021, 43)

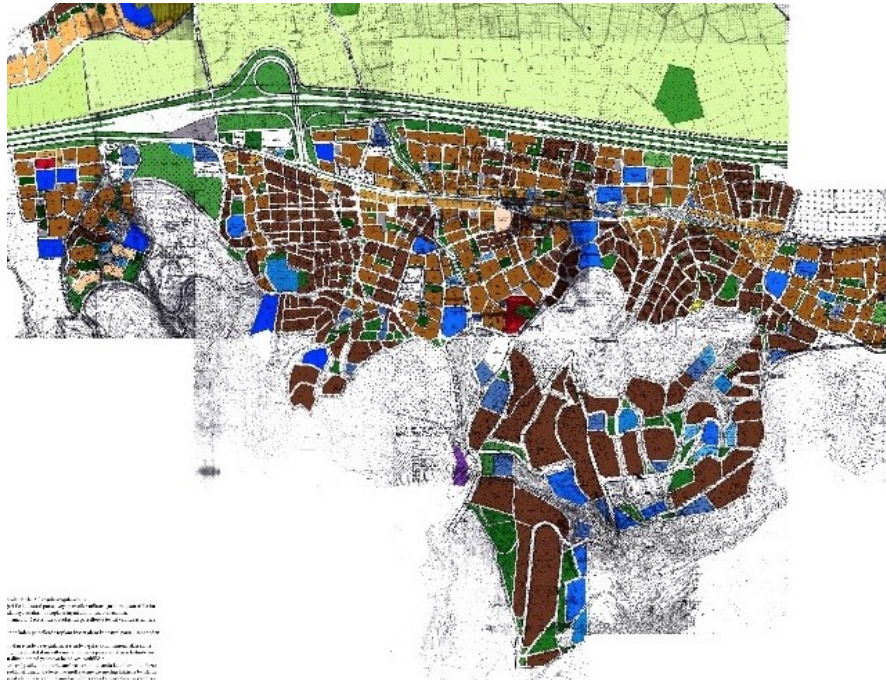


Figure 5.24. Combination of the Implementation Plans of Narlıdere Central Area
(Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and Narlıdere Municipality)

5.7. A Critical Inquiry on the Neoliberal Interventions on the Four Gecekondu Quarters (Narlı, Çatalkaya, Atatürk and 2. İnönü Quarters) with respect to the Declaration of the ‘Risky Area’ (2013): Processes, Actors and Networks

Following the enacted 6306 Numbered Act in 2012, the local government of Narlıdere, Narlıdere Municipality in legal and administrative terms, admitted to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism for the four quarters of its district (2. İnönü, Atatürk, Çatalkaya and Narlı Quarters) to be “Risky Area (Land)” and in 2013 this demarcated land of the district is legally declared as the Risky Area for which the Act’s and its implementation regulations’ legal sanctions are on the run. The area comprehends approximately 43 hectares of land enclosed by high rise, luxury housing sites built up within past 20 years. Henceforth, the four quarters have been subjected to Urban Development Project(s) to be provided by the authorized Narlıdere Municipality since 2013. Starting from the very beginnings of the urban restructuring processes immensely and fast materialized on Narlıdere urban space surrounding these quarters and pressure brought about by the urban land rent to the current socio-spatial formation, to critically elaborate on the political, economic, and social background of these profound processes in Narlıdere is the field of the research as the case study of the thesis.

The ongoing Urban Development/Transformation Processes in Narlıdere ‘Risky Area’ with its historical geographical background are chronologically given by stages as follows:

Stage 1. Narlıdere, especially since the past 20 years, has become a settlement where the luxury housing investments densely have taken place as within one of the largest metropolises of Turkey, the city of İzmir. The existence of planned built up residential, commercial and social facility areas -which are still forming- brings about almost regionally the state of Narlıdere’s being one of the most preferred settlement space within the city of İzmir. And this coexists with the (land) rent pressure, with the increase in the land values especially because of luxury housing investments and with the highly concentration of construction demands on built environment and also against the natural environment. The urban process within Narlıdere with respect to housing investments has also implications on the urban economy of İzmir.

Stage 2. Within and as a consequence of these processes, this pressure has also been valid for the gecekondu quarters that are surrounded by luxury and middle class residential sites built up in the southern parts of the highly dense district center especially since the very beginning of 2000s. Following the enactment of 6306 numbered “The Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks” in 2012 where Ministry of Urbanisation was authorized, Narlıdere Municipality admitted to Ministry of Urbanisation for the four gecekondu quarters of being as ‘Risky Area’. These quarters were namely, Narlı, Çatalkaya and Atatürk, 2. İnönü. Total area was 43 ha land and this land was not comprising the whole area of the quarters.

Stage 3. As in most cities of Turkey, also in Narlıdere, the result of the admission was the declaration of the Risky Area. Narlıdere Municipality intended to make its own plans and projects instead of the Ministry’s. After the admission fort he delegation of the authority, the official process was gone on by the authorization of the Narlıdere Municipality.

Stage 4. Before the declaration of the Risky Area in Narlıdere, there had also been previous land ‘development’ efforts for the same urban space through urban renewal. But none of them could be realized and finalized.

Stage 5. The authorized Narlıdere Municipality made a contract with a planning and project firm located in the city of Ankara. By the contract, preparation of the geological-geotechnical analyses report, the base maps (topographic maps), calculation and listing of holder of ownership rights (hak sahipliği), development/transformation plans of scale 1/5000 and 1/1000 should be done by the firm. But later on, Narlıdere Municipality changed the contracted firm and made another contract with another firm working in İzmir.

Stage 6. After the declaration of the ‘Risky Area’, Narlıdere Municipality, by means of its current and pre mayor, announced in the newspapers and in the municipality’s web site many times that the urban development/transformation processes had been going well by the residents’ participation and that everyone living in the four gecekondu quarters would be satisfied with the development/transformation plans and projects and also that the development would be on-site transformation (yerinde dönüşüm).



Listing Date (İlan Tarihi) : The area is declared as the 'Risky Area' by the 4831 numbered Decision of Council of Ministers and published in the 28688 numbered Official Newspaper on 25.06.2013.

Total Area : 43 Ha.

Population : 6700 people

Total independent units (Residential+ Workplace units) : 5.494

Authority : Narlıdere Municipality

Situation : The work on the Risky Area is operated by Narlıdere Municipality

Figure 5.25. The official 'Risky Area' represented in the official website of Ministry of Environment and Urbanism.

Stage 7. Narlıdere Municipality officers continued the process while working on the base maps, the physical analyses and the list of holder of ownership of rights following the preliminary works of the contracted planning firm. Some meetings with the selected representatives of the residents of the four quarters were made. And these meetings were placed within the newspapers or the web sites. However the meetings were not open to all residents and were not about the proposals of the development/transformation plans and projects. They were mostly about the commitments to be made to the plans and projects that would be of both sides' concern in the closing future.

Stage 8. The prepared Urban Development/Transformation Plans and Projects

were handed to the Ministry of Urbanisation, and the Ministry asked for the opinion of the Greater Municipality of İzmir. The Greater Municipality of İzmir handed its evaluations to the Narlıdere Municipality to be of paid attention. Narlıdere Municipality's planning officers stated that they worked on these proposed interventions of both the ministry and the greater municipality.

Stage 9. Throughout these processes the residents of the four gecekondu quarters tried to watch closely the official process while having no technical clues or documents offered by the Narlıdere Municipality. The pursuing was done especially by the representatives of the residents such as the presidents of the local associations and of the local cooperatives. But none of the efforts on gathering satisfactory knowledge could be possible and residents could not succeed in providing the participation process to the development/transformation process as a right to be produced by the Narlıdere Municipality. Although there had been local elections in March 2019 and although the same political party won the elections, it was observed that the lack of participation processes was not overcome. Still the residents of the four gecekondu quarters were waiting for appropriate knowledge, technical explanations on the planning process and solution proposals to their socio-spatial concerns.

Stage 10. The gecekondu representatives working voluntarily in the associations or in the cooperatives of the gecekondu quarters joined the meetings presented by the different representatives from different cities who were also subjected to urban development/transformation processes. This togetherness provided the sharing of technical knowledge on the development/transformation processes as well as of the experiences of (grassroots) struggles against the local or central authorities throughout the development/transformation processes. The representatives organized summits, activist meetings, and gatherings within Narlıdere where discussions for the future of the quarters were made. These organizations were favored by the residents of the gecekondu quarters and were both places of expressing themselves as well as finding the new knowledge about the development/transformation processes. Nevertheless, none of these activities could explain what Narlıdere Municipality, or the Ministry, or the Greater Municipality were exactly doing or would do. But for sure, all of these efforts could shed considerable light on what would to be done and how it would be done by the residents if the grassroots struggles were to be made.

Stage 11. The core concern of the residents throughout the processes laid at the heart of these questions: What type of an urban development will be provided on the

gecekondu quarters and how it would be realized, and materialized on urban space? What would the closing future bring about? These questions went nowhere and stood still at the very core concern of the residents of the gecekondu with respect to urban development processes materializing in Narlıdere Risky Area.

Stage 12. On the other hand, Narlıdere Municipality re-prepared the Urban Development Plans and Projects for the ‘Risky Area’ while negotiating with the Ministry officers. And the Municipality submitted the plans, reports, and projects to the Ministry. The ministry approved each group of 1/5000 and 1/1000 scaled plans, reports and jurisdictions for each risky area and all were put forth to public display for 1 month period at the Ministry’s İzmir branch.

Stage 13. Upto then, none of the residents of the four gecekondu quarters could see or were informed of the Urban Development Plans, Plan Decree (Plan hükümleri), Plan Reports. During the public display, firstly on 22.10.2021 Narlıdere Municipality organized a meeting with the residents of Atatürk and 2. İnönü Quarters. And secondly a meeting with the residents of Narlı and Çatalkaya Quarters were organized on 25.10.2021 in Narlıdere Cultural Center. In time of the objection period to the development plans, nearly one thousand residents of the gecekondu quarters objected to the plans, reports and provisions in many aspects by giving petitions to the Ministry. But none of them could get a respond. So, in legal terms, by not responding to the petitions, the Ministry, say the government, refused all the objection stated through the petitions of the residents.

Stage 14. After the period of the Ministry’s right to respond to the petitions, legally, there arose a 30 days period of bringing suits against the government. In this period, Chamber of City Planners and some representatives of the residents brought suits against the government (Ministry) because of the faults of the plans and because that they were refused with respect to their petitions to the pending development plans. The objections and cases will be elaborated in section V.IX.III. of the thesis.

Above are given the 14 stages of UDP processes and the processes before the approval of UDPs. There is no doubt that these stages are selectively provided for the concerns of the thesis. The processes, actors, spaces and places and things done within are elaborated vertically as well as horizontally with respect to the time span; so they are not just linearly listed. The implementations of the UDPs have not been started but as there are judicial processes on the UDPs, the authorities and the residents both wait for the decisions of the courts. With this respect, the processes of neoliberal urban

restructuring is going on as the judicial processes are parts of them.

5.8. Socio-Spatial Formation of the Four Gecekondü Quarters and their Surroundings: Analyses on Narlıdere and on the Four Gecekondü Quarters

The geographic information systems based analyses given in the below pages are of two spatial units: First is the unit encompassing the most of the built areas of Narlıdere which shaped the district throughout 1980s up to now. The boundary of this unit is demarcated due to the availability of the spatial data gathered and that it clearly reflects the formation of Narlıdere as a proper unit. Second is the 'risky area' unit which encompasses the four gecekondu quarters. The data used in the analyses are gathered from Narlıdere Municipality's Risky Area Studies (2015-2019) and from Dokuz Eylül University City and Regional Planning Department's Studies on Narlıdere (2017). These two sources of knowledge and database are selectively compiled and henceforth the following analyses are produced for the concerns of the case study. Base maps of the GIS analyses are gathered from Narlıdere Municipality.

The boundaries of the analyses are demarcated comprising the area of the central area of Narlıdere, the four gecekondu quarters and their environs. The total area is the most populated and concentrated part of Narlıdere. It is located on the southern part of the highway and is towards the southern hills where the gecekondu quarters are surrounded by the housing sites.

The four gecekondu quarters are located on the southern part of the case study analyses area. The name of the neighborhood units comprised in the case study analyses area are: Çatalkaya, Narlı, Atatürk, 2. İnönü, Yenikale, Çamtepe, and Ilıca.

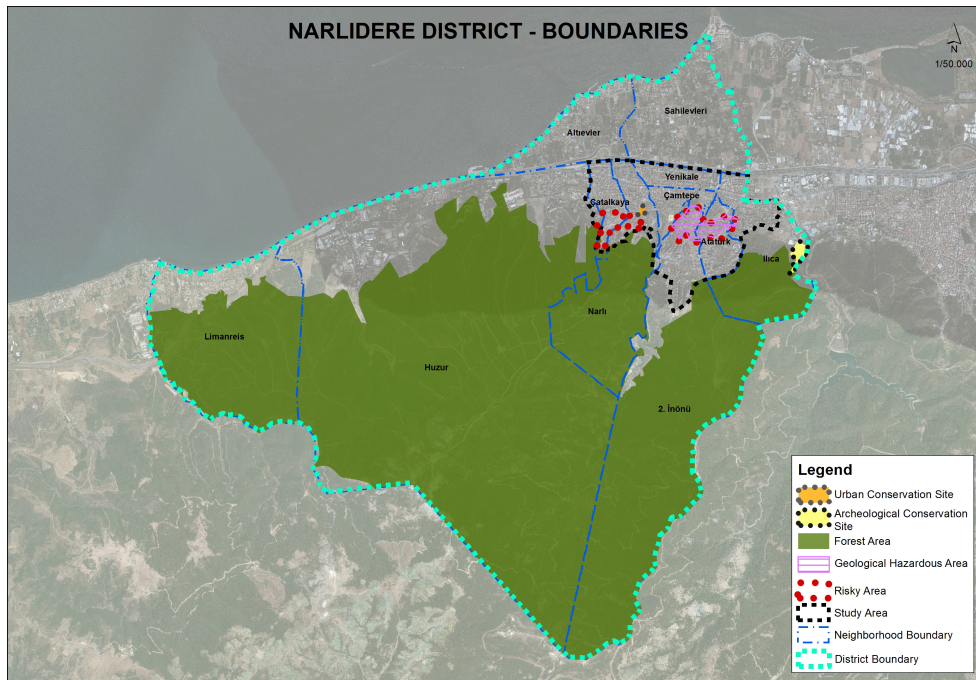


Figure 5.26. Boundaries of the Study Area in city of İzmir
(Source: Author)

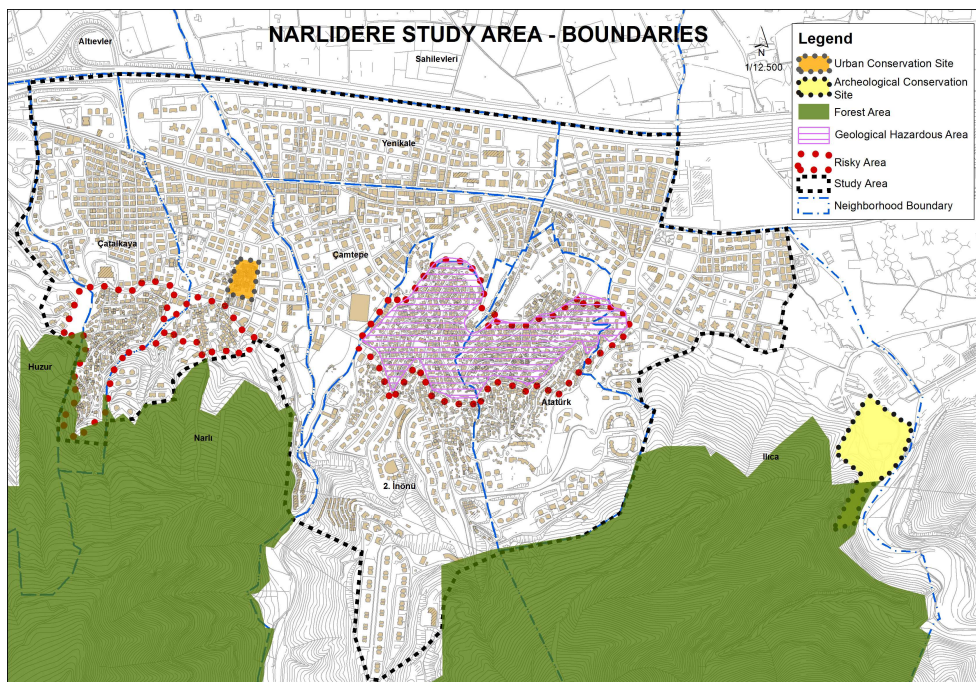


Figure 5.27. Boundaries of the Study Area in district of Narlidere.
(Source: Author)

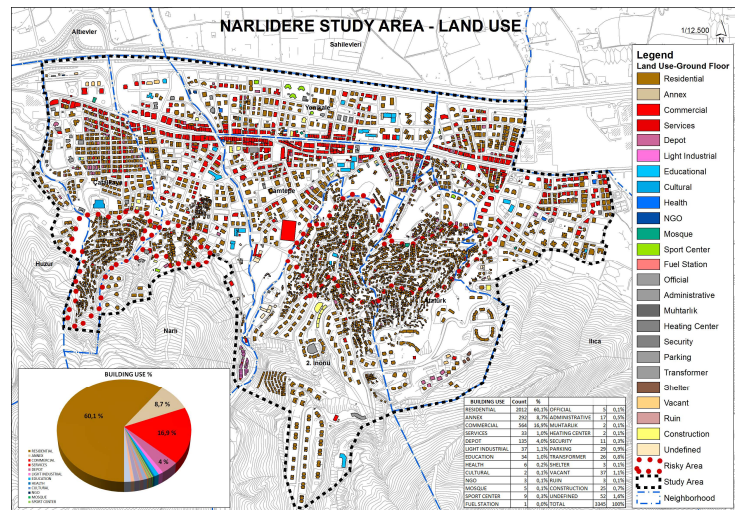


Figure 5.28. Distribution of Land Use in Narlıdere Study Area
(Source: Author)

In Narlıdere Study Area, most of the building uses consist of residential buildings with a share of approximately 60,1 % of all the buildings. Commercial buildings comprise 16,9 % of all the buildings. It is seen from the figure and from the related chart and the table that cultural facility buildings are quite missing in Narlıdere.

