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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES**

MASTER THESIS

**THE “MANHATTAN” OF İZMİR?
FOLKART TOWERS AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION**

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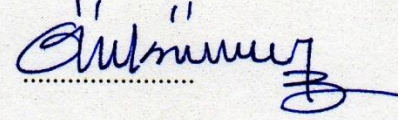
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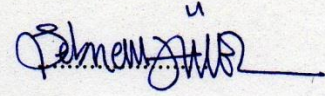
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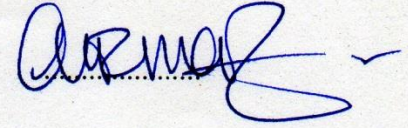
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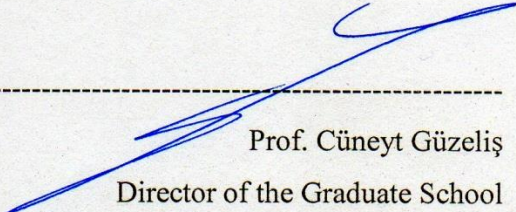


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ABSTRACT

THE “MANHATTAN” OF İZMİR? FOLKART TOWERS AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION

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Since 2006, the urban regeneration of Bayraklı district is announced to be İzmir’s “Manhattan” by local newspapers. The 10 years long urban transformation process continues to date with the rapid construction of high rise buildings. Folkart Towers, which were completed in 2014, Pioneer this process, which has gained speed in the past two years. The Towers are distinguished from their immediate surroundings by their sheer height which dominates the urban silhouette. They are introduced as the new symbol of İzmir in various commercials and take place in the city’s representations in films and photographs.

This thesis analyzes the urban transformation of the immediate neighborhood of the Towers by focusing on the latter. The aim is to reveal the discrepancies between the discourses of the planners and promotional images and everyday life in the area.

Keywords: Urban Regeneration, Urban Image, Urban Symbol, Spatial Practices, İzmir, Bayraklı, Salhane, Folkart Towers.

ÖZET

İZMİR'İN "MANHATTAN'I"? FOLKART TOWERS VE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM

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2006'dan itibaren Bayraklı ilçesinin kentsel dönüşümü yerel gazeteler tarafından bölgenin İzmir'in "Manhattan"ı olacağı şeklinde duyurulmaktadır. Onuncu yılına ulaşan kentsel dönüşüm süreci güncel olarak çok katlı yapıların hızlı inşaatları ile devam etmektedir. 2014 yılında inşası tamamlanan Folkart Towers, özellikle son iki yıl içerisinde hızlandırılan sürecin öncüsü durumundadır. Farklı ölçeğiyle civardaki düşük profilli kent dokusundan ayrılır ve şehir silüetinde yerini alır. Reklamlarında İzmir'in yeni sembolü olarak tanıtılır ve film ve fotoğraflardaki güncel şehir temsillerinde de boy gösterir.

Bu tez bölgedeki yeniden yapılanmayı Folkart Towers'a odaklanarak inceler ve sunulan imgelerle bölgedeki gündelik hayat pratiklerinin çelişkilerini ortaya çıkarmayı hedefler.

Anahtar sözcükler: Kentsel Dönüşüm, Kent İmgesi, Kent Sembolü, Mekansal Pratikler, İzmir, Bayraklı, Salhane, Folkart Towers.

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My final thanks go to my parents, Asuman Karakız and Ahmet Karakız for their lifelong love, support and patience; and also Taner Kapan, for his moral support and endless encouragement.

Cansu KARAKIZ
İzmir, 2017

TEXT OF OATH

I declare and honestly confirm that my study, titled “The ‘Manhattan’ of İzmir? Folkart Towers and Urban Transformation” and presented as a Master’s Thesis, has been written without applying to any assistance inconsistent with scientific ethics and traditions. I declare, to the best of my knowledge and belief that all content and ideas drawn directly or indirectly from external sources are indicated in the text and listed in the list of references.

Cansu Karakız

Signature



February 1, 2017

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CBD	Central Business District
İGMM	İzmir Greater Metropolitan Municipality (<i>İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi</i>)
İPDIUR	İzmir Provincial Directorate of Infrastructure and Urban Regeneration (<i>İzmir Alt Yapı ve Kentsel Dönüşüm İl Müdürlüğü</i>)
NCC	New City Center (<i>Yeni Kent Merkezi</i>)
JDP	Justice and Development Party (<i>Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi</i>)

1 INTRODUCTION

In 2006, İzmir's local newspaper *Yeni Asır*, proudly announced plans for the Manhattanization of Bayraklı – a central district in İzmir. Accordingly, new master plans were being considered by the commission in charge of the development of public works (*İmar ve Bayındırlık Komisyonu*) following the proposal of Aziz Kocaoğlu, the mayor of the Greater Metropolitan Municipality (henceforth İGMM) (*Yeni Asır*, 2006). The regeneration process of the district began in 2010 (*Milliyet.com.tr Ege*, 2010). The following years saw a number of changes to the plans. Currently Bayraklı, particularly its Salhane quarter witnesses the construction of several eye-catching skyscrapers amidst its low-rise profile of mostly residential buildings. Folkart Towers is one of the earliest projects in the area and the most conspicuous one to date.

Manhattanization sounds like an unusual characterization for a relatively small city like İzmir. In fact the earliest use of the phrase 'to Manhattanize' is found in 1930 in Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, and the verb is defined as "to make similar in character or appearance to Manhattan or its inhabitants; specifically to fill (a city or skyline) with tall buildings so that it resembles Manhattan Island" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016). The definition of the noun Manhattanization on the other hand, was included in Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1970 as "the process of making or becoming similar in character or appearance to Manhattan" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016). However, urban anthropologist Elizabeth Greenspan states that the colloquialism refers to a different phenomenon nowadays (2013). According to her, as well as constituting dense clusters of commercial skyscrapers, "the new meaning of 'Manhattanization' is turning a city into a playground for the wealthiest inhabitants, even as it forgets about the poorest".

In conformity with Greenspan's statement, Bayraklı's Salhane quarter has been a popular investment area for private firms which have been undertaking skyscraper constructions since 2011, targeting upper-income customers. Folkart Towers mark the beginning of the so-called Manhattanization process in the area. The Towers' marketing campaign extensively publicizes the Towers as the new symbol of İzmir. In the promotion of the regeneration plans by the urban administration and the

Folkart Towers by profit making agencies, little attention is paid to their impact on the existing urban environment and its inhabitants.

This study provides an analysis of Folkart Towers in the context of Salhane's urban transformation. It surfaces the discrepancies between the discourses of administrative and commercial bodies and the everyday practices of the neighborhood's inhabitants.

1.1 Aim

Urban regeneration projects have become prevailing modes of production of urban space since the 1980s (Penpeciođu, 2013, 165). Their popularity began to rise in Turkey particularly since 2002, following the election of Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, henceforth JDP) which has remained in power to date (Balaban, 2011, 19). Although academic debates on urban regeneration proliferated since then, most took place at the theoretical level rather than focusing on case studies (Gündođan, 2006; Kurtulş, 2006; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007; Şişman and Kibarođlu, 2009).

Among the few case studies, those which focus on İzmir, examine Kadifekale, as the first completed district-based urban regeneration project conducted by the İzmir Greater Metropolitan Municipality (Mutlu, 2009; Demirtaş-Milz, 2013; Eranıl Demirli, Tuna Ultav, Demirtaş-Milz, 2015). The studies involving Bayraklı's transformation, on the other hand, concentrate on the political aspects and decision making processes of the project rather than offering critical discourse analyses of media representations and everyday practices (Penpeciođlu, 2012; Penpeciođlu, 2013; Penpeciođlu, 2016).

As one of the first completed skyscraper projects in Salhane, Folkart Towers are distinguished from their immediate surroundings (Figure 1). The Towers include commercial functions, offices and residences which target high-income groups (Figure 2). The aim of the present work is to reveal the discrepancies between the spatial policies of decision making institutions, media representations of Folkart Towers which declare the latter as the new symbol of İzmir, and the spatial practices that surround the Towers.



Figure 1 Folkart Towers, from Salhane İZBAN Station (Photograph by author, 2015)

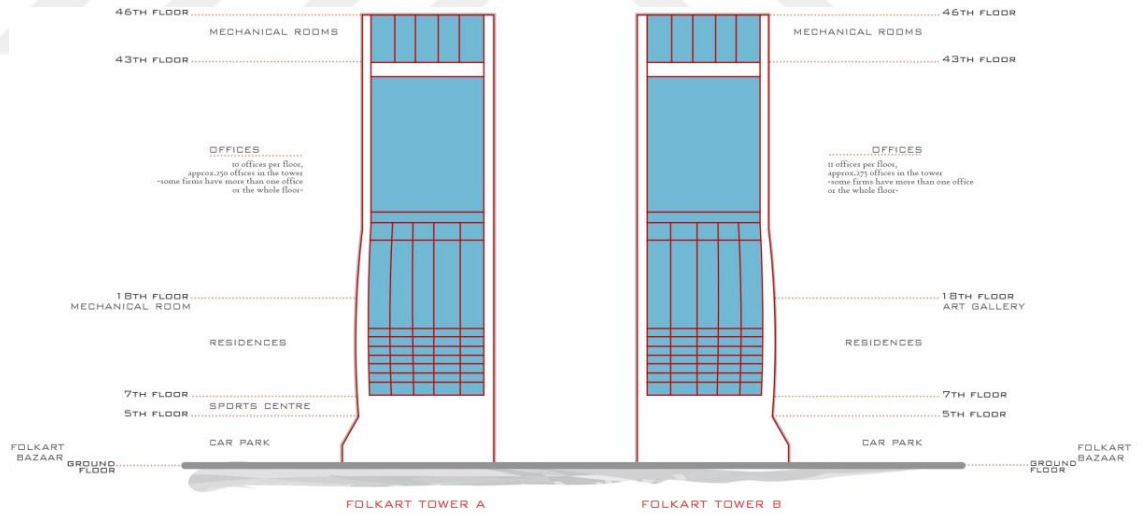


Figure 2 Folkart Towers, functional distribution (Illustration by author)

1.2 Scope

The contents of this analysis are framed by three interrelated sections respectively entitled: “On the ground: transforming the urban context”, “In discourse: constructing an image” and “In practice: re-making everyday life”.

The first section focuses on the historical context of İzmir’s urban structure and Salhane’s transformation in the larger context of modern urbanization processes in Turkey. A brief survey of such processes in three largest cities, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir show how the notion of urban regeneration was set as a political strategy by administrative bodies. The final part of this section is a detailed analysis of Salhane as the new business center of İzmir.

The second section, In Discourse: Constructing an Image, investigates the construction of urban images in the context of the notion of city marketing. Following the historical constructions of İzmir’s symbols including the Clock Tower, Kordon, Cumhuriyet Square, Kültürpark, Varyant and Asansör, the second part of this section focuses on the representations of Folkart Tower. A critical reading of the latter’s images in advertisement films and art projects reveal the selective choice of specific themes in the construction of the city’s new image.

The third section, In Practice: Re-making Everyday Life focuses on the effects of the urban regeneration process on spatial practices. It is based on field observations and half structured in depth interviews conducted with the inhabitants of Folkart Towers and their neighboring spaces.

The thesis concludes by stating how the results of urban regeneration implementations in Salhane are not consistent with the planners’ discourses and images, which are presented by the media.

1.3 Method

The research method of the following study includes primary and secondary sources. Primary sources consist of on-site observations, and half structured in-depth interviews, urban and regeneration plans for İzmir, local news articles regarding Salhane's regeneration and Folkart Towers, and media images of the latter. Secondary sources include historical and theoretical studies on the production of space, and the concepts of Manhattanization and gentrification in the context of globalization.

On-site observations and half structured in-depth interviews played a significant role in understanding the impact of the urban regeneration process on the everyday lives of the inhabitants. The interviews were conducted with the designers of the Towers, officials of Bayraklı municipality and the local headman besides the residents of Salhane.

The research area includes residences, commercial spaces and warehouses, and the interviewees are divided into four groups according to their locations. The owners and the employees of the business and commercial spaces on Manas Boulevard that face the Towers constitute group A. The residents and the employees of the Folkart Towers constitute group B. The owners and the employees of the commercial spaces that surround the Towers constitute group C, and the residents of the squatter houses that face the Towers constitute group D (Figure 3) (Table 1).



Figure 3 The area of research (Yandex Map image edited by the author)

Location& Reference	Function	Position	Duration of use/service
B1	Residence	Real estate broker	-
B2	Residence	Owner	2 years
B3	Residence	Owner	2 years
B4	Residence	Owner	1.5 month
D5	Residence	Owner	unknown
D6	Residence	Owner	15 years
D7	Residence	Owner	20 years
D8	Residence	Owner	13 years
D9	Residence	Owner	27 years
D10	Residence	Owner	22 years
D11	Residence	Owner	22 years
D12	Residence	Guest	-
D13	Residence	Guest	-
D14	Residence	Owner	20 years
A15	Bakery	Owner	2 years
A16	Print house	Employee	4 years
A17	Auto body shop	Owner	24 years

A18	Kebab restaurant	Employee	6 years
A19	Furniture shop	Employee	1 year
A20	Furniture shop	Employee	1 year
A21	Florist shop	Employee	2 years
A22	Sandwich shop	Owner	18 years
A23	Translation office	Employee	9 months
A24	Translation office	Employee	9 months
A25	Home cooking restaurant	Owner	1 month
B26	Pharmacy	Employee	2 years
B27	Security	Employee	2 years
B28	Café & Restaurant	Owner	2 years
B29	Coffee shop	Employee	2 years
B30	Coffee shop	Customer	-
B31	Coffee shop	Customer	-
B32	Coffee shop	Customer	-
B33	Coffee shop	Customer	-
B34	Sports center	Employee	2 years
B35	Insurance company	Employee	1 year
B36	Insurance company	Employee	1 year
B37	Art gallery	Employee	2 years
B38	Art gallery	Employee	2 years
C39	Security (cold storage)	Employee	unknown
C40	Tobacco storage	Employee	44 years
C41	Cold storage	Employee	36 years
C42	Security (food storage)	Employee	8 years
C43	Fire station	Employee	1 year
C44	Fire station	Employee	1 year
C45	Fire station	Employee	1 year
C46	Fire station	Employee	1 year
C47	Metal workshop	Employee	17 years
C48	Auto washing	Owner	15 years
C49	Auto washing	Employee	unknown
C50	Insulating materials storage	Employee	3 years
C51	Bakery stand	Employee	2 months
C52	Bakery stand	Employee	2 months

Table 1 List of interviews

The interviews, which were held with 52 subjects, aimed to clarify the differences between former and existing lifestyles of the area's users and reveal their future expectations within the framework of the following questions: What are the changes in the everydaylife of the area's users since the construction of Folkart Towers? Has the transformation of the urban context met the residents' desires and expectations for their future? What are the residents' views on naming Folkart Towers as the new urban symbol?

Regeneration plans for İzmir provided information on the position and Bayraklı and Salhane in the larger context of planning processes. Local news articles on Salhane and Folkart Towers helped me to understand how the regeneration process was promoted and publicized.

Finally, the theoretical framework of the study is informed by renowned urban theorists Henri Lefebvre's and Edward Soja's works. Lefebvre's framework of spatial analysis distinguishes between perceived, conceived, and lived spaces. According to him, perceived space or alternatively spatial practices is "directly lived through its associated images" (Lefebvre, 2007, 39) by its inhabitants and users. Conceived space or representations of space are associated with professionals such as urban planners, architects and landscape architects "who identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre, 2007, 38-39). Maps, plans and models are its physical manifestations. Lived space on the other hand, is alternatively called representational space, which Lefebvre describes as embracing "production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation" (Lefebvre, 2007, 33).

Urban theorist Edward Soja, on the other hand proposes a triple dialectic of space, which is partially inspired by the work of Lefebvre. His triad consists of Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace. His definition of Firstspace includes mappable elements in space. Secondspace is the conceptualization of the Firstspace and can be associated with Lefebvre's conceived space. Soja's Secondspace includes representations of space in art, advertisements and any other media. Thirdspace on the other hand, should be understood through the first two, and it includes both material and mental spaces and can be associated with Lefebvre's perceived space. However, Soja does not want to fix any definition of Thirspace. According to him, it is the space that we give meaning to; therefore, it always changes. His intention is to

provide a way for “thinking about and interpreting socially produced space” (Borch, 2002, 113), in order not to achieve a final conclusion but a beginning for further exploration.

Both Lefebvre and Soja view space as a social construction where meaning is produced. Following their line of thinking, this study consists of three sections which examine the transformation of Salhane by focusing on Folkart Towers.



2 ON THE GROUND: TRANSFORMING THE URBAN CONTEXT

Cities are not static entities but are in continuous transformation due to changing social, economic and cultural conditions (Gündoğan, 2006; Türkiye, 2013). Transformation from industrial to information society, Fordist to flexible production, modernist to post-modernist conditions, and nation states to global networks has significantly affected urban formations (Türkiye, 2013). The global phenomenon of urban regeneration can be understood as the product of such phenomena which urban theorist İlhan Tekeli calls a “structural transformation” (Tekeli, 2015, 309). However, the term has also been narrowly used to mean pulling down old buildings in order to build new ones (Türkiye, 2013).

In its broadest sense, urban regeneration is “the process of improving derelict or dilapidated districts of a city, typically through redevelopment” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016).¹ Turkish Language Association explains the term as improving a city by demolishing the buildings, which are not built according to the city’s development plans, and redeveloping the city by building planned housing estates (Türk Dil Kurumu, 2016).

These definitions emphasize the improvement of the physical structure which inevitably involves economic development (Weaver, 2001). In fact the economic advantages of urban regeneration for all citizens are persistently accentuated in neo-liberal discourses, which hardly include conflicting interests between different agents that are involved in the process (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007; Gündoğan, 2006; Tekeli, 2015). The latter are based on the generation of a rent-gap, which is the difference between the present land value of a plot and its potential value (Smith, 1987, 462). The rent gap is the main economic reason of gentrification which is the replacement of city centers’ low-income groups of former users with members of the middle-class. Hence urban regeneration involves “the transformation of inner-city working-class and other neighborhoods to middle and upper-middle class residential, recreational, and other uses” and “is clearly one means by which the rent gap can be closed wholly

¹ The terms urban reconstruction, urban revitalization, urban renewal, urban redevelopment, and urban regeneration are used interchangeably in contemporary sources (Penpeciöğü, 2016). This thesis uses urban regeneration as it is the most frequently used term since 1990s.

or partially” (Smith, 1987). Renowned urban theorist David Harvey claims that the popularity of urban regeneration projects increase in proportion to the desire of the wealthy segments of society who live in the suburbs, to return to city centers (Milliyet.com.tr, 2012b).

Spatial interventions, which transform the cities’ urban characteristics, have become tools for economic and social control in different parts of the world including such diverse areas as Rio de Genaro, New York, Paris, London, İstanbul, Mumbai and Kuala Lumpur. İzmir, as the third largest city of Turkey, is at the beginning of a process which emulates urban transformation processes of global cities. Within this context Bayraklı is being gentrified by the local authorities with the collaboration of private firms. Hence this chapter examines the gentrification of the area in relation to economic and political processes that effect urban regeneration in Turkey.

2.1 Historical Context: Planning Modern İzmir

Urbanism as a new science of 20th century was an excellent tool for the new Turkish Republic in the “creation of a physical urban frame, the setting of a network, equipment and symbols and an urban image that would support the modern society that the Republic aimed to achieve” (Bilsel, 1996, 13). Western planning approaches, mostly German and French models shaped the principles of the early Republican cities. The new capital, Ankara; the most populated city, İstanbul; and the second most populated city İzmir, were reconstructed to represent the modern image of the new Republic (Bilsel, 1996; Bozdoğan 2001).

İzmir provided fertile ground for such an intervention after a big fire which destroyed a significant portion the city in 1922. Most importantly, the center of the city burned down including business districts and residential areas (Figure 4). In addition to rebuilding the damaged districts, the government of the new Republic saw the reconstruction of İzmir as a chance to create a new urban center with a nationalist and anti-imperialist approach (Bilsel, 1996; Bilsel, 2009; Bozdoğan, 2001).