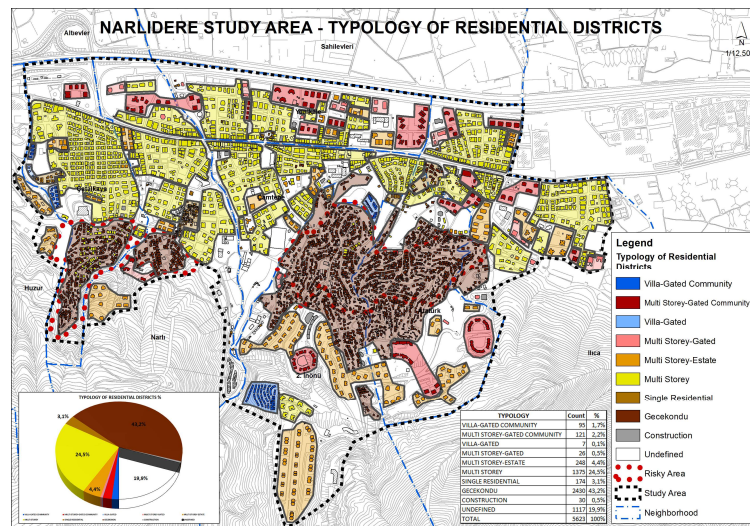


Figure 5.29. Typology of Residential Districts in Narlıdere Study Area
(Source: Author)

Typology of residential districts in Narlıdere Study Area consist of villa-gated community, multi storey-gated community, villa-gated, multi storey-gated, multi storey-estate, multi storey, single residential, gecekondu, construction, undefined. Among them, gecekondu and informal districts comprise the most of the total counts with the percentage of 43,2 %. This percentage is followed by the multi storey districts with percentage of 24,5%.

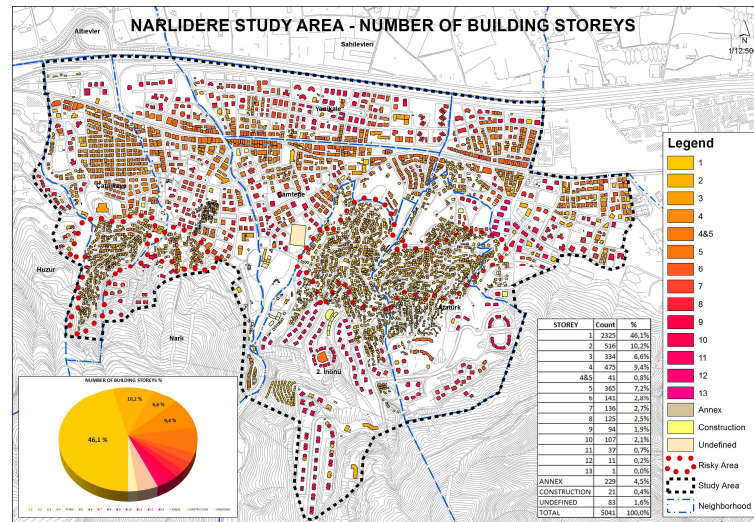


Figure 5.30. Number of Building Storeys in Narlıdere Study Area
(Source: Author)

It can be derived from the analyses that the highest percentage of the number of building storeys comprise buildings with 1 storey with a count of 2325 and with 46,1 %. And this percentage originates mostly from the buildings in Narlı-Çatalkaya and Atatürk-2.İnönü quarters. Within the southern parts of these four quarters, there exist multi storey buildings reaching more than 10 storeys. With respect to the buildings in the four quarters, there are much more buildings than that of the other quarters of Narlıdere study area. And these buildings are mostly 1 and 2 storey buildings.

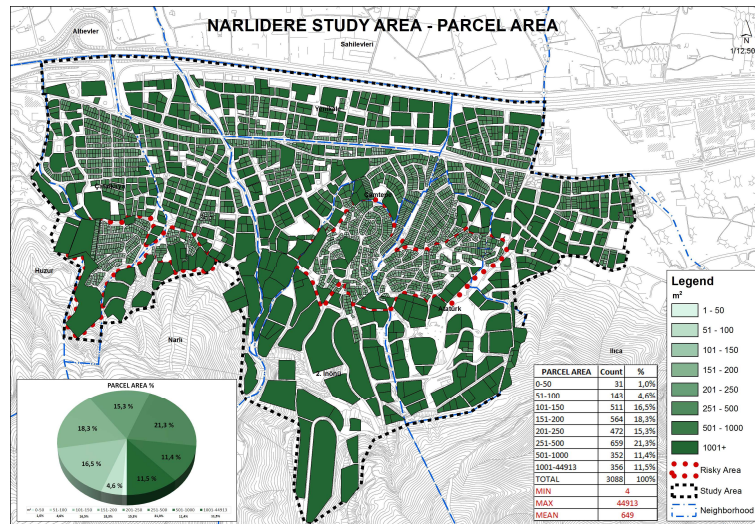


Figure 5.31. Size of Parcel Area in Narlıdere Study Area
(Source: Author)

Considering the parcel sizes in Narlıdere Study Area, it is possible to see from the figure that the lands with parcels between 251-500 m² have the highest percentage with 21,3 %. Following this, the lands with parcels between 151-200 m² comprise 18,3 % and 101-150 m² comprise 16,5 % of all the area.

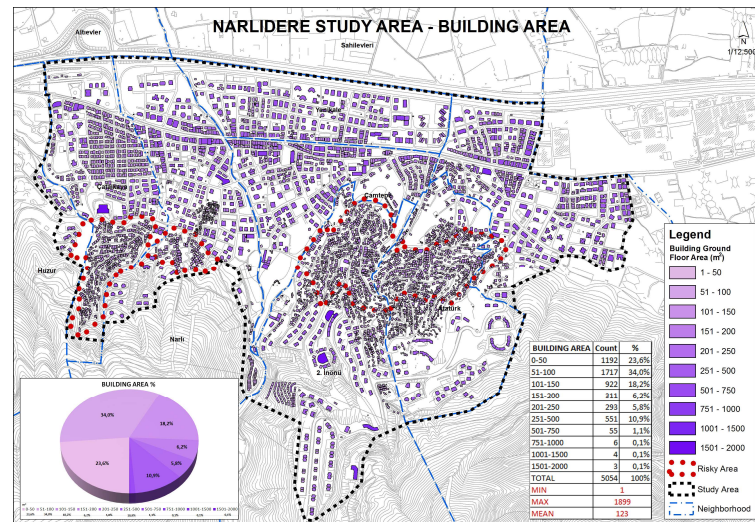


Figure 5.32. Size of Building Area in Narlıdere Study Area
(Source: Author)

In Narlıdere Study Area, the buildings with floor area between 51-100 m² have the highest percentage of 34%. Following this, the buildings with floor area between 0-50 m² comprise 23,6 % and 101-150 m² comprise 18,2 % of all the building ground floor area. It can be seen from the analyses, more than half of the buildings in the study area have floor areas less than 100 m².

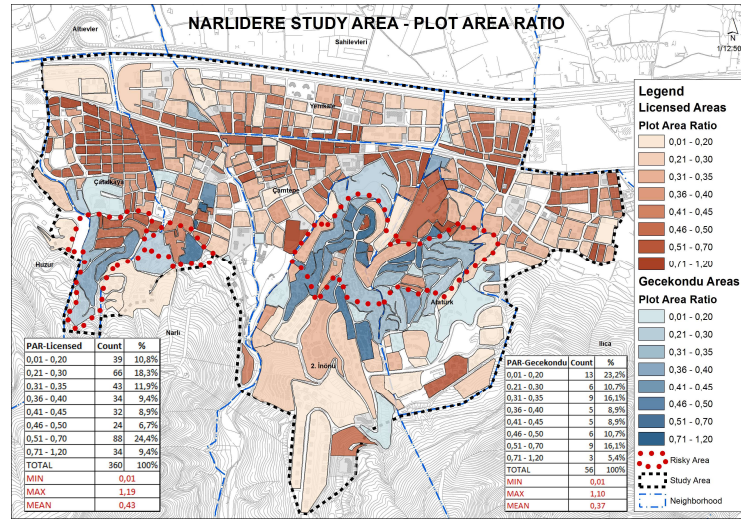


Figure 5.33. Plot Area Ratio in Narlıdere Study Area

(Source: Author)

The northern part of Narlıdere study area densely consists of licensed buildings and at the southern part of Narlıdere, except the most of the areas of Narlı-Çatalkaya and Atatürk-2.İnönü neighbourhoods consists of licensed buildings. Through the Mithatpaşa Street, the plot area ratio reaches approximately value of 1. On the other hand, within the four gecekondu quarters of Narlıdere the plot area ratio reaches maximum value of approximately 1 with 5,4 %.

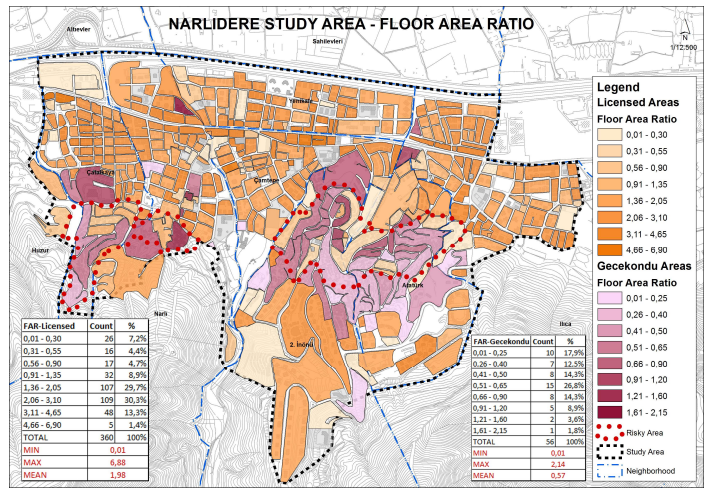


Figure 5.34. Plot Area Ratio in Narlıdere Study Area.
(Source: Author)

Within the analysis on the licensed area in Narlıdere, most of the floor area has a ratio between 2,06-3,10 which has the highest percentage with 30,3 %. On the contrary, within the four gecekondu quarters, floor area consists between 0,51-0,65 ratio has the highest percentage with 26,8 %. As seen in the figure, the highest floor area ratio reaches approximately 6,90 value within the licensed area of Narlıdere study area. On the other hand, within the four gecekondu quarters, this value reaches at its maximum of 2,15 value.

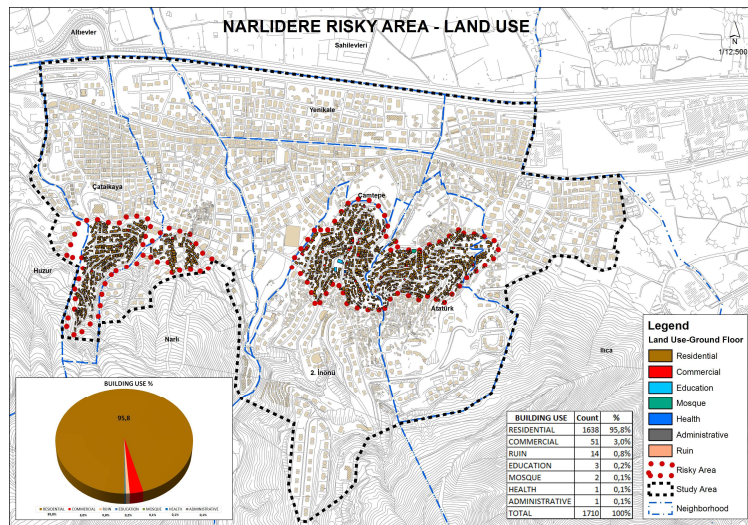


Figure 5.35. Distribution of Land Use in the Four Quarters
(Source: Author)

As seen from the figure above, most of the buildings within the four quarters of Narlıdere, are residential having a ratio of almost 95 %. There exist few commercial and other facility buildings. The four quarters seriously lack social facility areas to be provided by the local and central governments.

Figure 5.36. Residential Districts within the four quarters

Narlı and Çatalkaya quarters



Source: Author's own

Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters



Source: Author's own

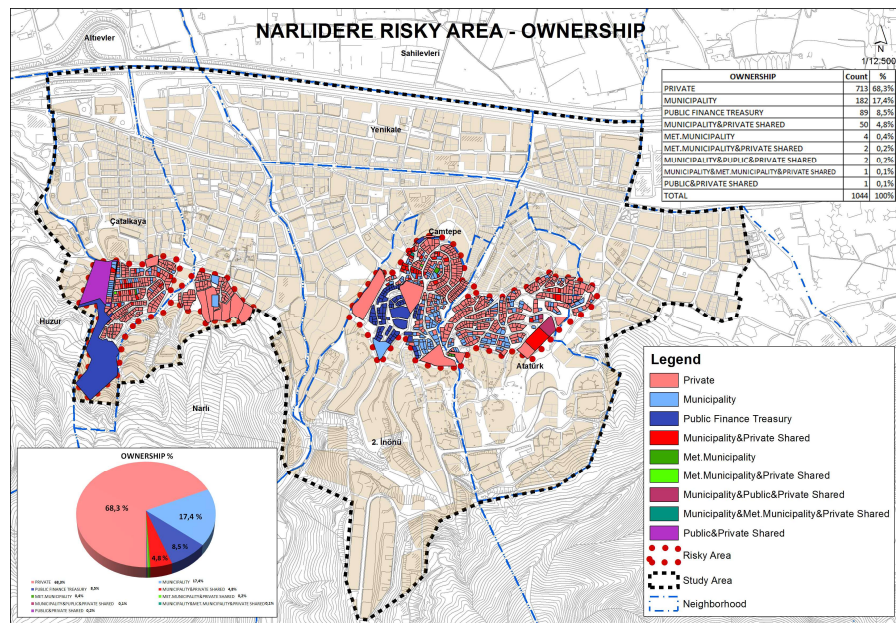


Figure 5.37. Ownership Pattern in the Four Quarters

(Source: Author)

The property ownership pattern in within the four quarters resemble the variety of types of ownership with 9 different types of ownership. Narlıdere Municipality and the metropolitan municipality of İzmir have also properties within the four quarters. There are also many shared properties such as Narlıdere municipality & private, metropolitan municipality & private, Narlıdere municipality & public & private, Narlıdere municipality & metropolitan municipality & private. Private property ownership consists most of the ownership share within the four quarters.

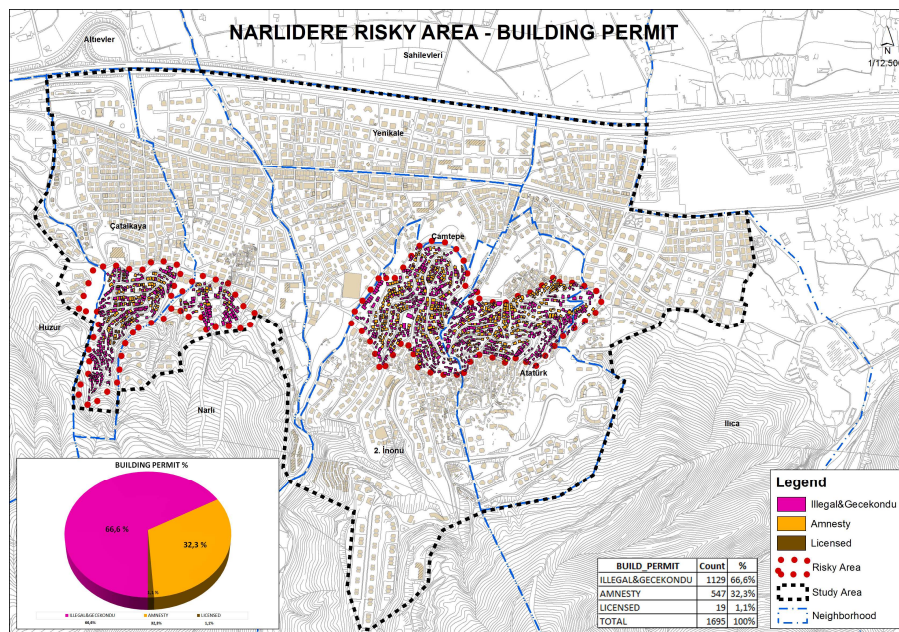


Figure 5.38. Condition of Building Permits in the Four Quarters

(Source: Author)

With respect to the condition of the building permits within the four quarters, it is possible to see that the buildings having the status of illegal and gecekondu comprise most of the total buildings with a share of approximately 66%. There exist few buildings having licenses within the area.