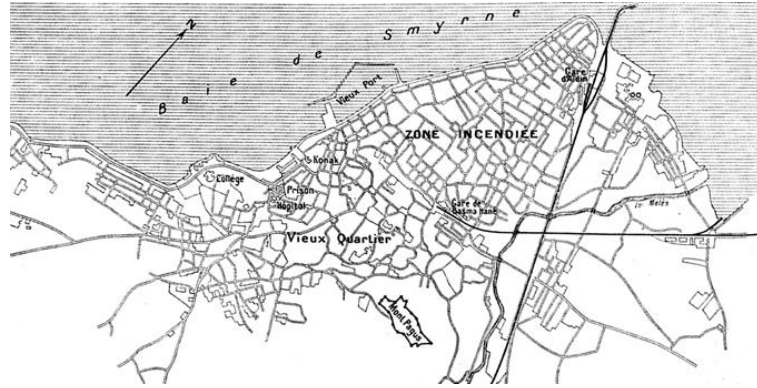


Figure 4 İzmir's fire incendiee (fire zone) in 1922 (Yılmaz, 2004, 122)

Rene and Raymond Danger were asked to prepare the first master plan for İzmir under the consultancy of Henri Prost. İzmir Municipality constituted a commission including Turkish doctors, architects and engineers to set study the goals for the plan with the French urbanists (Bilsel, 1996, 17; Bilsel, 2009, 12). In the light of these goals, Dangers suggested a plan which was approved by the Municipality in 1925 (Figure 5) (Can, 2010, 183).

The plan included modern urban design approaches “such as zoning, low densities, ‘hygiene’, new functions, equipment and large green spaces;” it “also gave priority to urban aesthetics in planning with its classical composition in the Beaux-Arts tradition” (Bilsel, 1996, 17). Radial roads, boulevards and public squares manifest the formalist approach of this tradition (Can, 2010, 183). “The new pattern of diagonal avenues formed visual axes with perspectives converging either on the sea or on important sites such as Kadifekale. These avenues intersected at etoile plazas that formed focal points in the city (Bilsel, 1996, 17). Besides these modernist moves, the proposal presented a protectionist attitude in preserving the organic fabric of the old city (Yüksel, 2013, 33).

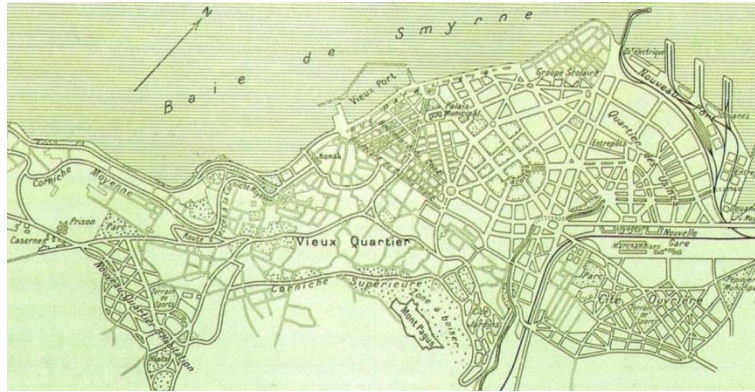


Figure 5 Danger and Prost's plan for İzmir, 1925 (Atay, 1998, 181)

The plan was only partially implemented due to financial problems that were faced in the 1930s (Bisel, 1996, 18) and the planners' protectionist attitude which did not fit the modernist approach of the municipality. In 1933 after the reconstruction of the severely damaged districts, the Municipality's technical staff revised the plans upon the consultancy of German urbanist Hermann Jansen (Bisel, 1996, 19-21; Bisel, 2006, 13). Although many revisions and different proposals were prepared after Dangers' plan, the latter is important in terms of constituting the basic pattern of the city center that can still be perceived from aerial views today (Can, 2010, 183).

The necessity to prepare a new plan for İzmir became apparent in the mid-1930s. The scope of Dangers' plan and the subsequent revisions had been further modified by İzmir Municipality with the aim of extending the city borders (Bisel, 1996, 21). The municipality asked the collaboration of one of the pioneers of modern architecture, Le Corbusier for the planning, and signed a contract with him in 1938 (Bisel, 1996, 21). Le Corbusier was not able to come to İzmir until 1948, due to the war in Europe. He proposed a diagrammatic master plan in 1949 which did not meet the expectations of the municipality that needed a detailed proposal. However, some of Le Corbusier's ideas can be traced in later plans (Bisel, 1996, 22; Can, 2010, 183-185; Yüksel, 2013, 42).

In need of a new urban plan, the Bank for Municipal Services (*İller Bankası*) launched an international urban design competition in 1951 (Bisel, 2009, 15; Can, 2010, 185). Ahmet Aru, Gündüz Özdeş and Emin Canpolat's proposal received the first price. The plan had a similar approach with Le Corbusier's which divided İzmir into residential, commercial, and industrial zones (Bisel, 2009, 16). The plan of Aru

and his team was found more practical and applicable than Le Corbusier's. It identified future development areas for the city, and became operative in 1953(Figure 4) (Can, 2010, 185).

According to Aru's plan the new development area of the city was located between Karataş and Üçkuyular. Karşıyaka was determined as the secondary development area with a lower density. Salhane was identified as a small-scale industrial area (Figures 6 and 7) (Kaya, 2002, 145) and labor settlements were planned for the Bayraklı district (Bilsel, 2009, 16). This is the first time that Bayraklı was considered in an urban plan, which was an inconspicuous small town until then. The inclusion of labor settlements in the plan can be related to one of the competition requirements which expected reclamation of illegal low income settlements that began to be seen in İzmir in the early 1950s (Bilsel, 2009, 16).



Figure 6 Aru's plan for İzmir, 1953 (Bilsel, 2009, 12)

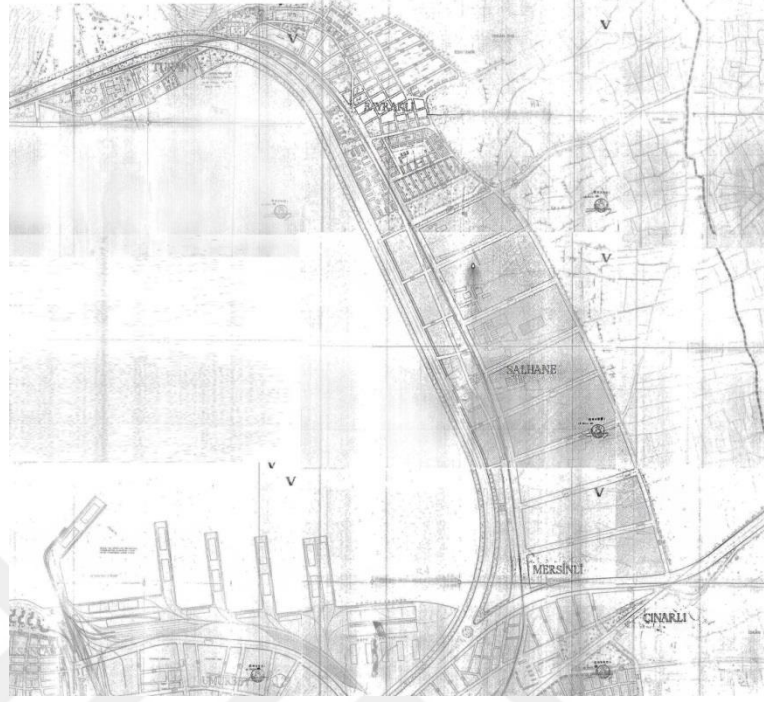


Figure 7 Salhane, detail from Aru's plan for İzmir, 1953 (İGMM's archive)

In 1957 İzmir Municipality invited Albet Bodmer to make revisions to the plan due to the spread of squatter areas (Can, 2010, 185; Kaya, 2002, 138-139). In spite of his comprehensive studies, Bodmer's proposal was not taken into consideration and Aru's plan was used until the end of the 1970s (Kaya, 2002, 153). However, as the city expanded, the need for a new plan emerged which would include the outskirts of the existing city (Kaya, 2002, 154).

In the second half of the 1950s the institutional structure of planning in Turkey changed due to the problems caused by rapid urbanization. A new Planning Act (*İmar Yasası*) was invoked in 1957 and the central authority took over the control of the cities' physical development from local authorities (Kaya, 2002, 137). Henceforth "the master plans of the metropolitan cities would be prepared by the metropolitan planning offices under the control of the Ministry of Development and Settlement (*İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı*)" (Kaya, 2002, 154). As part of these developments the Ministry established a Metropolitan Planning Office in İzmir (*İzmir Metropolitan Planlama Bürosu*) in 1965 (Arkon and Gülerman, 1995).

The office produced İzmir's first metropolitan master plan at 1/25000 scale in 1973. This plan proposed a linear development (Arkon and Gülerman, 1995) which has been determinant in the forthcoming growth of the city. According to this plan, Salhane was designated as a recreational area at the coastline, while industries were conserved at the inner sections (Figure 8) (Kaya, 2002, 165).

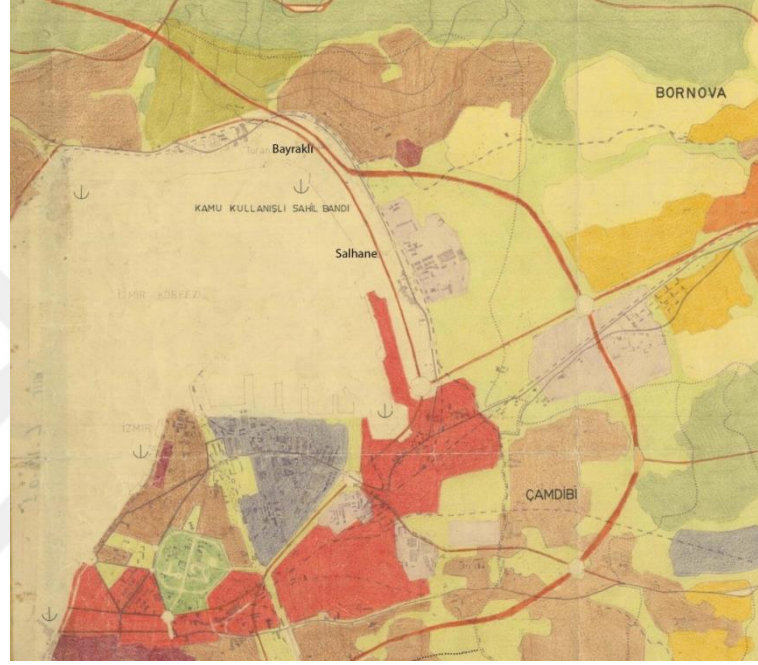


Figure 8 Salhane, detail from plan of İzmir, 1973 (İGMM's archive)

The development of the details of the 1973 metropolitan plan was delayed due to lack of appropriate supervision by related authorities (Arkon and Gülerman, 1995, 18). Subsequent revisions and partial interventions resulted in increased population density at the city center and squatter development in the peripheries (Penpeciöğlü, 2012, 152). The plan was radically revised in 1978 when Salhane was designated to be *merkezi iş alanı: MİA* (central business district, henceforth CBD) (Penpeciöğlü, 2012, 153).

The Metropolitan Planning Office was closed in 1984. According to a new Development Law (*İmar Yasası*) in 1985, municipalities were put in charge of the preparation of a 1/5000 master plan and a 1/1000 development plan (Arkon and Gülerman, 1995, 19). Following this decision, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality developed a master plan in 1989 by revising the previous one and combining the

previous 1/5000 and 1/1000 plans. Salhane quarter remained to be CBD in the new plan (Figure 9) (Can, 2010, 185). This eclectic approach failed to offer long-term and strategic solutions for the urban development problems of İzmir and the plan was cancelled in 2002 (Penpecioglu, 2012, 162).

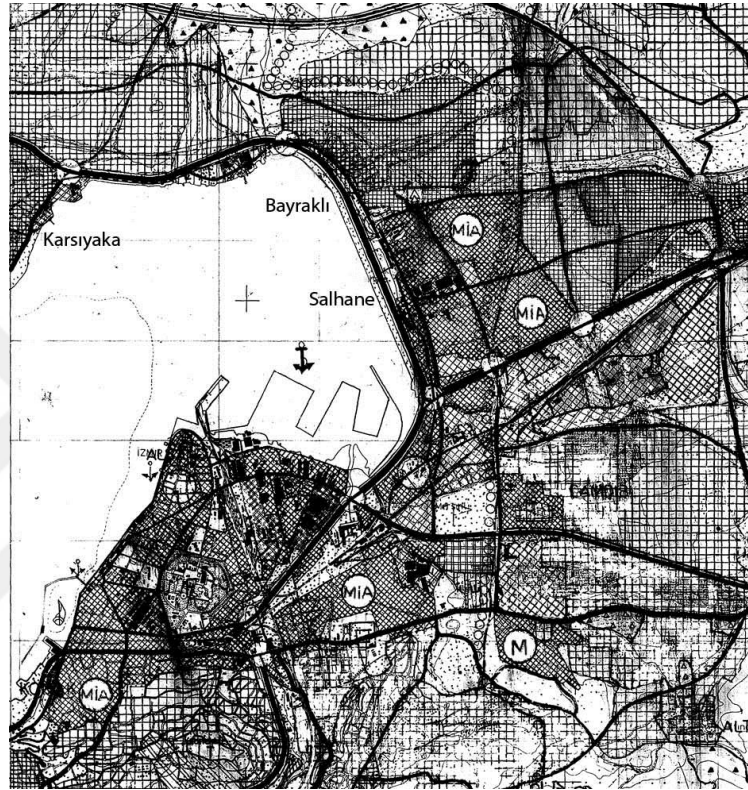


Figure 9 Salhane, detail from plan of İzmir, 1989, the quarter identified as *MIA* (CBD) (İGMM's archive)

To sum up, until 2002, the layout of the central areas of İzmir is predominantly based on the 1955 master plan (Kaya, 2002, 172). However, similar to other cities in Turkey, İzmir has suffered from problems that are caused by inefficient administrative mechanisms and lack of strategic planning (Ercan, 2007). Urban development plans have mostly concentrated on desired end results rather than considering organic growth processes. In the absence of appropriate regulations and efficient administrative mechanisms (Can, 2010, 182), İzmir suffered from uncontrolled haphazard development. Current urban regeneration projects are justified on the grounds that they would fix the structural problems that lie at the heart of urban growth processes (Tekeli, 2015, 273). Before the analysis of further developments of the CBD which paved the way to the present state, it is useful to

understand the general context of urban regeneration in Turkey and the particular case of İzmir's regeneration plans.

2.2 Urban Regeneration in Turkey

In capitalist economies, the construction industry is seen as a sign of economic development since it generates linkages between the construction sector and others like manufacture of building materials and components (Giang and Pheng, 2011). This means that the growth of the construction industry contributes to the growth of other industries. Indeed, from the 1980s to date, the construction industry has been used as a political tool for economic growth in Turkey, where liberal economic policies became increasingly dominant. Especially after the 2002 elections, the newly elected JDP government, supported investments to the construction industry at an unprecedented level through its neo-liberal policies (Balaban, 2011, 19). The three largest cities of Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, provided fertile ground for the growth of the industry.

From the 1950s to date, urban transformations in the metropolitan cities of Turkey can be examined in three different phases (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007; Görgülü, 2014). The first phase covers the period between 1950 and 1980 when industrialization, economic growth and rural migration affected the formation of cities. This period is marked by the growth of squatter areas to meet the housing needs of rural migrants. Planning decisions were predominantly focused on fixing spatial problems that had been caused by population increase and urban sprawl (Bilsel, 2009, 17). In the 1970s many of the squatter districts were replaced by apartment blocks built by the owners of the former and construction bosses. These were occupied by different segments of the society including, but not exclusive of former squatter residents (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007, 58).

The second phase covers the period between 1980 and 2000. The urban sprawl of the 1980s saw the construction of housing estates, educational campuses and industrial zones at the cities' peripheries. As the population shifted to the new premises, some districts in the city centers became vacant, ready for revitalization and eventual gentrification (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007, 59; Tekeli, 2015, 309-310).

In the 2000s, which marks the last phase of urban transformation, urban regeneration was set as a political strategy (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007, 59). The JDP government promoted urban regeneration projects, to open up space for new investments in urban centers, where valuable land is scarce. Thus, supported by a series of legal codes, urban regeneration projects have become the dominant mode of production of urban space in Turkey (Penpecioglu, 2012, 165; Tekeli, 2015, 313).

The Metropolitan Municipalities Code (*Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu*, 2004) and the Municipalities Code (*Belediye Kanunu*, 2004) include significant items that regulate renewal projects (Karaman, 2013, 3417; Kiliç and Karataş, 2015, 239-240). These were instituted within the framework of the neo-liberal strategies of the present government and encouraged “the municipalities to behave like semi-autonomous market actors, granting them the right to privatize public assets, to implement urban renewal projects, to participate in public-private partnerships, to form private firms or real estate partnerships with private firms and to take loans from national and international financial institutions” (Karaman, 2013, 3416-3417).

Furthermore, in 2005 a new law was passed for the ‘Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalisation of Deteriorated Immoveable Historical and Cultural Properties’ (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun*), which targeted historical neighborhoods for renewal. In 2011 the Ministry of Urbanism and Environment was founded which can be interpreted as one of the bolder steps of the JDP administration to centralize “transformative decision making and undermine property rights in areas scheduled for urban renewal” (Karaman, 2013, 3417). The Ministry was also endowed with expropriation rights in areas under risk of disaster by a law that was passed in 2012 (Karaman, 2013, 3417-3418).

These policies are decisive in the urban restructuring process in Turkey. Implementations of urban regeneration projects influence the future of the cities by annulling their potentially healthier transformation processes based on their own diverse dynamics (Kiliç and Karataş, 2015, 240).

2.3 Regeneration Plans for İzmir and the New City Center

İzmir and other big cities in Turkey saw a rapid population growth since the 1950s due to extensive rural migration (Kurtuluş, 2006, 7; Bilsel, 2009, 17; Tekeli, 2015, 28). This increased the population density of İzmir due to the city's restricted boundaries which are defined by natural thresholds such as forests, agricultural areas, archeological sites and the coastline (Kiliç and Karataş, 2015, 240). On the other hand, the regulatory, procedural and institutional problems in Turkey also played a role during the planning processes in İzmir (Ercan, 2007, 69). These affected the development of the city and resulted in problematic urban areas which provided the basis for urban regeneration projects.

Among several institutions commissioned with urban regeneration projects, there are two main authorities in İzmir to conduct district based regeneration: The Department of Urban Regeneration, associated with İGMM, and İzmir Provincial Directorate of Infrastructure and Urban Regeneration (*İzmir Alt Yapı ve Kentsel Dönüşüm İl Müdürlüğü*), henceforth İPDIUR)², associated with the Ministry of Urbanization and Environment. Their jurisdictions are based on different constitutional provisions³.

These two institutions identified 37 districts in İzmir which are in need of urban regeneration (Figure 10). Ahıhdır, Kazımpaşa, Seydinasrullah, Cumhuriyet, Osman Aksüner, Aşık Veysel, Seyhan, Ayhan, Cennetçeşme, Yüzbaşı Şerafettin, Özgür, Gazi, Ali Fuat Erden, Limontepe, Bahriye Üçok, Salih Omurtak, Atatürk, 2. İnönü, Narlı and Çatalkaya districts were identified by İPDIUR. Yurdođlu and Uzundere districts were identified by both institutions. Örnekköy, Cegizhan, Alpaslan, Fuat Edip Baksı, Ballıkuyu, Kadifekale, Emrez and Aktepe districts were identified by İGMM. These districts are located in the old parts of the city, which are inhabited

² İzmir Provincial Directorate of Infrastructure and Urban Regeneration was founded in 2012, as the provincial branch of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.

³ The Department of Urban Regeneration was founded in 2010 within the scope of the 73rd clause of Municipality law 5393. It consists of Urban Regeneration Branch Office, Project Construction Branch Office, and Publicity and Social Transformation Branch Office. In 2011, it was incorporated under The Department of Soil Survey, Earthquake and Disaster Works (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2016).

predominantly by low-income groups. Due to budget limitations, only Kadifekale's regeneration has been completed to date⁴.

To overcome budgetary limitations, İGMM decided to involve the private sector in the regeneration of the city center. The International Urban Design Ideas Competition for the İzmir Port Area was launched in 2001 as the first step of this process. Since it was an ideas competition, submissions did not have to include detailed plans. The results were evaluated by the planners of İGMM and the concerned district municipalities. Although no action was taken until 2003, the winning project set the tone for Bayraklı's regeneration, which was announced to be developed as a business quarter by İGMM at that date.