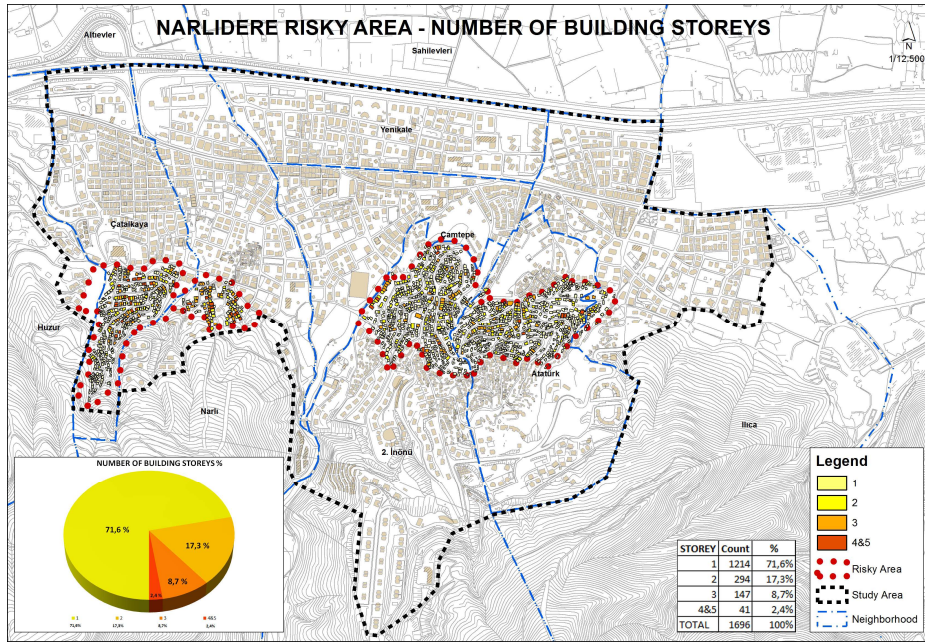


Figure 5.39. Number of Building Storeys in the Four Quarters
(Source: Author)

Buildings within the four quarters are mostly 1 and 2 storey buildings with a share of total approximately 90 %. This resembles that they were built up just for basic housing needs of their residents not for land rent or profit. Below are some photos of the buildings taken from the four quarters.

Narlı and Çatalkaya quarters



Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters



Figure 5.40. Buildings which characterize the four quarters
(Source: Author)

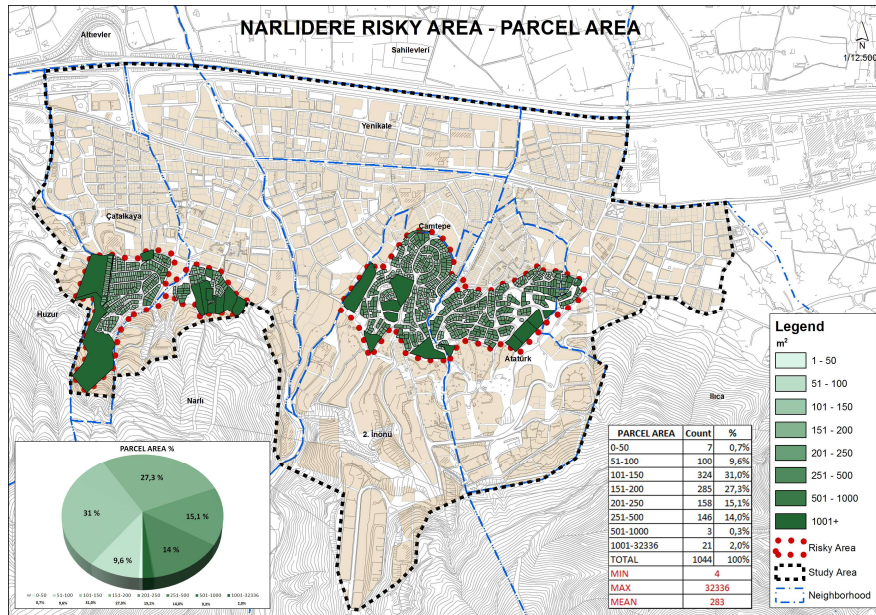


Figure 5.41. Size of Parcel Area in the Four Quarters
(Source: Author)

Within the four quarters, as the property ownership pattern resembles a variety of properties, so the sizes of parcels also resembles a variety. Although there also exist large properties, half of the total of the parcels are have a size between 100-150 m² and 151-200 m².

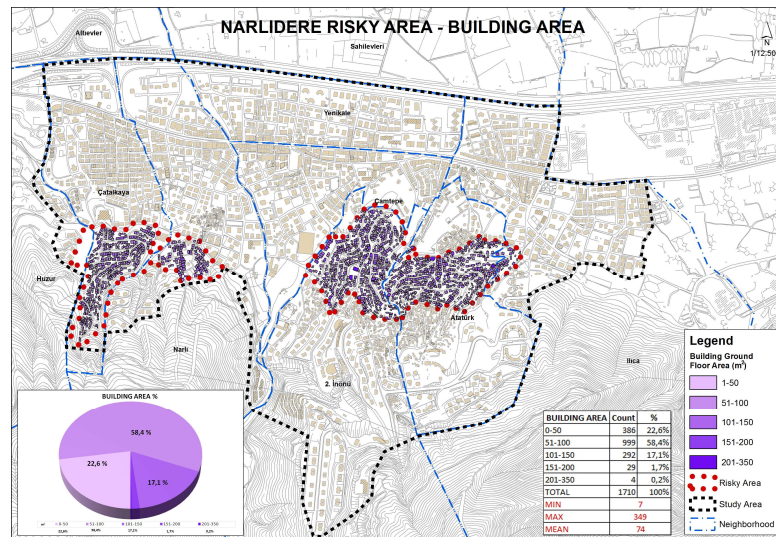


Figure 5.42. Size of Building Area in the Four Quarters
(Source: Author)

With respect to the ground floor area of the buildings within the four quarters, the analyses show that almost 80% of the total buildings are 0-50 m² and 51-100 m² sized. They are small and built up just for basic needs.

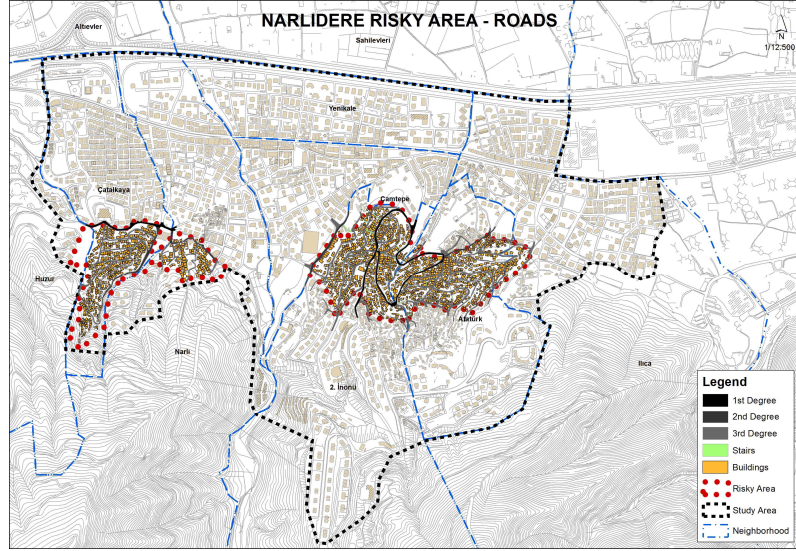


Figure 5.43. The Roads in the Four Quarters
(Source: Author)

Within the four quarters, there exist 3 types of roads and the stairs. Three roads are in accordance with the topographic structure of the four quarters. The roads as well as the stairs are all modest resembling the general physical characters of the settlements.

Narlı and Çatalkaya quarters



Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters



Figure 5.44. The roads and stairs within the four quarters
(Source: Author)

As seen from the above photos, the four quarters have sloppy topography which caused many stairs within the open spaces as well as the nearby the roads.

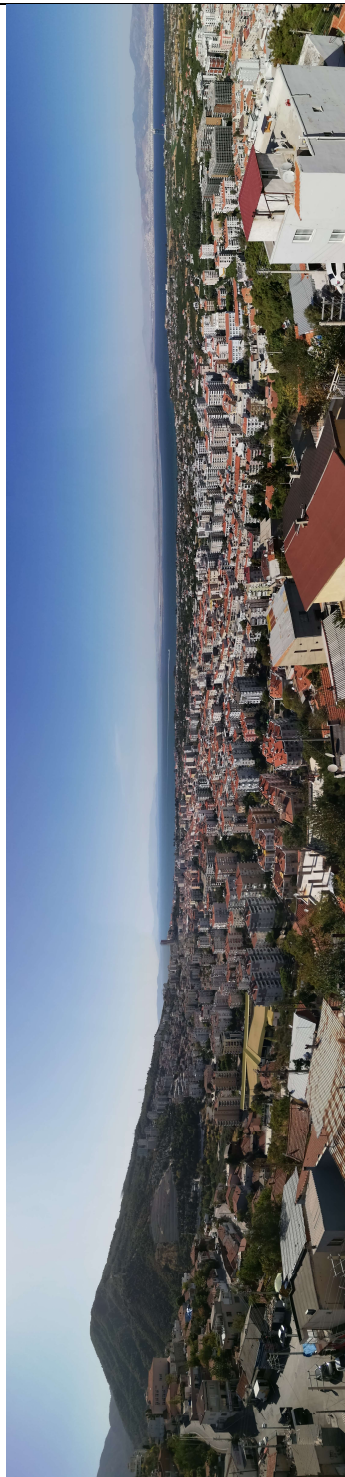
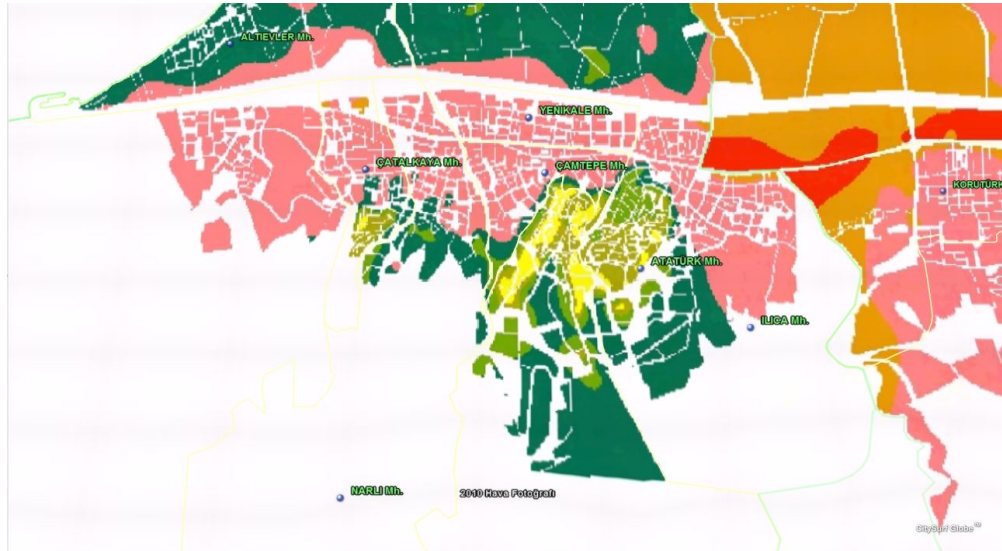
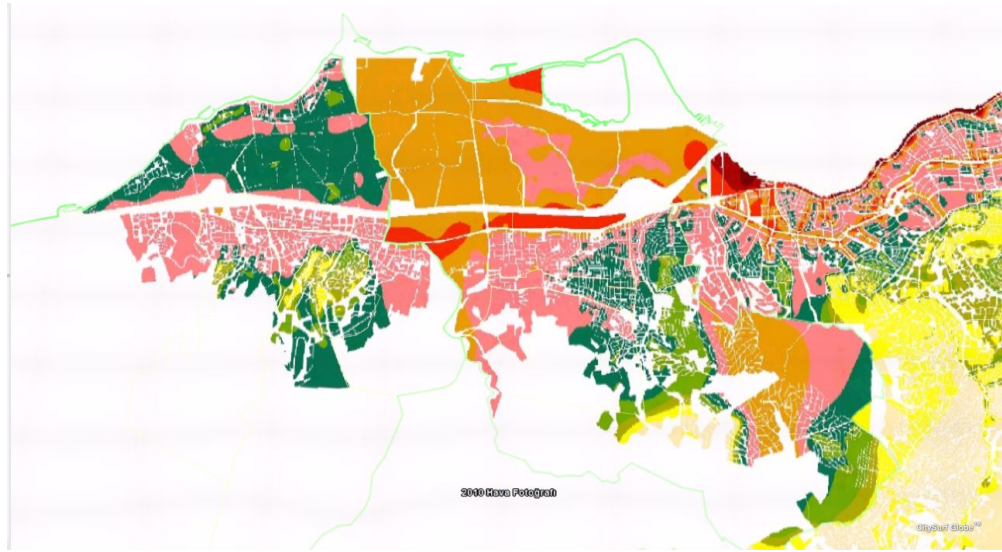


Figure 5.45. A view of the western part of Narlıdere from gecekondu (Source: Author)



Figure 5.46. A view of the South-eastern part of Narlıdere from gecekondu (Source: Author)



Legend

0 - 50 TL
51 - 100 TL
101 - 150 TL
151 - 250 TL
251 - 500 TL
501 - 1000 TL
1001 - 2000 TL
2001 - 3000 TL
3001 - 4000 TL
4001 - 5000 TL

Figure 5.47. Spatial Distribution of Land Values (by year 2010)

(Source: Metropolitan Municipality of İzmir)

As seen in the two figures given above, in year 2010, land values in Narlıdere rose when we go away from the four gecekondu quarters. They were at their minimums in the four gecekondu quarters in that year.

Below is a set of Narlıdere photos presented in Strategic Plan (2015-2019) of Narlıdere Municipality among which the intention of the mode of planned intervention on urban space is represented. It resembles the local government's imagination for the future of the gecekondu.



Figure 5.48. A statement of intention of Narlıdere Municipality on the form of the development/transformation of the gecekondu

(Source: The Strategic Plan of Narlıdere Municipality for 2015-2019 period)

5.9. An Evaluation of the Approved Urban Development/Transformation Plans (UDPs) of the Four Gecekondu Quarters (the ‘Risky Area’) & the Question on the Right to the City

The master and development plans for Narlı and Çatalkaya were prepared by Narlıdere Municipality and were approved by the Ministry on 07.10.2021. The public display of the plans were during 11.10.2021 and 09.11.2021. The master and development plans for Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters were also prepared by Narlıdere Municipality and were approved by the Ministry on 23.09.2021. The public display of these plans were during 28.09.2021 and 27.10.2021. The types of plans for each group of gecekondu quarters were named as ‘plan change’.

5.9.1. The Approved Master and Development Plans

The UDPs for the Risky Area of Narlı, Çatalkaya and Atatürk, 2. İnönü Quarters consist of approved master plans of 1/5000 scaled and the implementation plans of 1/1000 scaled. Each plan has an approved planning report including the financial model of the UDPs and the explanations of the planning decisions. All these documents were prepared and approved with respect to the 6306 numbered act and related regulations. Narlı and Çatalkaya has a separate UDP from that of Atatürk and 2. İnönü as they do not have adjacent locations but of the parts of the same Risky Area. The following parts of this section will deal with describing these UDPs while highlighting some plan figures, maps and descriptive quantitative tables which are placed in the reports of UDPs.

5.9.1.1. Master and Development Plans for Narlı and Çatalkaya Quarters

The planning area comprises 15,7 hectares land and both the master and the development plans are demarcated by the same boundaries. The boundaries of the plans match with that of the Risky Area. The planned land uses within are: Residential Development Area – Commercial+Residential Area – Municipality Service Area –

Military Area – Primary School Area – Family Health Center – Mosque – Social Facility Area – Parks and Green Areas – Recreation Area – Graveyard – Technical Infrastructure Area – Car Parking Area – Transformer Area – Roads. The construction coefficient for residential and commercial+residential areas is 1,70 and the permitted number of storeys is ground floor + 5 floors. Below are also given the plans, tables and figures derived from the planning report of the UDP for Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters.

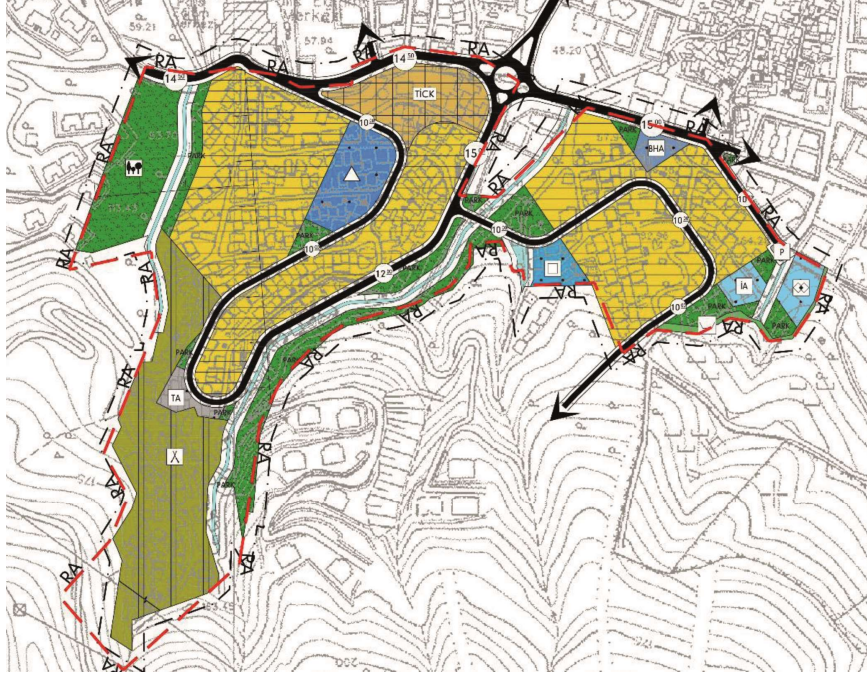


Figure 5.49. Master Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area (1/5000 scaled)
(Source: The Report of Master Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area 2021, 70.)