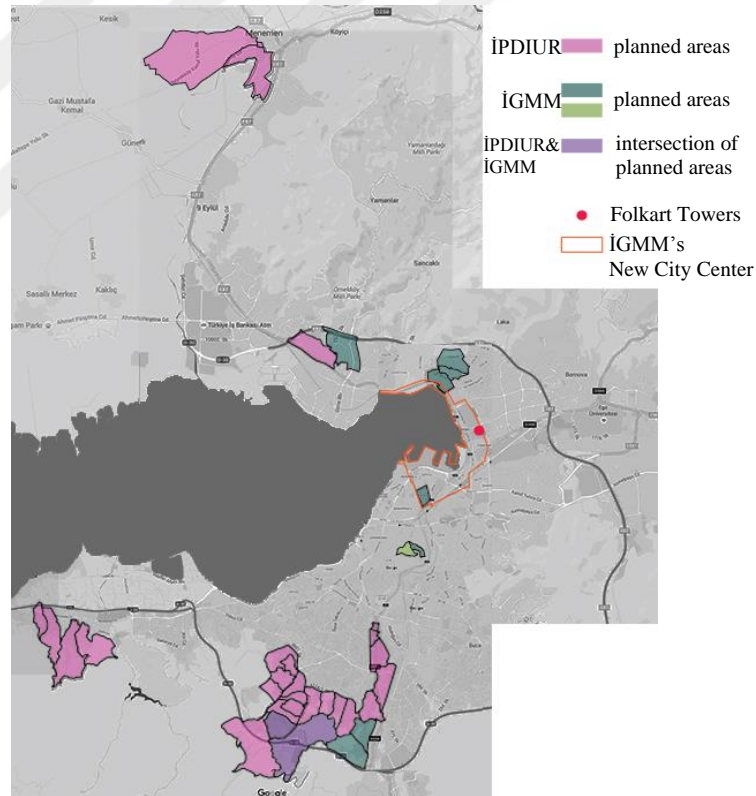


Figure 10 İzmir's urban regeneration map of 2016 (Google Maps image edited by the author)

⁴ Kadifekale is a historical district which is located on a hill top, where migrants settled during the 1950s. The area was identified as a landslide zone in 1978 and a 'disaster prone area' in the geological reports 1978, 1981, and 2003. However, the renewal process began in 2007 (Mutlu, 2009) due to complex legal processes in addition to budget limitations.

(Arkitera, 2016). Since the new urban vision could take decades to be realized, competitors were required to take phasing and flexibility into consideration.

German architect Johan Brandi's proposal received the first prize. The jury report stated that the project could reduce the pressure on the historical city core by offering large public open spaces between high-rise buildings. Brandi saw the archeological site of Bayraklı (old Smyrna) as the starting point for urban development. His plan consists of three zones which would be connected by a rail system: Historical Smyrna (İzmir I) which would include 3-storey residential buildings, today's İzmir (İzmir II) and a new shoreline (İzmir III) to reduce traffic in the inner parts (Mimarlar Odası İzmir Şubesi: Ege Mimarlık, 2001/4 – 2002/1, 64). His project included a network of pedestrian and bicycle paths, parks, and an Olympic park with sports facilities. The prevailing wind direction was taken into consideration in the placement of the buildings (Figures 12 and 13).

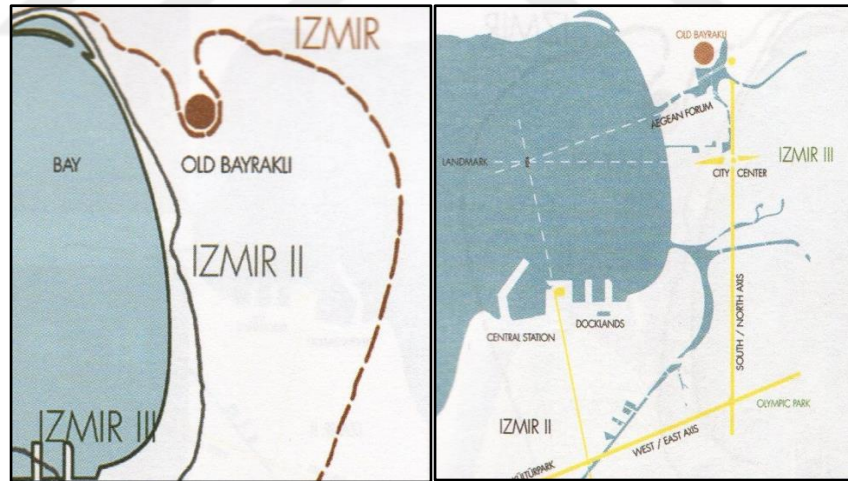


Figure 12 İzmir's New City Center, within the zones of Johan Brandi's proposal, 2001 (Mimarlar Odası İzmir Şubesi: Ege Mimarlık, 2001/4 – 2002/1)



Figure 13 Johan Brandt' proposal for New City Center for İzmir, site plan, 2001 (Mimarlar Odası İzmir Şubesi: Ege Mimarlık, 2001/4 – 2002/1)

In the adaptation process of Johan Brandt's proposal into the development plan, a series of strategic meetings were held with investors, local business associations and professional chambers by İGMM. These groups' demands were taken into consideration in the land use and density decisions of the plan (Penpecioglu, 2012, 192). In 2005, İGMM approved the development plan that had been prepared two years ago. The demands of investors encouraged İGMM to revise the plan in 2006 to increase the building density of the New City Center (*Yeni Kent Merkezi*, henceforth NCC) to attract further investment (Penpecioglu, 2012, 195).

Between 2006 and 2009, a small group of local politicians carried out judiciary actions to nullify the plan due to the lack of geological surveys and reports concerning earthquake risks (Penpecioğlu, 2012, 194) and also lack of social facilities such as green spaces and parking lots (Erdik and Kaplan, 2009, 56). This resulted in the cancellation of the project (Erdik and Kaplan, 2009, 56) which was harshly criticized by the Mayor of Greater Municipality who stated that such judiciary actions harmed the economic development of the city. This hegemonic discourse was also supported by local business associations and investors, who had been planning giant office towers, shopping malls, and gated luxury residents since 2007 (Penpecioğlu, 2012, 194).

The project area, extending from Alsancak Port to the Karşıyaka district, included privately and publicly owned factories, small-scale manufacturing workshops, and warehouses. Until the 2010s, private holdings purchased large parcels in the area with the aim of benefiting from its new status as the city center (Penpecioğlu, 2012, 199; Bayraklı Municipality, 2015).

In 2010, the development plan was approved again by İGMM, following the completion of geological reports and surveys. The related district municipalities, Konak and Bayraklı, finalized the plans at 1/1000 scale (Interview with Sibel Başaloğlu, head of Directorate of Planning (*Plan ve Proje Müdürlüğü*) in Bayraklı Municipality, 2016). The implementation of the NCC project began in 2011 when private firms started to undertake construction in the area (Penpecioğlu, 2012, 194).

3 IN DISCOURSE: CONSTRUCTING AN IMAGE

The NCC project was implemented by private firms and supported by the related municipalities. The aim was to locate İzmir in a competitive position among global cities. This chapter examines the construction of İzmir's new image in the context of the newly emerging notion of city marketing.

Within this competitive environment Folkart Towers, as the first completed structures in the area, have been presented as İzmir's new symbol by Folkart Yapı. In the Folkart Towers' commercials, the images of existing İzmir symbols were used. Following the historical constructions of the latter, the chapter evaluates the representations of the Towers to understand their image creation process in the transforming environment.

3.1 Construction of Urban Images

Structural transformations of urban spaces can occur through catastrophic phenomena. The Great fire of İzmir in 1922 was such an example which erased a considerable portion of İzmir's history and collective memory. Hence it was a significant mediator in the transformation of the multicultural imperial city to a city of the nation-state (Kolluoğlu Kırılı, 2005, 28; Yüksel, 2013, 19).

In this process, Dangers' plan (1925) concentrated on rebuilding the city center which was burned down in the great fire. The identity of the new republic was reflected in the plan through the aim to create a modern image. The recent urban form and image of the city center can be traced back to Dangers' proposal. Aru's plan (1953), and the first metropolitan plan (1973), too are significant interventions that influenced the city's formation. These need to be interpreted in the light of dominant political ideologies. For instance, since the protectionist attitude of Dangers' plan did not meet the municipality's vision of modernization, Aru's plan presented a different image which mostly concentrated on socio-economic conditions. The 1973 plan, on the other hand, focused on expanding the city borders and developing the city's network with other cities due to the domination of economic concerns (Appendix 1). This may be associated with the economic recession of the 1970s that resulted in the economic and spatial restructuring of Western cities (Paddison, 1993, 339) when cities which lost their traditional industries focused on attracting investment. The ensuing

competition between cities to attract new investment resulted in the emergence of a new concept, i.e., city marketing (Paddison, 1993, 339).

The term city or place marketing became prevalent in the 1980s particularly in European urban studies. Both there and the US “the practice of city marketing has been linked primarily to local economic development, the promotion of place and encouragement of public-private partnerships to achieve regeneration” (Paddison 1993, 340). However, there are different meanings attached to the term as the Dutch interpretation broadened its scope by including societal welfare into the definition. In its broadest sense, the purposes of city marketing include “raising the competitive position of the city, attracting inward investment, the well-being of its population, and improving its image” (Paddison, 1993, 341).

Urban designers, media-savvy individuals and institutions have a great impact on city imaging, which involves visual narratives. City imaging involves economic strategies to attract new investments that reinforce or reconstruct a city’s image (Vale and Warner, 1998). In economic-geographer Gert-Jan Hospers’s terms, “cities are smart when they explore whether the narrative they want to communicate can be visually symbolized on one spot or a limited number of the spots in the municipality” (2010, 2077). Therefore, water fronts, eye catching locations and attractive buildings are valued as places of investment for their potential symbolic significance (Hospers, 2010, 2077).

İzmir’s NCC project (2001) presents a significant case in this context. İGMM publicized the project as a crucial opportunity to regenerate the old and abandoned industrial area to provide a new urban image to turn İzmir into an international city. İGMM, Konak and Bayraklı District Municipalities, İzmir Branch of the Chamber of Architects, investors, and local finance organizations were the main actors in this process, who emphasized the importance of the area in increasing the competitive and entrepreneurial edge of the city (Penpecioglu, 2012, 193). The central government, too, supported the project; although it does not have any authority over İzmir’s planning (Penpecioglu, 2012, 202-204).

The first stage of the NCC project involved the regeneration of Bayraklı as a business quarter. According to the plans that were prepared by İGMM and the district municipalities, private firms were to construct tower blocks in the area. Hence after

the approval of the project, the new image of İzmir and Bayraklı in general and Salhane in particular, started to be physically constructed by private firms with the support of national and local authorities. Folkart Towers is one of the pioneer projects in Salhane, which is presented as the new symbol of İzmir in a broad range of representational media.