Table 5.1. Land Use of Master Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Quarters
(Source: The Report of Master Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area 2021, 68.)

FONKSİYON	ALAN (m ²)	ALAN (ha)	ORAN (%)
Konut Alanları			
- Çok Yücelik Yoğunluklu Gelişme Konut Alanı	59.198 m ²	5,92	37,92
Kentsel Çalışma Alanları			
- Ticaret-Konut Alanı (Konut Altı Ticaret)	6.756 m ²	0,68	4,33
- Belediye Hizmet Alanı	1.071 m ²	0,11	0,69
- Askerî Alan	21.451 m ²	2,15	13,74
Sosyal Altyapı Alanları			
- Eğitim Alanı	4.851 m ²	0,49	3,11
- Sağlık Alanı	1.608 m ²	0,16	1,03
- Sosyal-Kültürel Tesis Alanı	1.712 m ²	0,17	1,10
- Dinî Tesis Alanı	1.144 m ²	0,11	0,73
Açık ve Yeşil Alanlar			
- Park ve Yeşil Alan	14.385 m ²	1,43	9,15
- Rekreasyon Alanı	8.533 m ²	0,85	5,47
- Mezarlık	897 m ²	0,09	0,57
Teknik Altyapı Alanları			
* Ulaşım			
- Taşıt Yolları ve Genel Otakopark Alanları	30.553 m ²	3,06	19,57
* Su, Abkısı ve Abkısı Sistemleri			
- Teknik Altyapı Alanı	1.108 m ²	0,11	0,71
- Su Yüzeği (Dere)	2.957 m ²	0,30	1,89
TOPLAM	156.124 m²	15,61	100,00

Table 5.2. Summary Table for existing situation in Narlı and Çatalkaya Quarters
(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area 2021, 4.)

NARLI - ÇATALKAYA MAHALLELERİ				
HALİHAZIR	Riskli Alan Sınırı Yüzölçümü	157,888 m ²		
	Emsal Alanı	64,485 m ²		
	İnşaat Alanı	71,650 m ²		
	Ortalama Bağ. Birim Alanı	70 m ²		
	Bağımsız Birim Sayısı	768 adet	İkamet Edenler/İşgalci	183 adet
İkamet Edenler/Tapulu			585 adet	
İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu			0 adet	
MÜLKİYET	Parsel Sayısı	318 adet		
	Tapu Alanı	115,499 m ²	İkamet Edenler/Tapulu	53,687 m ²
			İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu	14,888 m ²
			Kamu Parseli	46,924 m ²
	Kök Tapu Alanı	127,655 m ²	İkamet Edenler/Tapulu	61,709 m ²
İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu			18,048 m ²	
Kamu Parseli			47,898 m ²	

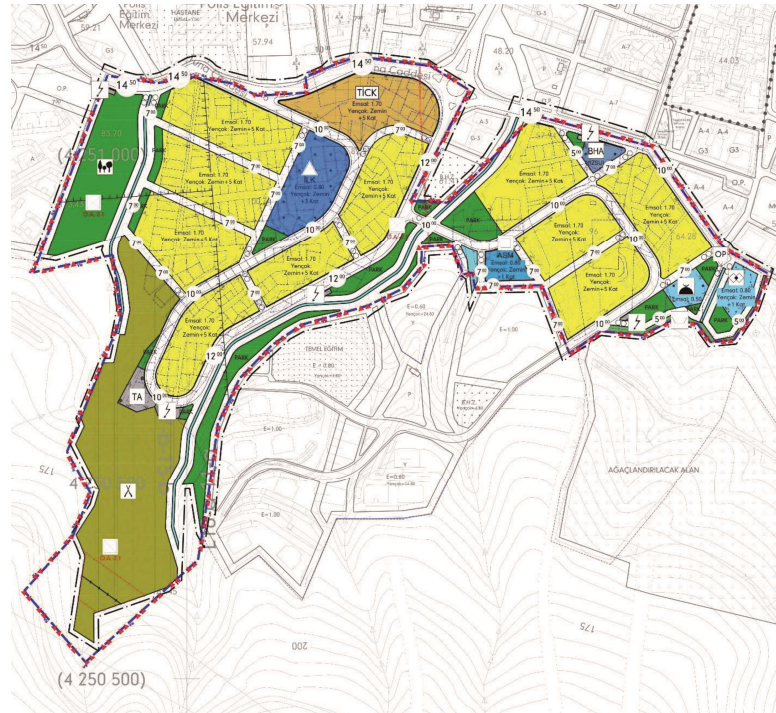


Figure 5.50. Implementation (Development) Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area
(1/1000 scaled)

(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area 2021, 69.)



Figure 5.51. Construction Coefficients within implementation plans of housing estates nearby the Narlı and Çatalkaya Quarters

(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area 2021, 3.)

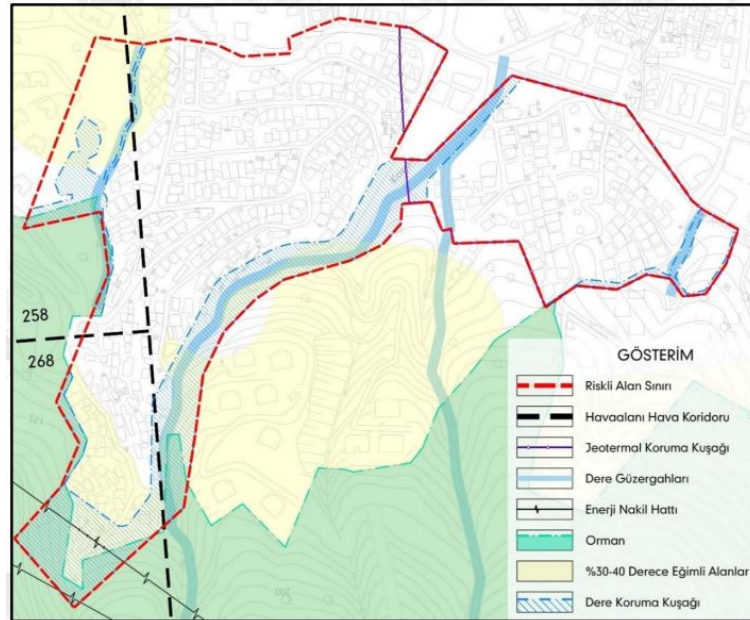


Figure 5.52. Synthesis Diagram of the Implementation (Development) Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area

(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area 2021, 52.)

Table 5.3. Summary Table of the Financial Model of the UDP of Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area.
(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area 2021, 61.)

NARLIDERE İLÇESİ NARLI - ÇATALKAYA MAHALLELERİ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM ALANI						
HALİHAZIR	Riskli Alan Sınırı Yüzölçümü	157,888 m ²				
	Emsal Alanı	64,485 m ²				
	İnşaat Alanı	71,650 m ²				
	Ortalama Bağ. Birim Alanı	70 m ²				
	Bağımsız Birim Sayısı	768 adet	İkamet Edenler/İşgalci	183 adet		
			İkamet Edenler/Tapulu	585 adet		
			İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu	0 adet		
MÜLKİYET	Parsel Sayısı	518 adet				
	Tapu Alanı	91,316 m ²	İkamet Edenler/Tapulu	53,687 m ²		
			İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu	14,888 m ²		
			Kamu Parseli	22,745 m ²		
	Kök Tapu Alanı	103,474 m ²	İkamet Edenler/Tapulu	61,709 m ²		
		İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu	18,048 m ²			
		Kamu Parseli	23,717 m ²			
KIYMET TAKDİRİ	Kabuller	Kadastral(Kök) Parsel Birim m ² Bedeli	1,500 TL			
		İnşaat Birim m ² Maliyet Bedeli	4,000 TL			
		Harfiyat ve Birim m ² Yıkım Bedeli	100 TL			
		Konut Birim m ² Satış Bedeli	12,000 TL			
	Toplam Kıymet Bedeli	159,457,497 TL	Yapı Kıymet Bedeli	39,822,175 TL		
		Tapu Kıymet Bedeli	119,635,322 TL			
BORÇLANMA BEDELİ	Toplam Borçlanma (Yapı Maliyeti Üzerinden Borçlanma – Kıymet Takdir Bedeli)	İkamet Edenler/İşgalci	35,486,141 TL			
		İkamet Edenler/Tapulu	51,008,314 TL			
		İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu	2,088,048 TL			
	Borçlanma İndirimi	Borçlanma İndirimi Sonrası Toplam Borçlanma	44,291,252 TL			
		Borçlanma İndirimi Sonrası Ortalama Bağımsız Birim Borçlanma	48,038 TL			
		İkamet Edenler/İşgalci	96,957 TL			
		İkamet Edenler/Tapulu	38,997 TL			
		İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu	12,283 TL			
	MALİYET	Toplam Maliyet	İnşaat İmalat Maliyeti	408,102,000 TL		
			Yaklaşık Yıkım ve Harfiyat Maliyeti	7,164,987 TL		
GELİR	Toplam Gelir	Finans Amaçlı Kullanılacak Alanın Satış Geliri	474,792,482 TL			
		Toplam Borçlanma Geliri	44,291,252 TL			
NET KAR/ZARAR	Net Kar	103,816,747 TL		25.00%		

Table 5.4. Summary table of the Implementation (Development) Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area.
(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area 2021, 70.)

Narlı-Çatalkaya Mahalleleri Uygulama İmar Planı Kent Karakter Tablosu		Öneri Plan Nüfus (DOP: %42 - Emsal: 1.70)			
Mevzuat		2.421 Kişi			
Kullanım		Gereken	Plan	Sayı	m ² /kişi
Eğitim Tesisleri Alanı	<i>6,50 m²/kişi</i>	15.737 m ²	4.500 m ²	1	1,86 m ²
Anaokulu	<i>0,50 m²/kişi</i>	1.211 m ²	0 m ²	0	0,00 m ²
İlkokul	<i>2,00 m²/kişi</i>	4.842 m ²	4.500 m ²	1	1,86 m ²
Ortaokul	<i>2,00 m²/kişi</i>	4.842 m ²	0 m ²	0	0,00 m ²
Lise	<i>2,00 m²/kişi</i>	4.842 m ²	0 m ²	0	0,00 m ²
Sosyal Açık ve Yeşil Alanlar	<i>10,00 m²/kişi</i>	24.210 m ²	17.119 m ²	18	7,07 m ²
Park			9.824 m ²	17	-
Rekreasyon Alanı			7.295 m ²	1	-
Sağlık Tesisleri Alanı	<i>1,50 m²/kişi</i>	3.632 m ²	1.179 m ²	1	0,49 m ²
Aile Sağlığı Merkezi	<i>1,50 m²/kişi</i>	3.632 m ²	1.179 m ²	1	0,49 m ²
Sosyal ve Kültürel Tesisler Alanı	<i>0,75 m²/kişi</i>	1.816 m ²	1.232 m ²	1	0,51 m ²
İbadet Yeri	<i>0,50 m²/kişi</i>	1.211 m ²	1.013 m ²	1	0,42 m ²
Teknik Altyapı (Yol ve Otopark Hariç)	<i>1,00 m²/kişi</i>	2.421 m ²	1.306 m ²	6	0,54 m ²
Belediye Hizmet Alanı (BHA)			852 m ²	1	-
Konut Alanı (Gelişme)			53.555 m ²	10	-
Ticaret-Konut Alanı (TİCK)			6.461 m ²	1	-
Mezarlık			887 m ²	1	-
Askeri Alan			21.446 m ²	1	-
Su Yüzeyi			2.937 m ²	5	-
Taşıt-Yaya Yolları ve Otopark Alanı			43.637 m ²	-	-
TOPLAM		156.124 m²			

5.9.1.2. Master and Development Plans for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Quarters

The planning area comprises 28,4 hectares land and both the master and the development plans are demarcated by the same boundaries. The boundaries of the plans match with that of the Risky Area. The planned land uses within are: Residential Development Area – Commercial+Residential Area – Commercial Area - Municipality Service Area – Military Area – Preschool Area - Primary School Area – Secondary School Area - Health Facility Area – Mosque – Social Facility Area – Parks and Green Areas – Square - Recreation Area – Area to be Afforested - Technical Infrastructure Area – Car Parking Area – Transformer Area – Roads. The construction coefficient for residential and commercial+residential areas is 1,70 and the permitted number of storeys is ground floor + 5 floors.

Below are also given the plans, explanatory tables and figures derived from the planning report of the UDP for Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters. The images and the explanatory tables of the plans for each group of gecekondü quarters are gathered from the approved official planning reports of the UDPs.

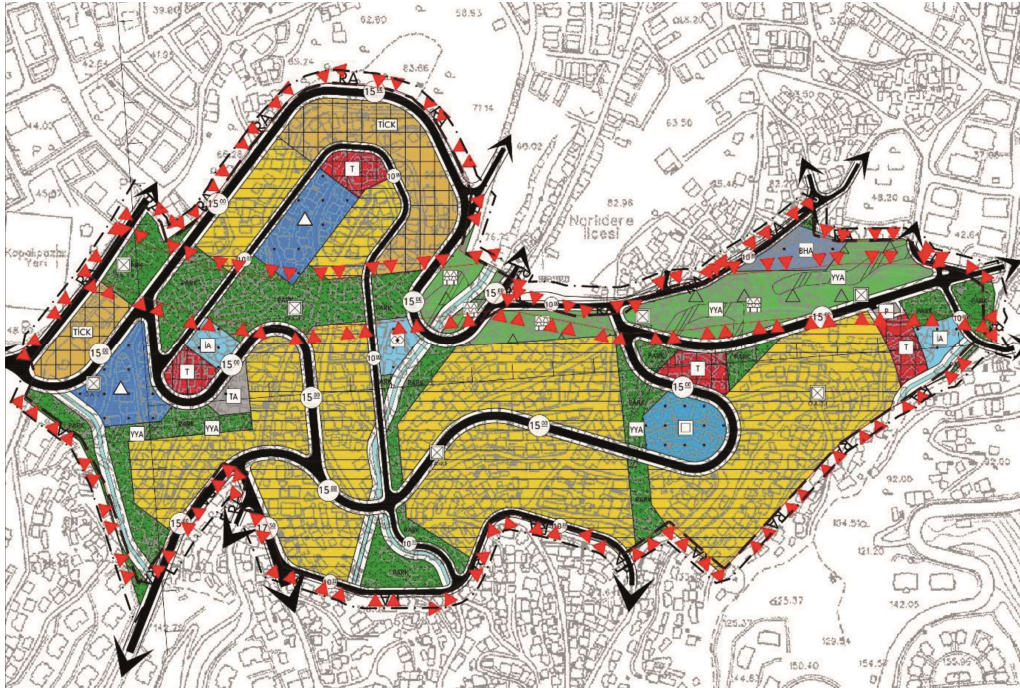


Figure 5.53. Master Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area (1/5000 scaled)
(Source: The Report of Master Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area 2021, 70)

Table 5.5. Land Use of Master Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Quarters
(Source: The Report of Master Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area 2021, 68.)

FONKSİYON	ALAN (m ²)	ALAN (ha)	ORAN (%)
Konut Alanları			
· Çok Yüksek Yoğunluklu Gelişme Konut Alanı	109.548 m ²	10,95	36,67
Kentsel Çalışma Alanları			
· Ticaret Alanı	8.146 m ²	0,81	2,73
· Ticaret-Konut Alanı (Konut Altı Ticaret)	17.273 m ²	1,73	5,78
· Belediye Hizmet Alanı	3.021 m ²	0,30	1,01
Sosyal Altyapı Alanları			
· Eğitim Alanı	11.040 m ²	1,10	3,70
· Sağlık Alanı	4.619 m ²	0,46	1,55
· Sosyal-Kültürel Tesis Alanı	1.852 m ²	0,19	0,62
· Dini Tesis Alanı	3.191 m ²	0,32	1,07
Açık ve Yeşil Alanlar			
· Park ve Yeşil Alan	42.259 m ²	4,23	14,15
· Ağaçlandırılacak Alan	24.061 m ²	2,41	8,05
Teknik Altyapı Alanları			
* Ulaşım			
· Taşıt Yolları ve Genel Otopark Alanları	69.303 m ²	6,93	23,20
* Su, Atıksu ve Atıksu Sistemleri			
· Teknik Altyapı Alanı	1.325 m ²	0,13	0,44
· Su Yüzeyi (Dere)	3.081 m ²	0,31	1,03
TOPLAM	298.719 m²	29,87	100,00

Table 5.6. Summary Table for existing situation in Narlı and Çatalkaya Quarters
(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area 2021, 4.)

ATATÜRK- İKİNCİ İNÖNÜ MAHALLELERİ				
HALİHAZIR	Riskli Alan Sınırı Yüzölçümü	284,492 m ²		
	Emsal Alanı	116,961 m ²		
	İnşaat Alanı	129,957 m ²		
	Ortalama Bağ. Birim Alanı	70 m ²		
	Bağımsız Birim Sayısı	1,504 adet	İkamet Edenler/İşgalci	865 adet
			İkamet Edenler/Tapulu	639 adet
İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu			0 adet	
MÜLKİYET	Parsel Sayısı	726 adet		
	Tapu Alanı	172,096 m ²	İkamet Edenler/Tapulu	75,929 m ²
			İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu	40,871 m ²
			Kamu Parseli	55,296 m ²
	Kök Tapu Alanı	256,039 m ²	İkamet Edenler/Tapulu	109,407 m ²
			İkamet Etmeyenler/Tapulu	48,682 m ²
Kamu Parseli			97,950 m ²	



Figure 5.54. Implementation (Development) Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area (1/1000 scaled)
(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area 2021, 69.)



Figure 5.55. Construction Coefficients within implementation plans of housing estates nearby the Atatürk and 2. İnönü Quarters
(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area 2021, 3.)

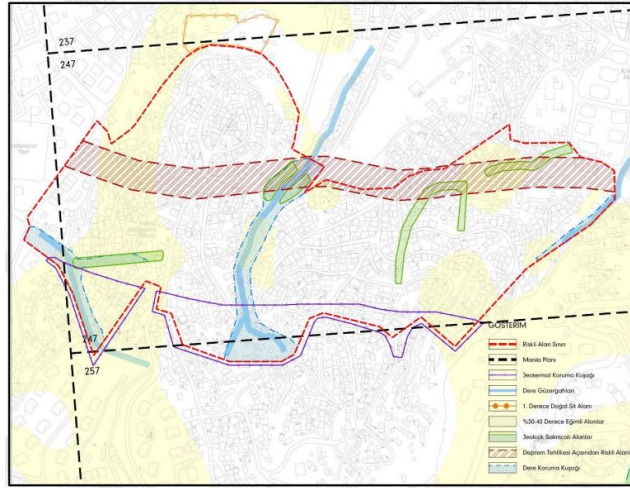


Figure 5.56. Synthesis Diagram of the Implementation (Development) Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area
(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area 2021, 52.)

Table 5.7. Summary Table of the Financial Model of the UDP of Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area.
(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area 2021, 61.)

NARLIDERE İLÇESİ ATATÜRK - İKİNCİ İNÖNÜ MAHALLELERİ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM ALANI				
HALIHAZIR	Riskli Alan Sınırı Yatırılması	284,492 m ²		
	Emsal Alanı	116,943 m ²		
	Toplam Alanı	129,957 m ²		
	Ortalama Bağlımsız Birim Alanı	70 m ²	İkamet Edilen/Toplu	865 adet
	Bağlımsız Birim Sayısı	1,504 adet	İkamet Edilen/Toplu	639 adet
			İkamet Edemeyen/Toplu	0 adet
MÜLKİYET	Parçesi Sayısı	726 adet		
	Toplu Alanı	172,096 m ²	İkamet Edilen/Toplu	75,929 m ²
			İkamet Edemeyen/Toplu	40,871 m ²
			Kırsal Parsel	55,296 m ²
	Kök Toplu Alanı	256,639 m ²	İkamet Edilen/Toplu	109,407 m ²
		İkamet Edemeyen/Toplu	48,682 m ²	
		Kırsal Parsel	97,550 m ²	
KİYMET TAKDİRİ	Katkılar	Katılansız(EİK) Parsel Birim m ² Bedeli	1,500 TL	
		Toplu Birim m ² Maliyet Bedeli	4,000 TL	
		Harcama ve Birim m ² Yürüm Bedeli	100 TL	
		Konut Birim m ² Satış Bedeli	12,000 TL	
		İcraat Birim m ² Satış Bedeli	20,000 TL	
Toplam Kıymet Bedeli	807,199,035 TL	Yapı Kıymet Bedeli	70,045,734 TL	
		Toplu Kıymet Bedeli	237,153,501 TL	
BORÇLANMA BEDELİ	Toplam Borçlanma (Yapı Maliyeti Dışından Borçlanma - Kıymet Takdiri Bedeli)	218,260,945 TL	İkamet Edilen/Toplu	166,141,879 TL
			İkamet Edilen/Toplu	45,744,561 TL
			İkamet Edemeyen/Toplu	1,372,505 TL
	Borçlanma İndikeli	50.00%	Borçlanma İndikeli Sınırı Toplam Borçlanma	106,640,483 TL
	Borçlanma İndikeli Sınırı Çıkarılma Bağlımsız Birim Borçlanma	55,833 TL	İkamet Edilen/Toplu	94,647 TL
		İkamet Edilen/Toplu	27,891 TL	
		İkamet Edemeyen/Toplu	3,901 TL	
MALİYET	Toplam Maliyet	857,588,900 TL	Yapı İncelet Maliyeti	844,393,200 TL
			Yatırım, Yürüm ve Maliyet Maliyeti	12,995,700 TL
GELİR	Toplam Gelir	1,025,277,125 TL	Finans Amacı Kullanılmak Alınan Satış Geliri	918,631,643 TL
			Toplam Borçlanma Geliri	106,640,483 TL
NET KARZARAR	Net Kar	167,888,225 TL		25.00%

Table 5.8. Summary table of the Implementation (Development) Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area.
(Source: The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Atatürk and 2. İnönü Risky Area 2021, 70.)

Atatürk- 2.İNönü Mahalleleri Uygulama İmar Planı Kent Karakter Tablosu		Öneri Plan Nüfus (DOP: %50 - Emsal: 1.70)			
Mevzuat		4.840 Kişi			
Kullanım		Gereken	Plan	Sayı	m ² /kişi
Eğitim Tesisleri Alanı	6,50 m ² /kişi	31.460 m ²	10.101 m ²	3	2,09 m ²
Anaokulu	0,50 m ² /kişi	2.420 m ²	1.145 m ²	1	0,24 m ²
İlkokul	2,00 m ² /kişi	9.680 m ²	4.219 m ²	1	0,87 m ²
Ortaokul	2,00 m ² /kişi	9.680 m ²	4.737 m ²	1	0,98 m ²
Lise	2,00 m ² /kişi	9.680 m ²	0 m ²	0	0,00 m ²
Sosyal Açık ve Yeşil Alanlar	10,00 m ² /kişi	48.400 m ²	36.460 m ²	23	7,53 m ²
Park			36.460 m ²	23	-
Sağlık Tesisleri Alanı	1,50 m ² /kişi	7.260 m ²	4.619 m ²	1	0,95 m ²
Kamusal Sağlık Tesisi	1,50 m ² /kişi	7.260 m ²	4.619 m ²	1	0,95 m ²
Sosyal ve Kültürel Tesisler Alanı	0,75 m ² /kişi	3.630 m ²	1.735 m ²	1	0,36 m ²
İbadet Yeri	0,50 m ² /kişi	2.420 m ²	2.846 m ²	2	0,59 m ²
Teknik Altyapı (Yol ve Otopark Hariç)	1,00 m ² /kişi	4.840 m ²	1.134 m ²	5	0,23 m ²
Ağaçlandırılacak Alan			19.139 m ²	6	-
Meydan			863 m ²	1	-
Belediye Hizmet Alanı (BHA)			2.204 m ²	1	-
Konut Alanı (Gelişme)			104.046 m ²	13	-
Ticaret			7.260 m ²	4	-
Ticaret-Konut (TİCK)			16.713 m ²	3	-
Su Yüzeği			2.908 m ²	7	-
Taşıt-Yaya Yolları ve Otopark Alanı			88.691 m ²	-	-
TOPLAM		298.719 m²			

5.9.2. A Critique of the Development Plans of the Four Gecekondu Quarters in Narlıdere

In this section, a critique of the UDPs of the four gecekondu quarters of Narlıdere is provided based on the selected dimensions and implications listed in Table 4.4. of Chapter IV. The list may go further in any other study on the UDPs. But for the purposes of the thesis, here it is considered as proper as it resembles the outcomes of the data gathered, interviews made and processes monitored throughout the case study of the thesis.

Location of UDPs' areas: The locations of the UDPs are located within the city of İzmir, Narlıdere district. As being one of the central districts of İzmir, Narlıdere is at the beginning of the western axis of İzmir and is quite accessible to all sides of İzmir. The district has the four Gecekondu quarters which are subject to UDPs. And these four gecekondu quarters are surrounded by the housing sites of Narlıdere at the southern parts of the district.

Declared reasons for the transformation/development by the government(s): Physical decay of the built environment, insufficient facility areas, existing illegal development, social problems are among the most declared reasons of transformation/development by the governments. The need for the slum/gecekondu clearance is the most emphasized reason of Narlıdere Municipality for the four quarters.

Plan/Project type: The UDPs of the four gecekondu quarters are partial, comprising only the declared Risky Area(s). Both the master plans and the implementation plans do not cover a comprehensive unity within the district. They are short term targeted while having no future projections.

Development/Transformation type: The UDPs propose a kind of destruction of the whole land uses as well as the physical fabric, so the gecekondu quarters are subjected to redevelopment.

Socio-spatial Strategy: The strategy proposed by the UDPs is a kind of gentrification due to the replacement of an old neighborhood with a new one, with new land uses and possibly with almost all new residents.

Kind of intervention on the existing socio-spatial structure: The UDPs bring about a type of demolition of the existing physical structure and propose the segregation of the existing social fabric caused by the proposed new land uses and new

physical pattern.

Affected social class: As the existing residents are from the working class and the 'others' of the society, they will all be affected by the UDPs. Some of them will not be able to afford the payments of the new residences, some of them will be displaced and all of them will lose their existing neighborhood lives either physically or socially.

Transformation of land uses: The number of existing land uses are proposed to be increased and land use typology are diversified. Both the quantity and the quality of the land uses are changed by the UDPs and hence, none of the land uses remain in their existing place. Existing residential areas are transformed to commercial + residential areas as planning decisions.

Transformation of public space and place: Although there do not exist planned public spaces within the quarters, the UDPs do away with the places where the residents of the quarters use as their public spaces.

Type of planned and projected housing: Construction coefficient value is determined as 1.70 for all the residential land uses as well as commercial+residential areas. And number of maximum storeys is base + floors, again for all the residential land uses. These planning decisions will produce 6 storey apartment buildings which are close to each other located within the parcel area produced by the UDPs. The construction quality will depend on the financing model of the UDPS which will probably be revised during the implementation of the plans as they do not resemble current prices because of high inflation of Turkey. The decision on the commercial + residential areas will produce a mix of uses providing different type of buildings than that of just residential areas which are non-commercial.

Planned population and building density: Planned construction coefficient value is 1.70 and this quantity is higher than the ones of the surrounding housing estates within the southern region of Narlıdere. So, the building as well as the population density will be high.

Gainer of the construction profit: Private construction firm(s) will gain profit from the newly built up land.

Payment of the newly built up land - financing of construction: The UDPs bring about indebtedness of the existing residents in relation to the 'established' property rights of the residents and to the type of new buildings proposed by the UDPs.

Affordability of the newly produced housing by the existing residents: Most of the residents will not be able to afford the costs of the new buildings and that the

model offered by the UDPs brings about the debt making of the residents.

Production of and gainers of the land rent: There will be a land rent provided by the UDPs and their implementations, and this will also effect the surrounding built up environment of the quarters with respect to property and land values. So, the final residents of the newly built up land and the residents of the surrounding area will gain the land rent.

Legal Framework: The approved UDPs are by legal terms based on the 6306 numbered the Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks by which the four gecekondur quarters were declared as the risky areas in year 2013.

The Authority: Narlıdere Municipality admitted to the Ministry for its four gecekondur quarters to be declared as the risky areas in year 2013. Afterwards the declaration, Narlıdere Municipality admitted to the Ministry as to be the competent authority for plan making and the municipality was declared as the legal authority on the four gecekondur quarters in 2013.

Project Coalition Type: There has been a coalition between the ministry of the central government with local government in the management of the production processes of the UDPs. As the type of implementations of the UDPs are not clear recently, so it is impossible to see what kind of coalitions will be established during the construction processes and the redistribution processes of the rebuilt land.

Clearness in the execution of the processes: Although Narlıdere Municipality organized several public meetings throughout the processes, the execution of these processes, to say, what is being done and for whom, what will be done and for whom were never clear. Even after the UDPs were approved, there were no clear explanations of the UDPs to the public.

Principle of transparency: None of the stages throughout the planning processes were transparent. Neither the residents of the four gecekondur quarters nor the representative people could reach the knowledge on the processes. Rather, gathering the knowledge or the data of the planning processes always had a blurry condition for the public.

Level of public participation to planning processes: There had never been a participatory approach to plan making or decision making throughout the processes. Sometimes Narlıdere Municipality considered the mukhtars of the four gecekondur quarters as the only representatives. None of the ordinary people were considered as competent to participate within the planning processes.

Duration of the planning process and of the constructions: It has been ten years since the four gecekondur quarters were declared as Risky Area. And yet, the UDPs have not become absolute as there are ongoing judicial processes with respect to the cases against the ministry for the UDPs. On the other hand, as the financial model placed within the UDPs has become obsolete due to high inflation in Turkey within the previous two years, and hence the construction costs have been enormously increased.

Emergence/existence of urban social movements: Mostly (local and nationwide movements) The residents were in touch with the Union of Neighborhoods throughout the urban transformation/development processes and also the relationship continued throughout the evaluation processes of the UDPs and the Union offered voluntary legal consultancy for the residents. Furthermore there had been neighborhood associations which has always been sensitive to the urban development/transformation processes acting on the four quarters. These associations were both organizing and representing the community. Before the approval of the UDPs, the representatives of the four quarters always requested for a civil and specialized meeting to bring about a discussion on what will be done to the four quarters, on what must the residents do and on what the authorities apparently plan to do to their quarters. But this could not realize. But after the approval of the UDPs, by channeling the Union of Neighborhoods, they organized meetings and forums on the criticizing of the UDPs and on preparing for the objections and cases.

Reactions against and Responses to UDPs: Before the authority brought about the approved UDPs, the residents of the four quarters had done much by the help of their representatives. They organized meetings, protests against the authority in their right to get information on the UDPs for which they were never informed; they found professionals and experts such as urban planners, lawyers just to gain knowledge on what will they face in the closing future and what they must do. Not wholly but considerable number of residents were organized after the approval of the UDPs. Especially when it was time for the public display of the approved UDPs, the people of the whole community of the four quarters showed their reactions and responses to the UDPs by providing 590 objections to the pending development plans of Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters; and 655 objections to the pending development plans of Narlı and Çatalkaya quarters. And as the authorities did not provide answers to these objections, the reaction and response was to bring about cases against the authority where the judicial processes still go on with respect to the cases.

Here, it is possible to make a parenthesis and go back to previous years where several interviews were made with the residents of the four quarters. Below is given a selection of 'voices from the four quarters' which were gathered from the listed interviews in the methodology section of the thesis in Chapter 1:

- "If transformation is inevitable, we say yes to a transformation in which each of us can live, but which is not inferior in quality to the buildings surrounding the area, which does not isolate us and does not separate us from other residential areas." (a resident of the Narlı quarter, 12.02.2017)
- "Give me the authority, I will give you the flat!" said the Mayor (a resident of the Narlı quarter, 12.02.2017).
- "With the company it established, the municipality will first agree with the contractors, then give a lower share to the local residents, and take the difference on its own" (a resident of the Narlı quarter, 12.02.2017).
- "It might not have brought us into the urban transformation. There are luxury residences built all around after the zoning rights granted. These are sold at prices close to 1 trillion per flat. We are aware of the value here. If he had given us the rights he gave to these residential areas instead of declaring them a Risky Area, we would transform this place" (a resident of the Narlı quarter, 12.02.2017).
- "...the project should not come into effect until we say it's ok. This is the opinion of the neighborhood in general" (a resident of the Narlı quarter, 12.02.2017).
- "There is no unity of the people!" (a resident of 2. İnönü quarter, 12.02.2017).
- "You will get money from Urban Transformation! You will work in the constructions that will occur here, and you will trade the materials needed in the constructions. The cooperative prevents this!" said the mayor Abdül Batur (a resident of 2. İnönü quarter, 12.02.2017).
- "We say yes to transformation. We want a better environment, we want to be a partner in the value to be produced. We want to be informed about the process. We know that the construction in our region is unqualified" (a resident of 2. İnönü quarter, 12.02.2017).
- "I do not believe that urban transformation will proceed in a healthy and evenly way here..." (a resident of 2. İnönü quarter, 12.02.2017).

The winners and the losers: By the approval of the UDPs, the state (the local authority and the central authority) got what it attempted to do. On the other hand, the residents of the four quarters still try to get (by cases against the Ministry) their shares from what will be produced by means of UDPs as both land and value. But it is clear that that all of the residents will be debited and therefore some will be dispossessed because that they would probably be incapable of paying for the debts. Especially the tenants who have low income are the losers as they are in any other geography where neoliberal urban restructuring is on the run.

5.9.3. The Objections (during the Public Display period of the UDPs) and the Cases against the Ministry for the UDPs

According to the data gathered from İzmir Branch of Ministry of Environment and Urbanism (5th of July, 2022), there existed 590 objections to the pending development plans of Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters; and 655 objections to the pending development plans of Narlı and Çatalkaya quarters. After the public display period of the development plans ended, the governments did not provide answers to the petitions of the objections. This situation, legally, brought about the owners of the objections the right to bring suits against the government (the Ministry) with respect to the development plans. Henceforth, there existed 3 cases for the development plans of Narlı and Çatalkaya quarters and also 3 cases for the development plans of Atatürk and 2. İnönü quarters.