3.2 İzmir's Symbols and Folkart Towers

After the great fire, the rebuilding process of İzmir provided new public spaces and reorganized some of the existing ones. During this process, the Clock Tower, Kordon, Cumhuriyet Square, Kültürpark, Varyant, and Asansör can be identified as the most significant sites, which have been identified with the city and have been instrumental in shaping a collective memory. They are frequently represented in such media as films, postcards, and photographs. In 2011 Folkart Yapı used these symbols in the advertisement films of Folkart Towers representing the latter as the new symbol of İzmir, akin to the previous ones. This section examines the historical construction of the city's symbols and the role of Folkart Towers in this narrative.

3.2.1 Historical Constructions of İzmir's Symbols

The Clock Tower, Kordon, Cumhuriyet Square, Kültürpark, Varyant and Asansör are İzmir's renowned public spaces which were identified as the symbols of the city. They were constructed in different time periods, each reflecting the dominant ideology of the period in question. In addition to their political significances, the high degree of public use of these spaces accentuated their meaning in the city's collective memory.

a) The Clock Tower

The Clock Tower is arguably the most widely used symbol of İzmir. It has been a symbolic element of Konak Square which is surrounded by administrative buildings and is one of the most significant public places of the city (Can, 2007, 122; Ege Mimarlık: Kentsel Tasarım, 2004, 45; Orhon, 2004, 56). Its history dates back to the beginning of the 20th century, when Sultan Abdülhamit II ordered to build several clock towers within the borders of the Ottoman territory to celebrate his 25th anniversary of accession to the throne in 1901 (Can, 2007, 122; Orhon, 2004, 56;

Taşkıran, 2010, 4). The towers became symbols of modernization due to their use of the clock, which signified the division of the day according to a 24 hour cycle rather than prayer times (Can, 2007, 122; Taşkıran, 2014, 4-5; Yılmaz, 2003, 16).



Figure 14 Clock Tower, İzmir, 1939 (Can, 2007, 123)

Until 1927, the tower used to bear imperial signs including the Sultan's signature. Those were removed after 1923, in accordance with the Republican ideology of founding a new nation with no trace of its Islamic past (Taşkıran, 2010, 9; Yılmaz, 2004, 18-19). In the early 1950s, İzmir Municipality planned to redesign Konak Square with the intention of removing all Ottoman traces including the Clock Tower⁵ (Can, 2007, 126; Kaya, 2002, 130). Although the removal of the tower was not

⁵ In 1955 a national competition was announced to redesign the square after the request of Ahmet Aru, who was the chief designer of the 1953 İzmir plan and also the planning consultant (*şehirçilik danışmanı*) of İzmir Municipality (Aşkan, 2011, 6). Doğan Tekeli, Sami Sisa and Tekin Aydın's team won the competition. However, the proposal was not found applicable by the Municipality. Therefore, a commission was established to study the project, including members from the municipality and Ministry of Reconstruction (Aşkan, 2011, 6; Kaya, 2002, 131). In accordance with the final proposal two monumental public buildings, i.e. the barracks and the prison were demolished in 1955 and 1959 respectively (Can, 2007, 126).

implemented, parts of its surfaces which used to bear Ottoman emblems were decorated with Turkish flags⁶ (Figure 15) (Taşkıran, 2010, 9).



Figure 15 Turkish flags on the Clock Tower, after 1950 (Taşkıran, 2010, 8)

During the second half of the twentieth century, printed media promoted İzmir by means of city guides, published by the İzmir Governship, İzmir Municipality, İzmir Chamber of Commerce, Ministry of Tourism and similar institutions. These have frequently included the Clock Tower in their cover pages (Figure 16). İGMM has used the Clock Tower as its institutional logo since its foundation in 1984 (Figure 17) (Taşkıran, 2011, 4). The popularity of the tower image is exploited by the tourism industry, which is manifested in its manifold use on souvenir items (Figure 18).

⁶ This was realized in relation to the constitutional provision of 28 June 1927 titled “Removal of Sultans’ Signatures and Eulogies on the Structures which Belong to the State and the Society within the Borders of the Turkish Republic (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dahilinde Bulunan Bilumum Mebanii Resmîye ve Millîye Üzerindeki Tuğra ve Methiyelerin Kaldırılması Hakkındaki Kanun*) (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi T.B.M.M. Grup Başkanlığı, 2013).

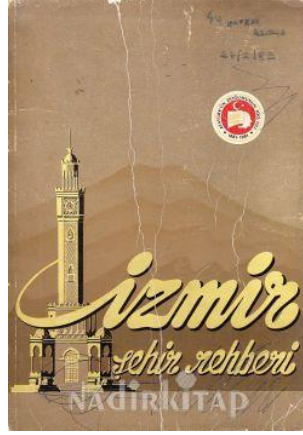


Figure 16 Front page, İzmir City Guide, 1981 (Nadir Kitap, 2016)



Figure 17 İGMM's current logo (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2016)



Figure 18 The image of the Clock Tower imprinted on sand; a clock with the image of the Clock Tower; a cologne bottle in the form of the Clock Tower (Sınırsızal.com, 2016; Evmanya, 2016; Nehir Süs, 2016)

Although several planning interventions changed Konak Square in the second half of the 20th century, the status of the tower remained unchanged⁷. In 2007, a questionnaire titled ‘Research of Political Tendencies and Symbols of İzmir’ conducted by İzmir Chamber of Commerce revealed that the Clock Tower at Konak Square was the most popular symbol associated with İzmir (NTVMSNBC, 2007; Taşkiran, 2011, 3).

The pedestrianization of the square in 2004 strengthened the symbolic value of the tower by rendering it as a gathering place⁸. Today the area that surrounds the tower is used by the city’s residents and tourists alike to rest and socialize. It is also a popular spot for picture taking (Figure 19).



Figure 19 Clock Tower (Wowturkey, 2004)

⁷ In the 1970s filling operations were made in Konak which have shaped today’s fabric (Can, 2007, 126). In the 1980s within the scope of Kemeraltı Preservation Plan (*Kemeraltı Koruma Planı*), multi-story buildings were constructed along the shoreline which blocked the interaction between the sea and the historic fabric (Ege Mimarlık: Kentsel Tasarım, 2004, 47).

⁸ In the beginning of the 2000s, the square was re-planned with the contributions of İzmir Chamber of Architects. The project connects Kemeraltı Bazaar to the Konak ferry station, and includes the old Konak Square in its physical center (Ege Mimarlık: Kentsel Tasarım, 2004, 47-48).

b) Kordon

Kordon, the waterfront strip between Alsancak customs area and Konak Square (Yılmaz, 2004, 98), is one of the most significant places of İzmir in terms of forming the morphology of the waterfront and shaping urban life (Yüksel, 2013, 50-51). In the 19th c., bars, cafes, theaters, clubs and cabarets in the area reflected the European life style of the non-Muslim residents living in the area⁹ (Kayın, 2006, 18; Kolluoğlu Kırılı, 2005, 25). Although the 1922 fire interrupted the urban activity of Kordon, the publicity of the waterfront continued after the rebuilding process¹⁰ (Kayın, 2006, 19).

For example, research on Turkish films shot between 1960 and 1975 shows that those which featured İzmir mostly included Kordon scenes. The distinctive pavement along Kordon, phaetons¹¹ and the sea view were strong visual elements that attracted attention (Ülkeryıldız and Önder, 2013, 31). These elements are still used in contemporary İzmir representations by artists, individuals and institutions that promote the city (Figures 20, 21 and 22).

⁹ In the 19th century, Kordon was constructed by landfill and has been the most popular recreation area in the city center (Kayın, 2006, 18).

¹⁰ Between the 1930s and 1950s, following Dangers' plan, 3-4 storied modern apartments were built from Gündoğdu to Cumhuriyet Square (Figure 20) (Yüksel, 2013, 58). When the rural migration wave of the 1950s caused a housing shortage, Aru's plan suggested increasing the density of residential areas proposing the allowance of 7-8 stories for the waterfront. Although building heights were increased at the waterfront, entertainment activities remained at the street level. In the 1990s, the area between Alsancak port and Cumhuriyet Square was filled again to extend the seashore as a green urban space which transformed the physical and historical characteristics of Kordon (Kayın, 2006, 20).

¹¹ After the landfill operation in the 19th century, foreign merchants began to move to İzmir which mobilized the use of phaetons to enable transportation from the shoreline to the inner areas. They were associated with the West and modernity, and became the symbol of Kordon and İzmir (Özgönül, 2007).



Figure 20 Screenshot, *Uyanık Kardeşler*, 14:57sec (Saner, 1974)

Denizi Saran Yeşil; Kordonboyu

Şiirlere, şarkılara konu olan İzmir'in ünlü Kordonu, yeni sahil düzenlemesiyle, neredeyse günün her saatinde cıvılcıdır. İzmir'in en önemli prestij alanı olan Kordonboyu, mavi körfezi, yeşil sahili, gün batımına tanıklık eden farklı mekanları, telaş içerisinde iskeleye yanaşıp yolcular alıp yolcular bırakan vapurları ve iskeleleriyle görülmesi gereken bir sahilidir.



Figure 21 Kordon, *İzmir Guide*, 2007 (İzmir Ticaret Odası, 7)



Figure 22 "Kordon", Wojtek Laski, 2015 (Arkas Sanat Merkezi, 2015, 86-87)

c) Cumhuriyet Square

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic Cumhuriyet Square became one of the symbolic areas associated with the nationalist ideals of the new state. In Dangers' plan (1925) it was the most prominent entry point for those who approached the city from the bay (Figure 23) (Yüksel, 2013, 68-69). With the Gazi Statue situated at its center, the square became the site for the celebration of republican anniversaries (Can, 2007, 130; Çelebi, 2002, 97-101). Hosting such events as the placement of a wreath at the skirts of the Gazi Statue, folk-dance shows, and poetry recitals during celebrations, Cumhuriyet Square is still associated with the Republican ideals of national pride.



Figure 23 Cumhuriyet Square (Wowturkey, 2006)

d) Kültürpark

From its founding years, Kültürpark was the symbol of not only İzmir but also the country at large, because it represented the international recognition of the growing economy of the new republic (Yılmaz, Kılınc, Pasin, 2015, 42 & 166). It was founded in 1936, with the primary aim of accommodating an annual international exposition organized by the İzmir Chamber of Commerce¹². It was designed as a vast

¹² In 1923 the first Turkish Economic Congress was held in İzmir. Within the scope of the congress, a national exposition was organized to exhibit agricultural and industrial Turkish products (Aksoy and Yurdakul Özgünel, 2001, 13; Karpat, 2009, 75; Yılmaz, Kılınc, Pasin, 2015, 75-77). This can be accepted as the first step of the Kültürpark's establishment. After the foundation of the İzmir

green space with social, entertainment and sports facilities that were associated with the culture of modernity. These included music halls, cafes, an open air theater, a zoo, a funfair; a parachute tower, a tennis club, a shooting range, a riding center; an artificial lake, a botanical garden, a rosary, and exhibition areas for fairs (Figure 24) (Yılmaz, Kılınç, Pasin, 2015, 80). The mayor of the period Behçet Uz introduced Kültürpark as a public university, where the population would learn the cultural premises of modernization (Yılmaz, Kılınç, Pasin, 2015, 172).



Figure 24 Kültürpark, unknown date (Kültürpark İzmir, 2016)

However, Kültür Park's symbolic association witnessed several transformations, as it became the symbol of popular entertainments in the 1950s, and globalization in the 1980s (Yılmaz, Kılınç, Pasin, 2015, 374). At that time, in relation to the new economic trends and the changing structure of fair organizations world-wide, Kültürpark became a place where several specialized fairs were organized at different times of the year. In 2015 the municipality designated a new area for expositions¹³ (Kültürpark İzmir, 2016). Having lost much of its initial intensity of cultural activities today, the future use of the original site is a highly contested topic as Kültürpark is considered to be a significant component of İzmir's collective memory.

Chamber of Commerce in 1926, decision of an annual exposition was taken (Karpaz, 2009, 82)¹². After successful economic returns, the following expositions were planned to be international in 1933. With the prediction of the exposition area would be inefficient for the following years (Aksoy and Yurdakul Özgünel, 2001, 5; Karpaz, 2009, 110-111).

¹³ With the announcement of 'İzmir Fair Kültürpark Environmental Planning and Fair Area Architectural Project Competition' (*İzmir Fuarı Kültürpark Çevre Düzenlemesi ve Fuar Kompleksi Mimari Proje Yarışması*) (Egemimarlık, 1991), some structures were planned to be demolished and others were to be restored (Yılmaz, Kılınç, Pasin, 2015, 341). In this period, the zoo moved to Sasalı in 2008, and the fair moved to Gaziemir in 2015 (Yılmaz, Kılınç, Pasin, 2015, 10 & 347; Kültürpark İzmir, 2016).

e) Varyant

Constructed in 1955, the symbolic value of the Varyant road relies more on its topographical properties than its use. From a utilitarian viewpoint it is an important road that connects Hatay, one of İzmir's most populated districts, to the city center, Konak¹⁴. However, its dramatic curvilinear slope which provides a breathtaking panoramic view of the bay renders it a unique site associated with the city. Since its founding years, Varyant has been a popular site to capture photographic and filmic images of the city (Figures 25 and 26) (Ülkeryıldız and Önder, 2013, 32).

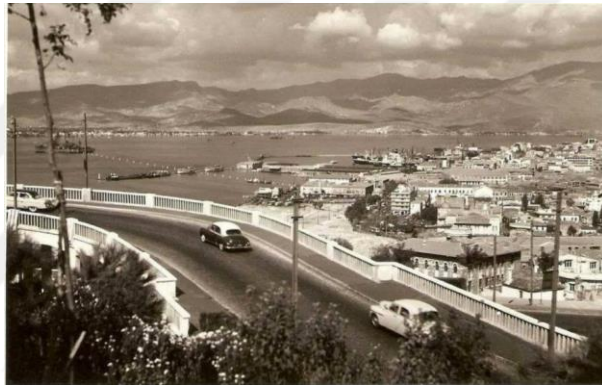


Figure 25 Varyant, İzmir, late 1950s (Ezel, 2012)



Figure 26 Screenshot, *Ateş Böceği*, 42:40 sec (Seden, 1975)

¹⁴ The road was initially proposed by Le Corbusier (Kaya, 2002, 112; Aşkan, 2011, xxv) and included in Aru's plan of 1953 (Can, 2007, 131; Aşkan, 2011, 97).

f) Asansör

Not unlike Varyant, Asansör derives its symbolic significance mostly from İzmir's topographical conditions. Financed by a local entrepreneur Nesim Levi, it was built in 1907 to provide connection between busy roads, Mithatpaşa and Halilrifatpaşa which are separated by a level difference of 58 meters (APİKAM, 2016; İzmir Ticaret Odası, 2007, 18). It's somewhat hidden location and modest architecture with hardly any ornamental features (Figure 27) does not easily translate into small scale replicas like the Clock Tower.

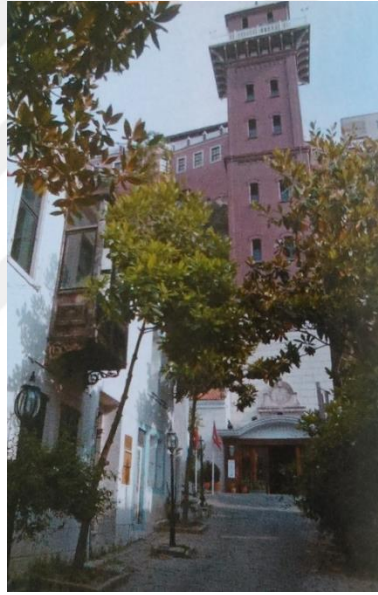


Figure 27 Asansör and Dario Moreno Street with restored old İzmir houses (İzmir Ticaret Odası, 2007, 18)

3.2.2 Representations of Folkart Towers

In contrary to the historical backgrounds of the renowned İzmir symbols that were strengthened by political and social conditions, Folkart Towers were declared as the city's new symbol in 2011 by Folkart Yapı via different platforms such as newspapers, magazines, websites, billboards, TV, and movie theaters (Appendix 2). Commercial films and renderings of the Towers were used to announce them when their construction started. In addition to Folkart Yapı's marketing campaign, the Towers' popularity has also been supported by extensive media publicity. Digital and

printed press, internet blogs and forums gave place to the Towers' construction process and reinforced their prospective symbolic value for İzmir (Figure 28).



Figure 28 The image on top of “*Yeni Reklam Filmi Folkart Towers’ı İkonlaştırıyor*” (The New Advertisement Film Iconizes Folkart Towers) titled new (Ege’nin Sesi, 2013)

Particularly commercial films present images which integrate Folkart Towers with the everyday life of İzmir’s citizens. Three such films have appeared on TV since 2011 when the construction process started. The first advertisement shows different views of the city and characters of various ages enjoying themselves at the most popular public spaces of İzmir including Kordon, historic Asansör, Cumhuriyet Square (Figure 29), Varyant (Figure 30), Kültürpark, and Saat Kulesi (Figure 31). The heart-warming voice of Müşfik Kenter, a well-known Turkish actor, is heard at the background underlining the importance of feelings, memories and dreams that are associated with the city. In other words, to be able to explain the significance of the Towers in İzmir’s future, the commercial promotes the city by referring to its past. Art critic John Berger asserts that the commercials “never speak of the present. Often they refer to the past and always they speak of the future” (1977, 130). In accordance with Berger’s statement, the final frame shows a digital representation of the Folkart Towers on site, where Kenter says “at the heart of the city a brand new project rises for the ones whose hearts go out to İzmir” (Youtube, 2012).



Figure 29 Screenshot, Folkart Towers' commercial film, 0:46 sec (Youtube, 2012)



Figure 30 Screenshot, Folkart Towers' commercial film, 0:55 sec (Youtube, 2012)



Figure 31 Screenshot, Folkart Towers' commercial film, 1:01 sec (Youtube, 2012)

The second film appeared on the TV screens in 2013, still during the construction period. Unlike the first advertisement, where emphasis is placed on the city, here the focus is on the symbolic value of the Towers. Images of the Towers are shown on objects like postcards, magnets, coffee cups, book covers, puzzles and snow globes (Figures 32, 33, and 34) (Youtube, 2013). Once again, the Kenter's voice is heard saying, "once you get the taste of the city where you had the best of all feelings, memories, and dreams, you simply cannot live without it" (Youtube, 2013), and "the new landmark of İzmir rises with the heartbeats of its residents. Folkart Towers: İzmir's heartbeat in the sky" (Youtube, 2013). The film fulfills the main function of publicity images which is to create desire by convincing the spectators that they lack fulfillment in their present life styles (Berger, 1977, 142).



Figure 32 Screenshot, Folkart Towers' commercial film, 0:24 sec (Youtube, 2013)



Figure 33 Screenshot, Folkart Towers' commercial film, 0:33 sec (Youtube, 2013)



Figure 34 Screenshot, Folkart Towers' commercial film, 0:43 sec (Youtube, 2013)

The third commercial film of 2015, however, marks a shift of focus as it undertakes a political mission. The same year Folkart Yapı sponsored two local football teams, Göztepe and Karşıyaka which are known to be archrivals (Milliyet.com.tr, 2015). In the film, each team's fan groups approach each other from opposite directions under pouring rain (Figure 35). The two groups meet in front of the Folkart Towers. After the group leaders shake hands (Figure 36), they unfurl a giant Turkish flag under sunshine (Figure 37) (Youtube, 2015). While the commercial publicizes the sponsorship, it also gives messages of peace and friendship and celebrates the Republic Day of Turkey.

All three films assimilate an artificial importance to Folkart Towers by means of integrating the latter to the memories of the İzmir's citizens. This is more apparent for the first and second films; however, the third film can be interpreted as the Towers, which have already become a part of the city, can restructure those memories.



Figure 35 Screenshot, Folkart Towers' commercial film, 2015, 0:23 sec (Youtube, 2015)

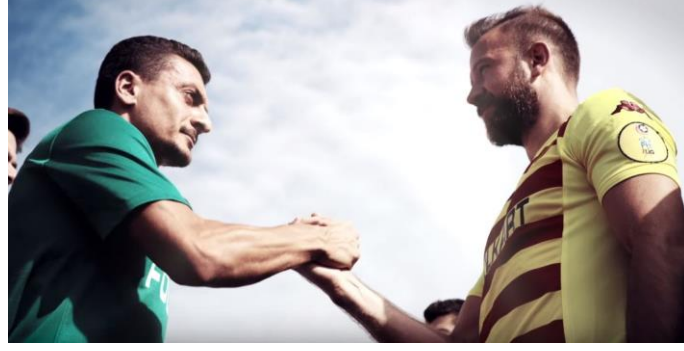


Figure 36 Screenshot, Folkart Towers' commercial film, 2015, 0:39 sec (Youtube, 2015)



Figure 37 Screenshot, Folkart Towers' commercial film, 2015, 0:49 sec (Youtube, 2015)

According to Mehmet Yağcıoğlu, the head architect of Folkart Towers' design office, the project team expected the Towers to attract attention due to their heights and formal characteristics. However, they did not intend to design iconic structures when they started to work on the project. The particular emphasis of the brief given by Folkart Yapı was maximum access to the sea view. The Towers were attributed symbolic status only as a result of the investor's marketing tactics (Interview with Mehmet Yağcıoğlu, 2015). Since the new high rise building began to appear around the Folkart Towers, the outstanding features of the latter have started to lose their initial effect. The shift of tone in the 2015 advertisement may partially be explained by this phenomenon whereby Folkart Yapı needs to devise a new image to maintain its popularity in İzmir.