5.9.3.1. A Sample of the Objections against the UDPs

According to the Ministry officers, almost all of the objections of the residents of the quarters were prepared in the same context and content. Therefore, for the purposes of the case study, selected claims and reasons of the mostly provided objections are listed below of which the data was obtained from the Ministry:

1. UDP area does only comprise the whole area of the risky area but not its environs. The risky area's relations with the surrounding areas are not established through the UDPs. The comprehensiveness of the master and

development/implementation plans are demolished via the incrementalness of the approved UDPs.

2. The implementation processes, organizational model, the duration of the urban transformation and the rights of the residents are all left uncertain via the UDPs.

3. The approved planning reports of the UDPs do not include the detailed analytical data which must be done according to the related regulations.

4. The duration of the implementation, the processes of the implementations, the transfer of rights and the protection of rights of the existing residents are all left uncertain within the UDPs. And where the residents will be moved during the constructions are also uncertain as it is not mentioned within the UDP reports.

5. The public participation is not provided and the also some of the formal institutional opinions were taken into consideration throughout the UDP making processes. Although it was possible to provide alternative models by taking into consideration of the residents' opinions, this was lacking.

6. Although there existed financing tables within the UDPs, the rights of the residents are not protected via the financing.

7. The planning decisions of the UDPs bring about high building density and population density and this is in conflict of our rights of living in a healthy and secured space. And the increase in the density require more quantity in the facilities' areas, which is also a lacking fact within the UDPs.

8. The UDPs are lacking the urban design projects which are prerequisite of the UDPs with respect to the regulations.

5.9.3.2. The Cases against the Authorities with respect to the UDPs

An interview with a representative of the quarters has been made on June 21st, 2022 after the approval of the development/transformation plans. In the interview, the representative stated that as the residents they have been living in the quarters for nearly 50 years and that during this time many times the governments stated that their dwellings, their properties would be officially legal and that the implementations of the UDP study would consider them as the owner with respect to their property rights. And

he argued that this was never realized; the current master and implementation (development) plans of the Risky Area were lacking considerable official requirements. He put forth 8 crucial points summarizing the main claims of the lawsuit which they brought against the government for the development/transformation plans:

“1. Various details regarding the project to be implemented are included in the plan report. First of all, there are contradictions regarding the implementation process of the project, the organizational model and the financing.

2. As it is understood from the table prepared in the plan report, we will mostly be offered residences with a gross area of 60-70 m² buildings. The houses in question are not suitable for our family life, social habits, needs and expectations of using a house. It is our demand for houses where we can live in peace with our family.

3. In the plan report, the progress payment areas that we can obtain in the project have been calculated. During this calculation, while entities belonging to us were evaluated, the value of the building and land was calculated arbitrarily. Our values are shown low. In the same report, the construction cost to be made was calculated arbitrarily high, exceeding all official figures. The projected sales price, on the other hand, has been kept below the regional market values. In this way, our progress payments are limited by showing the values we have and the income to be obtained as low (up to 50%) and the costs are shown as high. We are left with houses where we cannot continue our family life in return for the progress payment.

4. We demand that all these progress payment calculations be made by independent committees, which will include us or the representatives we will assign, together with the municipality. After these calculations, we want our neighbors to be provided with the opportunity to buy livable flats for the houses they own and will live in, and the difference between the progress payment is reflected in the calculations and the cost of progress.

5. We request priority transfer based on its provisions; to our neighbors who have rights in the area according to the laws numbered 2981-4706-775, whose lands have been transferred to the municipality to these right holders, but whose transfer transactions have not been made by the municipality, to our neighbors who have applied for zoning peace with a building registration document, to our neighbors who have rights in the area before the transformation and the relevant

legislation. Because the progress payments of our neighbors in this situation are calculated as if there are no rights witnessed by the laws.

6. Article 7 of the General Provisions in the Plan Notes of the Implementation Development Plan states that “.... Before the implementation of Article 18, the transfer transactions of the immovables, which are subject to private ownership, will be made on behalf of the municipality.” As far as we understand from this provision, it is foreseen that the implementation will be done by the district municipality. However, the district municipality currently does not have the organizational capacity or institutional capacity to implement an implementation of this scale abandoning this uniform practice. We want the settlers to be given the right to choose whether to organize it ourselves or to be done by the administration, as stipulated by the law, and to make facilitating provisions for our neighbors who want to carry out the transformation themselves in an organized way.

7. We request that the military zone, which is not actually used for military purposes in the area and was not needed for military use, to be included in the project area, taking into account the facilitating provisions of the Law No. 6306.

8. Finally, we assume equal responsibility in all processes from project production to design, from cost calculation to borrowing, and we expect that all stages will be operated with our participation and the approval of the majority stipulated in the law, and that we will follow the process through committees to be directly elected by the right holders and whose authorities and responsibilities have been determined.” (June 21st, 2022; English translation by the author)

Also Chamber of City Planners brought suits against the government for each UDPs of the four gecekondü quarters. The Chamber’s claims within the suit are summarized (and translated to English by the author) as follows:

1. The use of the definition of “plan change” in the plans that are the subject of the lawsuit is clearly contrary to the principles of urban planning, planning principles and public interest.

2. In the 1/5000 scaled Master Plan Amendment and 1/1000 scaled Implementation Development Plan, the population increase was envisaged in a way that would be contrary to the provisions of the upper scale 1/25000 scale Structural Plan.

3. “Educational Facilities Area”, “Social and Cultural Facilities Area”, “Technical Infrastructure” and “Parks and Green Areas” do not meet the standards in the Regulation to a large extent.

4. It is understood that an urban design project has not yet been prepared in the plans that are the subject of the case, and this situation is contrary to the provision of the regulation.

5. Public participation was not ensured at any stage of the planning process.

6. According to the model included in the plan explanation report, citizens who are resident or non-resident and citizens who reside without title deed and who are described as “occupants” in the report are determined as beneficiaries. Although entitlements are defined at different levels, one of the basic elements of the model is the different levels of indebtedness for all three groups. It is understood from the table on page 61 of the report that the financial realization of the model is also a 25% profit share. However, there is a contradiction between the assumptions on which the model study is based and the unit prices of m². These contradictions indicate that the financial basis established for the operation of the model is not realistic or that there will be a transfer of rent from the right holders in the region to the “entrepreneurs”.

While describing entitlement and debiting in the model, it is stated that the flats with the closest cost among the different flat types determined on the basis of the valuation made for these three categories will be debited and distributed. Appraisal; “Root Parcel Fee + Independent Unit Fee” for those who have both title deed and independent units in the area, “Root Parcel Fee” for those who only have title deed in the area, and “Independent Unit Fee” for those who have only independent units (Occupants) in the area. On page 36 of the plan explanation report, "it is seen that some of the parcels did not leave during the implementation, the majority of the parcels were found to be abandoned at “21% - 30%” and “40% and above”, the zoning application was contrary to the principle of equality and this In order to make a more equitable zoning application, it was stated that root parcel areas were determined for each of the parcels, and the basis for taking the root parcel as a basis in the appraisal process in the model was expressed. However, on page 55 of the plan explanation report, there are statements that “the unit m² sales prices of cadastral parcels in the immediate vicinity of the planning area covering Narlı-Çatalkaya

Neighborhoods have been researched and it has been determined that this value corresponds to 1,500 TL for cadastral parcels”. There is no detailed explanation of how the said value was determined. On the other hand, in the table on page 61 of the plan explanation report, which includes cost, income and profit calculations, it is stated that the unit m² cost of construction is 4,000 TL/m² and the unit sales unit price is 12,000 TL/m², and it is not detailed on which work these prices are based on. Contradictions in the calculations reveal that either the assumed unit construction cost, unit sales cost values or cadastral parcel unit sales values are unrealistic. In this state, if this model is put into practice, either serious loss of rights will occur or the model will not be implemented due to unrealistic unit construction and unit sales values.

7. It is clearly seen that there is no participatory, transparent planning process in the plans that are the subject of the lawsuit, and the aforementioned plans are clearly contrary to the provision of the Regulations in terms of the absence of any urban design project.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

It is the relationship between neoliberal urbanization processes and urban restructuring(s) that the thesis sought for. Urban development (transformation) plans, projects and processes are which we critically elaborated on where the actually existing neoliberalism is materialized. And our object of inquiry was Narlıdere gecekondu and slum characterized settlements of the city of İzmir where the ‘Risky Area’ status was declared in year 2013 with respect to the 6306 numbered act.

The urban development processes have not been finished and are continuing in Narlıdere’s four quarters, namely Narlı, Çatalkaya, Atatürk and 2. İnönü. But the thesis quits the explorations and elaborations with respect to its own time table. Therefore, it will be proper here to state that the outcomes of the case study will not represent a completed or finished process but will try to bring about a critical analysis and elaboration of a formation of a historical geographical part of the neoliberal restructuring processes that will provide a basis for future work on Narlıdere’s four quarters where actually existing neoliberalism does exist.

One of the main tasks that local governments and central government must fulfill is to take into account the rights and needs of gecekondu dwellers, as well as all segments of the population without discrimination. And the right to housing, the right to the city, the right to participating in decision making processes are among these rights and needs of the residents.

The interviews made during the thesis study and the monitoring of the restructuring processes in Narlıdere have shown that although Narlıdere Municipality has been the authority on the risky area, until the approval of the UDPs there had been no concrete proposal on urban development put forward by the municipality on urban transformation which was shared with the totality of the residents of the four quarters. The residents, the community has always felt disturbed throughout the processes. For instance, there occurred a protest action which was held by the residents and Narlıdere Municipality was occupied where the residents requested for their rights.

6.1. Concluding Remarks and Statements

The thesis proposes a critical spatial approach to analyze the political, economic, and social aspects of the urban development plans and projects (UDPs) within the context of neoliberal restructuring in Turkey. It aims to contribute theoretically and methodologically to critical urban studies and spatial planning, focusing on UDPs as a primary neoliberal urban strategy.

The city today, particularly in the context of 21st-century capitalism, is a multi-layered and multi-scalar entity that embodies capitalism while also providing its transformation. The urban space is a commodity integral to the entire political, economic, and social processes. The thesis problem revolves around how to contribute theoretically to understanding this concrete political-economic-social process in Turkey's neoliberal space restructuring.

The thesis is divided into six chapters, each addressing different aspects of the issue. The first chapter introduces the topic, while the following chapters inquire into critical theory of space, neoliberal urban restructurings, the urban process in Turkey, a case study on İzmir, and finally, a summary with concluding remarks and suggestions for future studies.

The thesis argues that a critical spatial standpoint and perspective is needed to understand neoliberal urban restructuring processes in the 21st-century capitalist city. Despite substantial research on cities and their spaces, there remains a lack of critical understanding of the 'urban process,' and of the actors and networks underlying these processes. The study seeks to fill this gap by providing a critique of capitalism and its inherent uneven development, neoliberal political and economic restructuring, and neoliberal urban policy from a political-economic perspective. The thesis focuses on the neoliberal plans and projects produced by the state and capital as mechanisms to overcome capitalist crises. It views urban space as both a product of and subject to social production processes. It also addresses the right to the city, urban social movements, and issues of socio-spatial polarization, segregation, exclusion, gentrification, dispossession, and involuntary displacement.

The thesis problem is to contribute to a critical urban theory that can explain and transform the socio-spatial processes in urban spaces, especially in light of the global expansion of 21st-century capitalism. It aims at providing knowledge to be useful for an

emancipatory praxis.

The methodology employed in the thesis is methodological pluralism, utilizing a variety of qualitative and quantitative research techniques to critically analyze the socio-spatial processes of neoliberal urban restructuring. It uses a scalar approach to examine different geographic scales forming a totality of geographic scales. Three main sub-levels of inquiry are identified: the macro socio-spatial approach, an approach to understand neoliberal processes of urbanization and restructuring, and a political-economic approach that covers the restructuring of social conditions.

The thesis, in some respect towards the critique of capitalism and its state, is about the determinative role of the state and the construction and real estate sector in the neoliberal urban development/transformation projects (UDPs) in Turkey. It argues that these projects are driven by the logic of profit and land rent, and that they exclude the participation and the rights of the poor and marginalized inhabitants. It also claims that the UDPs are influenced by powerful interest groups and that they change the social, political and cultural landscape of the cities against the poor and the dispossessed. For instance, we see that the displacement of low-income residents when wealthier people move into a neighborhood, causing property values and costs of living to rise within the region.

The thesis includes a case study on İzmir, specifically the district of Narlıdere, to explore the historical geography of the capitalist neoliberal restructuring processes in Turkey by means of a case study. It discusses the role of the state, governments, the private sector, and the community itself in these processes, as well as the winners and losers of these processes. It seeks to critically elaborate on issues such as gentrification, dispossession, displacement, segregation, and polarization in the spaces of UDPs, instrumentalized as a mechanism of neoliberal urban restructuring processes in Narlıdere.

There is no doubt that the thesis learned much from Critical Urban Theory. Mainly associated with radical urban scholars such as Lefebvre, Harvey, Castells, and Brenner as it focuses on the critiques of the established disciplinary divisions and the dominant, market-oriented forms of urban knowledge; here it is proper to state that critical urban theory provides a critical spatial standpoint on the critique of the people and formation of the urban. Critical urban theory has the ability to establish the link between challenging the perspectives and theories which are conceiving current state of cities as an expression of transhistorical laws, and the emphasis on the politically and

ideologically mediated nature of urban space, seeing it as a contested site of social power rather than the biological reductionism of the approaches of Chicago School. This is crucial as the thesis is seeking for the emancipatory praxis as a grand social responsibility in the field of urban planning.

In this context, it is obvious that critical urban theory exposes the forms of power, exclusion, injustice, and inequality underpinning capitalist social formations, while also putting forth the potentials for creating alternatives to capitalism as a social system and to capitalist practices at various scales.

Gecekondu of Turkey had and still has an important place both in urban socio-spatial formation and also in physical urban fabric of the metropolises of Turkey. As they are home to the working class of the factories as well as the marginal sector, or the construction sector; they are home to the builders and workers of the city of İzmir which take an important place in the division of labor. Gecekondu can be seen as the answers to the question on housing of the urban poor, of the the working class immigrants. Especially the earlier materializations are the one and two storey built houses having no access to basic infrastructure and services which are built just for basic needs. Surrounded by the land rent imposed by the luxury residents of Narlıdere, and by the pressure of ‘development’; it is possible to say that the question that the Narlıdere’s four quarters are facing with differs from that of the earlier gecekondu of Turkey, or of İzmir.

As a concluding statement of the thesis, it is possible to state that; first we need a critique of our understanding of the world, its social system and formation; then a critique of what we are supposed to live within this social economic system; and then we need a practical action against what we criticize; and then, again to reestablish our understanding of the world we live in by taking the things we learned from our practice into consideration.

6.2. Suggestions for Further Research

It is important to state that it would be proper to examine the debates of critical urban theory and explore as a major agenda how the “Right to the City” concept can be applied to contemporary urban issues. It will be of use to investigate how it has been interpreted and enacted in different contexts, and what lessons can be learned for critical

urban theory and practice.

Since Lefebvre, the “Right to the City” movement or the action has been considered by both the scholars and the activists as a position to resist against neoliberal urbanism, or more directly against neoliberal urban formations of the 21st century capitalism. In this context; gentrification, involuntary displacement are considered as the implications of neoliberal urban restructuring. And it invokes the fundamental struggle on the right to affordable housing, environmental justice and the defense of public space. Further study can mainly concentrate on the transformation of public space as well as the urban social movements’ actions against the governments not to lose the public spaces and places by means of the UDPs.

On the other hand, as seen in the case study the residents of the four quarters brought about hundreds of objections –nearly a thousand, for total of the 4 quarters- during public display period of the approved plans and brought suits against the planning authority afterwards the rejection of their objections which are not concluded yet. This ongoing processes may be elaborated on with future work on the four quarters in Narlıdere.

As the urban development/transformation processes in Narlıdere’s four quarters continues, so studies on the same subject can be capable of monitoring and elaborating on the implementation processes. As the thesis quited doing so with respect to its own time limitations, but further study can go critically and deeply towards bringing about the ongoing consequences of the UDPs in the near future. For sure, the results of the judicial processes of the cases will be determinative through the existence of and implementation of the UDP processes. Even elaborating on the judicial processes of the cases beginning with the public display periods of the UDPs, and dealing with the objections as a subject of study, may also provide a further critical look on the UDP processes in Narlıdere.

On the other hand, the thesis could not analyse the social, demographic, economic structure and formation of the four quarters in deeply detail because of its own limitations. But further study may deal with these issues in a more comprehensive and detailed manner. The thesis tried to bring about and point out the social formation of the four quarters through the interviews, literature and in site observations.

In the near past, Türkün (ed., 2014) and Özdemir et al (2005) worked on the two major studies as important reference studies on the gecekondu of İstanbul and İzmir. Studies on Ankara has not been included within the thesis, but gecekondu of Ankara

(for instance, Dikmen Valley) have been visited and observed by the author. Further study may bring about the historical geograpgical processes especially with respect to the studies of Özdemir et al's work on the gecekondus of İzmir. How the authorities see these areas, what the current condition and social formation are within these areas may be of concern of the future work.

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1. 6306 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanununun 2. Maddesi Uyarınca 22.05.2013 tarih ve 2013/4831 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı ile “Riskli Alan” olarak belirlenen İzmir İli, Narlıdere İlçesi, Narlı ve Çatalkaya

Mahallelerini Kapsayan Alana İlişkin 1/1000 ölçekli Uygulama İmar Planı Değişikliği Plan Açıklama ve Araştırma Raporu (2021). (The Report of Implementation (Development) Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area, 2021)

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3. 6306 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanununun 2. Maddesi Uyarınca 22.05.2013 tarih ve 2013/4831 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı ile “Riskli Alan” olarak belirlenen İzmir İli, Narlıdere İlçesi, Narlı ve Çatalkaya Mahallelerini Kapsayan Alana İlişkin 1/5000 ölçekli Nazım İmar Planı Değişikliği Plan Açıklama ve Araştırma Raporu (2021). (The Report of Master Plan for Narlı and Çatalkaya Risky Area, 2021)
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APPENDIX A

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NARLIDERE ‘RISKY AREA’ BY THE DECISION OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (JUNE 25TH, 2013)

25 Haziran 2013 SALI

Resmî Gazete

Sayı : 28688

BAKANLAR KURULU KARARI

Karar Sayısı : 2013/4831

İzmir İli, Narlıdere İlçesi, 2. İnönü, Atatürk, Çatalkaya ve Narlı mahalleleri sınırları içerisinde bulunan ve ekli kroki ile listede sınır ve koordinatları gösterilen alanların riskli alan olarak belirlenmesi; Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının 6/5/2013 tarihli ve 2189 sayılı yazısı üzerine, 6306 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanununun 2 nci maddesine göre, Bakanlar Kurulu'nca 22/5/2013 tarihinde kararlaştırılmıştır.

Abdullah GÜL
CUMHURBAŞKANI

Recep Tayyip ERDOĞAN Başbakan			
B. ARINÇ Başbakan Yardımcısı	A. BABACAN Başbakan Yardımcısı	B. ATALAY Başbakan Yardımcısı	B. Başbakan Yardımcısı
S. ERGİN Adalet Bakanı	F. ŞAHİN Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı	E. BAĞIŞ Avrupa Birliği Bakanı	N. Bilim, Sanayi ve Teknoloji Bakanı
F. ÇELİK Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanı	E. BAYRAKTAR Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanı	A. DAVUTOĞLU Dışişleri Bakanı	M. Z. Ekonomi Bakanı
T. YILDIZ Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanı	S. KILIÇ Gençlik ve Spor Bakanı	M. M. EKER Gıda, Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanı	H. Gümrük ve Ticaret Bakanı
M. GÜLER İçişleri Bakanı	C. YILMAZ Kalkınma Bakanı	Ö. ÇELİK Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı	M. Maliye Bakanı
	C. YILMAZ Millî Eğitim Bakanı V.	İ. YILMAZ Millî Savunma Bakanı	V. EROĞLU Orman ve Su İşleri Bakanı
	Ö. ÇELİK Sağlık Bakanı V.	E. BAYRAKTAR Ulaştırma, Denizcilik ve Haberleşme Bakanı V.	

APPENDIX B

SELECTED NEWS ON NARLIDERE RISKY AREA (FILTERED FROM INTERNET SOURCES AND NEWSPAPERS)

<https://www.evrensel.net/haber/445485/narlidere-de-yapilan-kentsel-donusum-toplantisina-muhataplar-cagrilmedi>

18 Ekim 2021 16:18

Narlidere'de yapılan kentsel dönüşüm toplantısına muhataplar çağrılmadı

İzmir'in Narlıdere ilçesinde İnönü, Çatalkaya, Narlı ve Atatürk mahallesini kapsayan kentsel dönüşüm projesinin askı süreci devam ediyor. Belediye binasında yapılan toplantıya, muhataplar çağrılmadı.



İzmir'in Narlıdere ilçesinde İnönü, Çatalkaya, Narlı ve Atatürk mahallesini kapsayan kentsel dönüşüm projesinin askı süreci devam ediyor. Narlıdere Belediye Başkanı Ali Engin projeyi tanıtmak için bugün belediye binasında dernek ve kitle örgütleriyle bir araya geldi. Toplantıya ilçede bulunan yöre dernekleri, muhtarlar ve Narlıdere Belediye Meclis üyeleri davet edilirken, kentsel dönüşüme karşı örgütlenen dernek ve kooperatifler çağrılmadı.

“BARINMA HAKKI İHLAL EDİLEMEZ”

Çatalkaya Mahallesi Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneğinin geçtiğimiz günlerde yapılan genel kurulunda, mahalleliler Narlıdere Belediye Başkanı Ali Engin'in projeyi hazırlarken halk ile paylaşmamasına, şeffaf bir süreç işletmemesine tepki göstermişlerdi. Dernek ayrıca sürecin şeffaf yürütülmesi ve barınma hakkının ihlal edilmemesi talebinde bulunmuştu.

Toplantıya katılan kitle örgütü temsilcilerinin kentsel dönüşüm derneklerinin neden davet edilmediği sorusuna, Ali Engin, “Çağırıldık gelmediler” diye cevap verdi. (İZMİR/EVRENSEL)

Narlidere'de kentsel dönüşüm için ilk halk buluşması

Narlidere ilçesinin dört mahallesinde planlanan kentsel dönüşüm için yapılan halk toplantısında vatandaşlar, projenin hak kaybına yol açtığını söyledi.



Fotoğraf: Evrensel

İzmir'in Narlıdere ilçesinde Atatürk, Narlı, İnönü ve Çatalkaya mahalleleri, kentsel dönüşüm kapsamına alındı. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı tarafından onaylanan projenin askı süreci devam ederken, Narlıdere Belediye Başkanı Ali Engin konuyla ilgili ilk defa halkla buluştu.

Atatürk Kültür Merkezi'nde düzenlenen toplantıya mahallerin muhtarları ve hak sahipleri katıldı.

Belediye Başkanı Ali Engin, projenin gerçekleşmesi halinde yeni binaların sağlıklı ve güvenli olacağını söyledi.

Söz alan yurttaşlar ise plan notlarında yer alan emsal artış bedellerinin ve inşaat giderlerinin hak kaybına yol açacağını ifade ederek, değiştirilmesini talep etti.

“TEMSİLCİMİZ TEHDİT EDİLDİ”

Çatalkaya Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği Başkanı Haydar Esen, “Dün İkinci İnönü temsilcisinin evine yabancı iki kişi gelip, kızından evdeki itiraz dilekçelerini istemiş. Arkadaşları olduğunu düşünerek vermiş. 30'a yakın dilekçeyi alan kişiler hepsini yırtıp kızına fırlatmış. Bizi tehdit edenleri buradan Başkan'ın ve muhtarların kınamasını istiyoruz. Aksi halde hukuksal süreç başlatır, Belediye önünde basın açıklaması yaparız” dedi.

“SÜRECİ ŞEFFAF YÜRÜTMEDİNİZ”

Proje hazırlanırken hak sahipleriyle paylaşılmamasını eleştiren Esen, konuşmasını şöyle sürdürdü: “Bu geç kalınmış toplantı, bize sürecin şeffaf yürütülemediğini gösteriyor. 'Sizinle beraber karar vereceğiz' diyorsunuz ama Bakanlığın onayladığı projeyi halk daha yeni gördü. Proje için belediyenin yeni komisyonlar kurmasını istemiyoruz. Mahallemizde yaşamayan kimseyle bu süreci işletmek istemiyoruz. Halihazırda kurulan dernek ve kooperatiflerle devam edilmesine buradaki insanlar karar vermeli. Ayrıca planın teknik yönlerini bizi temsil eden uzmanlarımızın da olduğu bir görüşmeyle konuşmamız gerekiyor.”

İTİRAZ DİLEKÇELERİ TOPLANİYOR

Dört mahallede askıya çıkan plana karşı itiraz dilekçeleri toplanmaya devam ederken, salona gelen hak sahipleri de itiraz süreçlerini sonuna kadar yürüteceklerini dile getirdi.

(İzmir/EVRENSEL)

Narlıdere Mahalleler Birliđi: Rantçı deđil halkçı dönüşüm istiyoruz

Narlıdere Mahalleler Birliđi, kentsel dönüşüm projesine dair açıklamasında "Hayatımızı, haklarımızı, sözümüzü dikkate almayan planlama çalışması istemiyoruz" dedi.



Narlıdere Mahalleler Birliđi kentsel dönüşüm projesinde halka danışılmamasına karşı Narlıdere Demokrasi Meydanı'nda basın açıklaması gerçekleştirdi. "Artık yeter, hayatımızı, haklarımızı, sözümüzü dikkate almayan planlama çalışması istemiyoruz" diyerek bir araya gelen mahalleli "Rantçı deđil halkçı dönüşüm istiyoruz" yazılı pankart açtı.

Basın açıklamasını okuyan Mahalleler Birliđi Temsilcisi Derya Sarıkaya, "Planlama alanında yaşayanları yok sayarak, görüşlerine başvurmayarak, dilekçelerine cevap vermeye tenezzül etmeyerek 'halkın iyiliđi- refahı için çalışıyorum' iddiasında bulunmak, boş laftır. Bizleri hiçbir yetkili kurumun oyalamasına izin vermeyeceđiz. Haklılıktan ve hukuktan doğan bütün haklarımızın sonuna kadar takipçisi olacağız" dedi.

"HAKLARIMIZIN YOK SAYILMASINA İZİN VERMEYECEĐİZ"

Dođru ve halkçı bir yöntemin uygulanmasını talep ettiklerini söyleyen Sarıkaya, "Halka kulak verin, önerilerini ve görüşlerini dinleyin. Verdiğiniz sözleri tutun. Bizler, bu mahallelerin yaşayanları, hak sahipleri, olarak; idarecilerin haklarımızı ve hayatlarımızı yok saymasına asla izin vermeyeceđiz. Haklarımızın hep birlikte takipçisi olacağız" diye konuştu.

Açıklamada Avukat Naciye Gür de hukuksal boyuta ilişkin bilgi verdi. (İzmir/EVRENSEL)



Narlidere'de kentsel dönüşüme karşı dava kararı

İzmir Narlıdere'de kentsel dönüşüm kapsamına alınan dört mahallede, yaşayanlar planlara ilişkin dava sürecini başlatacak.



Fotoğraf: Sevda Aydın/Evrensel

İzmir Narlıdere'de kentsel dönüşüm kapsamına alınan dört mahallede yaşayan yurttaşlar dava açacak.

Narlidere'de bulunan Atatürk, Çatalkaya, İnönü ve Narlı mahallerini kapsayan kentsel dönüşüme karşı itiraz dilekçeleri il şehir müdürlüğüne teslim edilmişti. Yapılan itirazlara Bakanlıktan henüz bir açıklama yapılmazken, planlara ilişkin dava süreci başlayacak.

Kentsel dönüşüme alınan mahalleliler, dün Atatürk Kültür Merkezi'nde toplantı yaptı. Toplantıya Türkiye Mahalleliler Birliği avukatlarından Erbay Yücek ve Şehir Plancısı Özgür Temiz de katıldı. İtiraz ve dava sürecini tartışan mahalleliler, yapılacak planlarla barınma hakkının ihlal edileceğini belirterek, projeye karşı hukuksal süreci başlatma kararı aldı.

(İzmir/EVRENSEL)

İzmir Narlıdere'de askıya çıkan kentsel dönüşüm projesine mahalleli itiraz etti

Narlidere'de kentsel dönüşüm projesi kapsamına alınan Çatalkaya, Narlı, İnönü ve Atatürk mahallelerinde yaşayan yurttaşlar askıya çıkan projeye "hayır" dedi.



Fotoğraf: Evrensel

İzmir'in Narlıdere ilçesinde kentsel dönüşüm kapsamına alınan İnönü, Çatalkaya, Atatürk ve Narlı mahallelerinde yaşayan yurttaşlar, yaptıkları ortak toplantıda askıya çıkan projeyi değerlendirdi. Türkiye Mahalleliler Birliği gönüllü avukatı Erbay Yucak ve şehir plancısı Özgür Temiz'in katıldığı toplantıda, yurttaşlar planlara itiraz edeceklerini açıkladı.

Narlidere Belediyesi'nin, Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı'na gönderdiği kentsel dönüşüm projesi onaylandı. Projeye göre 1.7 emsal bedeli belirlenen proje, mahallelilerden tepki gördü. Açıklanan planların barınma hakkının gasbına neden olacağı öne sürülen projeye ilgili toplantıya katılan mahalleliler, önümüzdeki günlerde dilekçeleriyle itiraz edeceklerini belirtti.

"PROJE, SİZİ VE HAKKINIZI YOK SAYIYOR"

Toplantıda sunum yapan şehir plancısı Özgür Temiz, açıklanan projeye dair, "Bu proje sizlerle paylaşılmadan yapıldı. Bu, sizi ve haklarınızı yok saymaktır. Başkan Ali Engin, seçimden önce imzaladığı taahhünameye uymuyor. Planda yer alan bilgilere göre, tapulu ya da tapusuz herkes borçlandırılmış durumda. Planda tapusuz olanlar 'işgalci' olarak ifade ediliyor. Oysa asıl işgalciler sonradan gelip semtin farklı yerlerinde inşa edilen çok katlı binalardakiler" dedi.



Fotoğraf: Evrensel

"MAHALLELİYİ BORÇLANDIRMANIN MANTIĞI YOK"

Temiz, "Planlarda yer alan inşaat maliyetleri ve diğer değerlendirmelerin hak gasbını önlemek üzere yeniden yapılandırılması gerekiyor. Planda yüzde yirmi beş net kâr, 170 milyon lira ön görülmüşken 50 yıllık mahalleliyi borçlandırmanın mantığı yok." ifadelerini kullandı.

Avukat Erbay Yucak ise itiraz sürecinin önemine dikkat çekerek hukuki sürece ilişkin bilgi verdi.

Narlidere'de kentsel dönüşümüne itiraz edildi

İzmir'in Narlıdere ilçesinde bulunan dört mahallede planlanan kentsel dönüşüm projesine karşı mahalleli itiraz dilekçelerini Çevre ve Şehircilik İl Müdürlüğü'ne verdi.



İzmir'in Narlıdere ilçesinde Atatürk, Narlı, İnönü ve Çatalkaya mahalleleri kentsel dönüşüm kapsamına alındı. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı tarafından onaylanan projenin askı süreci devam ederken, hak sahipleri bugün yaklaşık olarak 1250 adet itiraz dilekçesini İzmir Çevre ve Şehircilik İl Müdürlüğü'ne verdi.

Dört mahallenin ortaklaştığı itiraz dilekçesinde yapılan projeye dair şu ifadeler yer aldı:

"Askıya çıkan planlar yerleşim alanımızı doğrudan etkilemektedir. Planların bölgenin tamamını kapsayacak bir gelecek senaryosu çizilmeli, belirlenecek etaplar çerçevesinde uygulama imar planlarının hazırlanması gerekmektedir. Hazırlanan planlar bu yolu izlememiş planlama alanı ile çevresinin ilişkisini ve bütünselliğini bozmuştur. Ayrıca planlarda uygulama süreci, organizasyon modeli, hangi sürede dönüşümün gerçekleştirileceği, yerleşimcilerin haklarının ne olacağı belirsizliğe bırakılmıştır. Yerleşim alanımızda bu ölçüde etkisi olacak planların belirsizlik üretmesi kabul edilemez. Plan, Narlıdere'de hukuksuz bir şekilde ilan edilmiş riskli alanda yaşayanların uluslararası sözleşmeler, anayasa ve yasalardan kaynaklı kazanılmış haklarına dair herhangi bir açıklama yapmayıp ucu açık bir uygulama ortaya koymuştur. Bölgede mevcut yaşayan insanlara süreci, haklarının korunması- hak transferi vb. konularında herhangi bir açıklama/ düzenleyici işlem içermemektedir. Bu ölçekte plan kararları ile alınması gereken kararları almamıştır." (İzmir/EVRENSEL)

Narlıdere halkı kentsel dönüşüm planlarına dava açtı: İşgalci değil hak sahibiyiz

İzmir Narlıdere'de Atatürk, Çataalkaya, İnönü ve Narlı mahallerini kapsayan kentsel dönüşüm planlarına karşı mahalle halkı dava açtı.



İzmir'in neredeyse tamamı kentsel dönüşüm alanı haline gelmiş durumda. Bu durum 70'li yıllarda kente göç eden, 50 yıldır burada yaşayan vatandaşlarla, Çevre Şehircilik ve İklimsel Değişikliği Bakanlığı ve yerel yönetimleri karşı karşıya getirdi.

Narlıdere ilçesinde ise Atatürk, Çataalkaya, İnönü ve Narlı mahallerini kapsayan kentsel dönüşüm planlarına karşı mahallede yaşayanlar geçtiğimiz günlerde dava açtı. Kentsel dönüşüm sürecini Avukat Erbay Yucak, Narlıdere Çataalkaya Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği Başkanı Haydar Esen, S.S. Çataalkaya Konut Yapı Kooperatif Başkanı Zeynal Koçak ve mahallede yaşayan vatandaşlarla konuştuk.

“İŞGALCI NİTELEMESİ VATANDAŞI HAK TALEP EDEMEZ OLARAK GÖRMEKTİR”

Narlıdere Belediye yöneticilerin kimi hak sahiplerini “işgalci” olarak nitelendirmesini değinen Mahalleler Birliği ve 1 umut gönüllülerinden avukat Erbay Yucak, “İşgalci nitelemesine dönüşüm amaçlı planlar kapsamında üretilen belgelerde yer verilmektedir. Bu durum mahallelerde yaşayan vatandaşları daha başlangıçta herhangi bir hak talep edemez olarak görmektedir. Hukuken de siyaseten de yanlıştır. Gerek Narlıdere Belediye Başkanının yerel seçimler öncesinde söz konusu mahalleleri de kapsayan irade beyanları ve mensubu olduğu CHP'nin kamuoyuna dönük açıkladığı fikirleri bakımından da çelişik bir ifadedir” dedi.

Mahallelerde yaşayan vatandaşların mevcut kanuni düzenlemeler dahilinde tapu almak üzere bekleyen hak sahibi olduğunu hatırlatan Yucak, “Bunun dışındaki her niteleme rant amaçlı dönüşüm politikalarına hayat vermek üzere halka yönelik yapılan yok sayıcı tutum beyanlarıdır. Ve 'sizin için düşündüğümüze razı olun' demeye çalışmanın baskılayıcı ifade biçimidir” diye ekledi.

“SAĞLIKLI ÇEVRE VE SAĞLIKLI GÜVENLİ KONUT HAKTIR”

Kentsel dönüşüm projelerine karşı itiraz ve dava süreçlerinin uzun bir zamana yayılmasından dolayı yaşanan belirsizliği barınma hakkı çerçevesinde değerlendiren Yucak, “Öncelikle barınma hakkı kavramı, hak tanımı olarak duruma uygun, yerinde bir kavram değildir. Aksine Anayasa'da yer alan 'sağlıklı güvenli çevre ve sağlıklı güvenli konut' hakkı tanım olarak daha uygundur. Dönüşüm esaslı planlama, projelendirme, tasarım ve uygulama süreçlerinde ortaya çıkan temel sorunun kaynağı bellidir. Bu süreçlere konu edilen mahallelerde yıllardır hayatlarını kurmuş insanların ne istediklerine, beklentilerine kulak vermek, onları insan/vatandaş olarak görüp görmeme meselesidir. Bu durum usulü belirlemektedir” diye konuştu.

Bir başka yanın ise içeriği olduğunun altını çizen Yucak, deprem ya da başkaca afet riskleri nedeniyle değil “yaratılmaya çalışılan rantın” daha fazla sermaye kesimlerine aktarılması saikleri ile hareket edilince, ortaya halkın itirazları ve açtığı yaygın-yoğun dava pratikleri çıktığını söyledi. Yucak, “Dolayısıyla zamana yayılması ve belirsizlik yaratan, 'yersen yemek yemezsen mercimek' usulüyle kendini dayatan idare tutumu ile haklarına, hayatına sahip çıkan halkın tutumu arasındaki gerilimden doğmaktadır” dedi.

“TALEPLERİMİZ DİKKATE ALINSIN”

Narlıdere Çatalkaya Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği Başkanı Haydar Esen ise, “Sekiz yıllık dönüşüm süreci ve mücadelemiz bize kesin olarak gösterdi ki; söz konusu rant olunca AKP'nin yereldeki temsilcileri ile CHP'li yerel idarelerin halkın karşısında birleştikleridir. Bu noktada Kılıçdaroğlu'nun hükümete yönelik haklı eleştirilerine katılmakla birlikte; kentsel dönüşüm konusunda halkın taleplerini dikkate almayan, rantçı plan ve projeler geliştiren belediye başkanlarını görsün” dedi.

Talepleri dikkate alınmadığı ve planlama sürecine dahil edilmedikleri sürece Narlıdere'deki dönüşüm hak sahipleri açısından kabul edilmeyeceğini dile getiren Esen, “Ve bugüne kadar ki ‘ben yaptım oldu’ anlayışından vazgeçmezlerse biz iyi niyetli, diyaloga dayalı tavrimizi terk ederek, halkın kitlesel protesto ve hak arama yöntemini hayata geçireceğiz” diye ekledi.

“MAHALLELİ SÜRECE DAHİL EDİLMELİ”

S.S. Çatalkaya Konut Yapı Kooperatif Başkanı Zeynal Koçak da “Rantiyeden yana, dayatmacı dönüşüm çözüm olmayacak. Kapalı kapılar ardında, büyük inşaat firmalarının ‘nasıl daha fazla kâr ederiz’ zihniyetiyle yapılan kentsel dönüşüm planlarından halkın yararına bir sonuç çıkmaz” dedi.

Vatandaşın itirazına neden olacak planların halka dayatarak yapılmasını kabul etmediklerini ifade eden Koçak, “Kentsel dönüşümde bu dayatmacı mantık çözüm istememektir. Çözüm isteniyorsa başta kentsel dönüşüm dernek ve kooperatif yönetimleri olmak üzere dernek olmayan yerlerde ise mahalle halkının kendisinin seçtiği temsilcilerinin planlama ve uygulama sürecine dahil edilmesi gerekir” diye konuştu.

“HİZMET ALAMIYOR, BORÇLU ÇIKARILMAK İSTENİYORUZ”

Annesi ve erkek kardeşimle birlikte yaşayan Sinem Karlı, “Mahallemiz kentsel dönüşüm kapsamına alındığından beri doğru düzgün hizmet alamıyoruz. Özellikle bu soğuk havalarda doğal gaz gibi en temel hizmet bile verilmiyor. Evden çalıştığım zamanlarda internet uzak bir yerden sağlandığı için çok problem yaşıyorum. En ufak şeyde bir yağmurda yollarımız yürünmez oluyor. Kentsel dönüşüm kapsamına alındığı için evimizi onaramıyoruz, bir çivi bile çakamıyoruz. Birileri karar verdi diye yıllardır bu koşullara mahkum bırakıldık” diyerek tepkisini dile getirdi.

Yeni planı da değerlendiren Karlı, “Plana baktığımızda görüyoruz ki bizlerin hakkını korumak bir yana kendi aramızdan borçlu çıkarılmak isteniyoruz. Buna karşı mahalleler olarak ortak davamızı açtık. Tek istediğimiz haklarımız gasbedilmeden sağlıklı evlerde yaşamak” dedi.

“EN TEMEL HİZMETLER BİLE VERİLMİYOR”

16 yıldır aynı mahallede yaşayan Feride Polat ise, “2-3 kat hakkım varken enkaz parasına burayı terk etmem isteniyor. Değerinin 10'da biri verilmesi planlanırken bir de benim borçlanmam öngörülüyor. Mahalleli olarak istediklerimiz belli, mahalle dönüşüm ama bana yerinden yer verilsin. Benim ön cephede 2 dairem varsa, tapum varsa buna göre bir dağıtımda bulunulsun” diye konuştu.

Seçimlerden önce belediye başkanının “tapularınızı vereceğiz1 şekilde söz verdiğini hatırlatan Polat, “Hep lafta kaldı. En temel hizmetler bile verilmiyor. Mesela bizim arsamız gayet büyük, bunun üzerinde yapılacak projede 1 kat almayı doğru bulmuyorum. Yıllardır biz burada oturuyoruz. 1+1 evler dayatılarak borçlandırılarak bu evleri edinirsek bir anlamı yok yaşadığımız bu çilenin” diye ekledi.

“SONUCU MÜCADELE EDEREK ALACAĞIZ”

Projenin ranta dayalı ve mahallede yaşayanların aleyhine olduğunu söyleyen Erkan Çapaklı da “Sonucunu takip edeceğiz ve tabi ki mücadele edilerek sonuç alacağız. Burası güzel bir yer esasında, birçok kişinin gözünün burada olması buna dayanıyor. Elimizdeki bir bu evlerimiz kalmış, onu da almak istiyorlar. Kent yaşamı insanı bazı şeylere zorluyor, ayakta kalmak zorundasın. Zaten ülkenin durumu berbat, bugün ben gidebiliyorsam pazara komşum gidemiyor. Kısmak istediğinde boşazdan kısıyorsun. Her şey aleyhimize ilerlerken elimizdekini muhafaza etmeye çalışıyoruz. Durum bu, mücadeleye devam” dedi.

Narlidere'de kentsel dönüşüm projesine karşı dava açıldı

İzmir Narlıdere'de kentsel dönüşüm kapsamına alınan dört mahallede yaşayanlar proje planlarına dava açtı.



İzmir'in Narlıdere ilçesinde bulunan Atatürk, Çatalkaya, İnönü ve Narlı mahallerini kapsayan kentsel dönüşüm planlarına karşı mahallede yaşayanlar dava açtı.

Narlidere Belediyesi'nin, Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığına gönderdiği kentsel dönüşüm projesinin onaylanmasından sonra mahallede yaşayanlar il şehir müdürlüğüne itiraz dilekçelerini teslim etmişti. Yapılan itirazlara Bakanlıktan henüz bir açıklama yapılmazken, planlara ilişkin dava süreci başladı.

Kentsel dönüşüme alınan mahallelilerden alınan dilekçelerde, planın arazi ücretlerini düşürdüğü, yapılacak olan binaların inşaat ücretlerinin gerçek rakamlara dayanmadığı belirtildi. Barınma hakkına sahip çıkan hak sahipleri, dava dosyalarını bugün Adliyeye teslim etti. (İzmir/EVRENSEL)

APPENDIX C

OFFICIAL PUBLIC DISPLAY RECORD OF THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT/TRANSFORMATION PLANS AT THE MINISTRY, İZMİR BRANCH

Narlıdere İlçesi Atatürk ve II. İnönü Mahallelerinde Nazım İmar Planı Değişikliği

28 Eylül 2021

<https://izmir.csb.gov.tr/narlidere-ilcesi-ataturk-ve-ii-inonu-mahallelerinde-nazim-imar-plani-degisikligi-duyuru-420232>

DUYURU:2021/48

T.C.

İZMİR VALİLİĞİ

ÇEVRE VE ŞEHİRCİLİK İL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

İLAN METNİ

İzmir İli, Narlıdere İlçesi sınırları dahilinde, 6306 sayılı Kanun kapsamında 2013/4831 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu kararına istinaden "Riskli Alan" ilan edilen alana ilişkin olarak Narlıdere Belediye Başkanlığınca hazırlanan Atatürk ve II. İnönü Mahallelerindeki 28,4 hektar alana ilişkin Gelişme Konut Alanı (E:1.70, Yençok:Z+5 kat), Ticaret+Konut Alanı (E:1.70, Yençok:Z+5 kat), Ticaret Alanı (E:0.80, Yençok:Z+1 kat), Belediye Hizmet Alanı (E:0.80, Yençok:Z+3 kat), Anaokul Alanı (E:0.50, Yençok:Z+1 kat), Ortaokul Alanı (E:0.80, Yençok:Z+3 kat), İlkokul Alanı (E:0.80, Yençok:Z+3 kat), Sağlık Tesis Alanı (E:0.80 Yençok: Z+4 Kat), Cami Alanı (E:0.50), Sosyal Tesis Alanı (E:0.80, Yençok:Z+1 kat), Teknik Altyapı Alanı (E:0.80, Yençok:Z+1kat), Park ve Yeşil Alan, Meydan, Ağaçlandırılacak Alan, Otopark Alanı, Trafo Alanı kullanımlarını ve yol bağlantılarını içeren 1/5000 ölçekli Nazım İmar Planı Değişikliği ve 1/1000 ölçekli Uygulama İmar Planı ile Değişikliği teklifi, 6306 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun ile 3194 sayılı İmar Kanununun 9. Maddesi ve 1 numaralı Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamesinin ilgili hükümleri uyarınca Bakanlığımızca onaylanmıştır.

Bakanlığımızın (Mekânsal Planlama Genel Müdürlüğü) 23.09.2021 tarihli ve E-41890033-303.01-1779994 sayılı yazısı ile Onaylı NİP-35746832 PİN numaralı 1/5000 ölçekli Nazım İmar Planı Değişikliği ile UİP-35495977 PİN numaralı 1/1000 ölçekli Uygulama İmar Planı ile Değişikliği

paftaları ve plan açıklama raporları Valiliğimize intikal ettiği tarihten itibaren Valiliğimizce (Çevre ve Şehircilik İl Müdürlüğü) tespit edilen ilan yerlerinde ve internet sayfamızda 30 gün süreyle eş zamanlı olarak ilan edilmesi ve eş zamanlı olarak ilgili muhtarlığa/muhtarlıklara planların askıya çıktığı yeri belirterek muhtarlık binasında bir ay bilgilendirme ilanı yapılmasının sağlanması gerektiği belirtilmektedir.

Bu kapsamda; İzmir İli, Narlıdere İlçesi sınırları dahilinde, 6306 sayılı Kanun kapsamında 2013/4831 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu kararına istinaden "Riskli Alan" ilan edilen alana ilişkin olarak Narlıdere Belediye Başkanlığınca hazırlanan Atatürk ve II. İnönü Mahallelerindeki 28,4 hektar alana ilişkin 6306 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun ile 3194 sayılı İmar Kanununun 9. Maddesi ve 1 numaralı Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamesinin ilgili hükümleri uyarınca Bakanlığımızca onaylanan 1/5000 ölçekli Nazım İmar Planı Değişikliği ve 1/1000 ölçekli Uygulama İmar Planı ile Değişikliğine ait plan paftaları ve açıklama raporları **28.09.2021-27.10.2021 tarihleri arasında** Valiliğimiz (Çevre ve Şehircilik İl Müdürlüğü), Anadolu Caddesi No:41/5 Bayraklı/İZMİR adresinde, Ana Hizmet Binası giriş kat ve dijital ilan panosunda ve internet sayfasında 1 ay (30 gün) süreyle eş zamanlı olarak ilan edilmektedir.

Narlıdere İlçesi Narlı ve Çatalkaya Mahallelerindeki 6306 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkındaki Nazım İmar Planı Değişikliği

11 Ekim 2021

<https://izmir.csb.gov.tr/narlidere-ilcesi-narli-ve-catalkaya-mahallelerindeki-6306-sayili-afet-riski-altindaki-alanlarin-donusturulmesi-hakkindaki-nazim-imar-plani-degisikligi-duyuru-420456>

DUYURU:2021/52

T.C.

İZMİR VALİLİĞİ

ÇEVRE VE ŞEHİRCİLİK İL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

İLAN METNİ

İzmir İli, Narlıdere İlçesi sınırları dahilinde, 6306 sayılı Kanun kapsamında 2013/4831 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu kararına istinaden "Riskli Alan" ilan edilen alana ilişkin olarak Narlıdere Belediye Başkanlığınca hazırlanan Narlı ve Çatalkaya Mahallelerindeki 15,7 hektar alana ilişkin Gelişme Konut Alanı (E:1.70, Yençok:Z+5 kat), Ticaret+Konut Alanı (E:1.70, Yençok:Z+5 kat), Belediye Hizmet Alanı (E:0.80, Yençok:Z+3 kat), Askeri Alan (E:0.15, Yençok:Z+5 kat), İlkokul Alanı (E:0.80, Yençok:Z+3 kat), Aile Sağlığı Merkezi (E:0.80 Yençok: Z+1 Kat), Cami Alanı (E:0.50), Sosyal Tesis Alanı (E:0.80, Yençok:Z+1 kat), Park ve Yeşil Alan, Rekreasyon Alanı, Mezarlık Alanı, Teknik Altyapı Alanı (E:0.80 Yençok:Z+1kat), Otopark Alanı, Trafo Alanı kullanımlarını ve yol

bağlantılarını içeren 1/5000 ölçekli Nazım İmar Planı Değişikliği ve 1/1000 ölçekli Uygulama İmar Planı Değişikliği teklifi, 6306 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun ile 3194 sayılı İmar Kanununun 9. Maddesi ve 1 numaralı Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamesinin ilgili hükümleri uyarınca Bakanlığımızca onaylanmıştır.

Bakanlığımızın (Mekansal Planlama Genel Müdürlüğü) 07.10.2021 tarihli ve E-41890033-303.01(035.352832098.35825932.03)-1924263 sayılı yazısı ile Onaylı NİP- 35431614 PİN numaralı 1/5000 ölçekli Nazım İmar Planı Değişikliği ile UİP-35825932 PİN numaralı 1/1000 ölçekli Uygulama İmar Planı Değişikliği paftaları ve plan açıklama raporları, Valiliğimize intikal ettiği tarihten itibaren Valiliğimizce (Çevre ve Şehircilik İl Müdürlüğü) tespit edilen ilan yerlerinde ve internet sayfamızda 30 gün süreyle eş zamanlı olarak ilan edilmesi ve eş zamanlı olarak ilgili muhtarlığa/muhtarlıklara planların askıya çıktığı yeri belirterek muhtarlık binasında bir ay bilgilendirme ilanı yapılmasının sağlanması gerektiği belirtilmektedir.

Bu kapsamda; İzmir İli, Narlıdere İlçesi sınırları dahilinde, 6306 sayılı Kanun kapsamında 2013/4831 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu kararına istinaden "Riskli Alan" ilan edilen alana ilişkin olarak Narlıdere Belediye Başkanlığınca hazırlanan Narlı ve Çatalkaya Mahallelerindeki 15,7 hektar alana ilişkin 6306 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun ile 3194 sayılı İmar Kanununun 9. Maddesi ve 1 numaralı Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamesinin ilgili hükümleri uyarınca Bakanlığımızca onaylanan 1/5000 ölçekli Nazım İmar Planı Değişikliği ve 1/1000 ölçekli Uygulama İmar Planı Değişikliğine ait plan paftaları ve açıklama raporları **11.10.2021-09.11.2021 tarihleri arasında** Valiliğimiz (Çevre ve Şehircilik İl Müdürlüğü), Anadolu Caddesi No:41/5 Bayraklı/İZMİR adresinde, Ana Hizmet Binası giriş kat ve dijital ilan panosunda ve internet sayfasında 1 ay (30 gün) süreyle eş zamanlı olarak ilan edilmektedir.

VITA

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