Besides marketing agencies, the images of Folkart Towers attracted professional photographers as well. The exhibition titled, *İzmir: A Legacy for Tomorrow (İzmir: Yarınlara Bir Miras)* which was organized by Arkas Art Gallery in 2015, consisted of the images of the city recorded by 18 photographers who were commissioned by

Arkas Company. The Towers' dominance in İzmir's urbanscape is clearly seen in the photographs which include the sea view. The exhibition catalogue, which includes 85% of the photographs, includes two works which are clearly critical of the gentrification process that affected the area. Nilgün Özdemir's photograph features a view of the front façades of the Towers from the bay (Figure 38). The photograph emphasizes the dramatic scale difference between the Towers and the existing urban fabric in both physical and social terms.



Figure 38 “Bayraklı”, Nilgün Özdemir, 2016 (Arkas Sanat Merkezi, 2015, 106)

Muhammad Jahangir Khan's photograph, on the other hand, centers the Towers' silhouettes through a frame from the mound of Kadifekale (Figure 39). The demolished wall in the foreground is reminiscent of the lost traces of the city's history. The Towers are emphasized by their central position in the composition. Like Özdemir's photograph, this one too features the Towers from the “other” side of the city and shows the contrast between the highly polished image of the regenerated city and its exclusions in social and physical terms.



Figure 39 “Kadifekale”, Muhammad Jahangir Khan, 2016 (Arkas Sanat Merkezi, 2015, 72)

In 2016, Mahzen Photos, a photographer collective in İzmir, organized a workshop called *Kulelerin Gölgesindeki Adalet* (Justice in the Shadow of the Towers) which focused on the everyday life that surrounds Folkart Towers. The end products dramatically show that the residents of the Towers’ immediate neighborhood have a different relationship to them than what is presented in the commercials (Figure 40). The following chapter focuses further on this discrepancy by voicing and analyzing the experiences of the residents of both the Towers and their immediate neighborhood.



Figure 40 Screenshot, *Kulelerin Gölgesindeki Adalet*, 2016 (Youtube, 2016, 3:27 sec)

4 IN PRACTICE: RE-MAKING EVERYDAY LIFE

This chapter, which is based on on-site interviews, is an analysis of the effects of the urban transformation process on the everyday practices of Salhane's users. The framework of the indepth interviews was shaped to clarify the users' spatial experiences before and after the construction of Folkart Towers, and their future expectations and concerns regarding Salhane's regeneration.

The interviewees' viewpoints depended largely on their specific area of residence in reference to Folkart Towers. For example, the interviewees from zone A, which is not planned to be demolished, and those who inhabit Folkart Towers, are more in favor of the new plans than the inhabitants of zones C and D. The latter, whose houses and businesses will be demolished, mostly emphasize the negative impacts of the Towers and the regeneration plan (See Figure 1).

Environmental and social discrepancies within the research area are strongly voiced by almost every interviewee. While the majority approached the situation as a physical problem, the slum neighborhood's residents forcefully expressed the process of their alienation in social and economic terms.

4.1 Residential Areas

4.1.1 Folkart Towers

The residential section of Folkart Towers is managed by a professional firm hired by Folkart Yapı and the sales are conducted via Forent Real Estate, which works under the latter. According to one of their brokers, out of 220 units (Folkart Towers, 2016), 80-90% is presently occupied. However, these figures are undermined by the local headman, who stated that only 76 units were registered¹⁵. The interviews were conducted with a real estate broker and 3 unit owners (Figure 41) (See Table 1).

¹⁵ The managing firm, YKS firm holds the actual occupancy rates confidential.

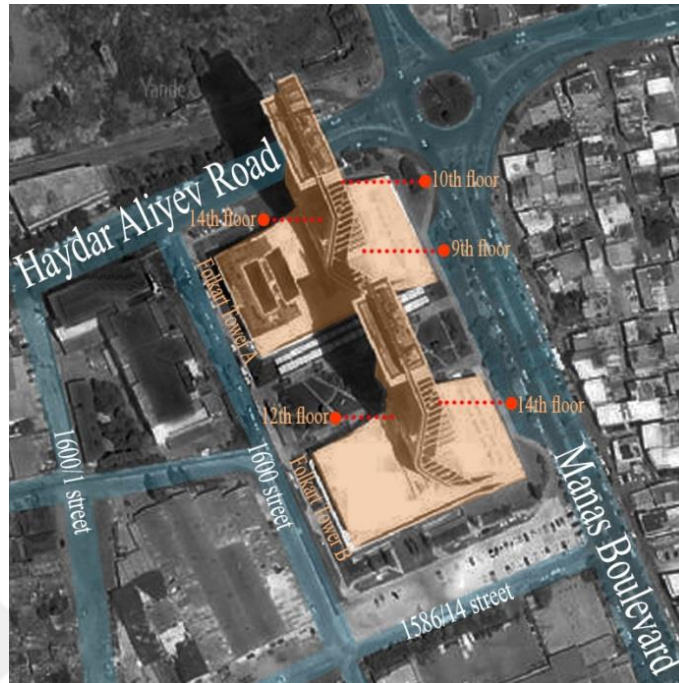


Figure 41 Interviewed houses, zone B (Yandex Map image edited by the author)

One of the unit owners, B4, stated that Forent is very selective in terms of the social status of the prospective tenants to keep the positive image of the Towers¹⁶. They want to make sure that the residences are hired and bought by trustworthy people who can take proper care of the place and obey the rules of the management.

Despite the luxurious image projected by the Towers, not all residents seem to be satisfied by the services. Real estate broker exemplified the situation as follows,

“One says, ‘I want my garbage to be taken from my apartment’, but there is no such service here. There is a garbage chute on every floor; you have to go there to dispose of your garbage. Since this place is based on the concept of a hotel, expectations can be very high.”

The concept of a hotel (Figure 42) may not always evoke a positive image though. A former resident, B2, said that he often confused his apartment door with others’. However, he and his wife seemed satisfied with their home. Since they had to move

¹⁶ The residential section seems to be a source of investment as the units are being purchased by private firms to be rented as well as by individuals who choose to live there. F showed three units which are owned by private firms; however, she held the identity of the owners confidential.

to another city due to business purposes, they wanted to rent out their place. B2, a football player, related their positive experience to their daily life. He said,

“We had great times; we moved here directly after getting married; we had 2 wonderful [football] seasons. We had a baby; then I was transferred to another team.”



Figure 42 Residences’ lobby of Tower B (Folkart Towers, 2016)

Yet B2 also said that at the beginning, they had some problems with the services as the elevators did not function properly and they were disturbed by the light effects on the Towers’ façades. However, he stated that they solved the problem easily by hanging block out curtains. On the other hand, B4 pointed that his apartment was very hot in summers due to the glazing, which he identified as the only problem of the unit.

Although both units view the slum neighborhood, their residents are hardly affected by its presence. The visible and invisible boundaries that surround the Towers isolate their residents from their neighborhood, which they otherwise perceive to be dangerous. According to B4, since the Towers are highly protected by security guards, they have not been disturbed by the residents of the neighboring spaces. It seems that the security boundary, which minimizes the residents’ contact with their surroundings, helps them to focus on the magnificent sea view and renders the slum area invisible to their eyes. Related to that, B4 said that when he first moved in, he was frightened by the uninhabited environment, especially during night time.

However, after the neighbors settled in the Towers, and the neighborhood got more populated by the rise of new buildings, he began to feel more comfortable. He characterized the area as getting safer while comparing the current situation with the past.

However, the residents of the Towers also voiced their discontent with the feeling of isolation. For example, B2 stated that they had not communicated at all with other residents. He added that once or twice they were disturbed by noise from upstairs but the problem did not repeat after they filed a complaint via the Towers' management. His wife, B3 said that she had never seen anyone on either the corridors or the elevators, and she felt like they were alone in the tower. B4 relates this to the huge scale of the Towers, which makes meeting with the neighbors almost impossible.

Despite their relatively mild complaints, the residents continuously emphasized the advantages of living in the Towers. All enjoyed being there, mostly due to the ease of access to such facilities as entertainment and sports. They find the Towers attractive also due to their accessibility from different parts of the city, despite the increasing traffic load that parallels the rise in the area's population. Even though they had difficulties with finding tenants due to high rental prices, they seemed very confident with the potential economic return of their investments. B4, who is friends with the owners of Folkart Yapı, said that, the slum area was bought by the latter before any other investor laid an eye on it. According to him, Folkart Yapı was planning to build either villas or one or two more towers which would be situated "diagonally" so that the view of the original Towers would not be obstructed. He said to his friend at Folkart Yapı "if you build further here, I will sell my apartment before its value declines". B4 stated that new construction would start after 7 or 8 years.

To summarize, Folkart Towers seem to stand like a fortress both physically and metaphorically. While simple factual information like occupancy levels is held in confidence, physical access is barred by security devices and administrative mechanisms. Residents have minimal contact with each other, as even mild conflicts need to be reported to the building administration rather than solved by face to face contact.

4.1.2 The Slum Neighborhood

This area is called *Salhane* (slaughterhouse) due to the slaughterhouse, which was located by the sea until 1994. There were leather workshops in zone D and part of zone C, and traces of the workshops can still be seen on the randomly placed sales signs for livestock. Now the area is occupied by a slum neighborhood which consists of single and double story-houses. The residents are first and second generation migrants from Mardin, Diyarbakır, and Urfa, (Southwestern cities of Turkey) and mostly related by blood ties. Some raise goats and chickens on empty lots, which are maintained communally to obtain eggs and to produce cheese (Figure 43).

In depth interviews were conducted with 8 residents (Figure 44) (See Table 1) with households of average 5 family members. One of the interviewees lived with her son, and one was single, living with his 15 cats. The main themes of the interviews were social life in the neighborhood, residents' perception of Folkart Towers, environmental changes caused by Folkart Towers', and residents' future projections.



Figure 43 The slum neighborhood (Photograph by author, 2015)

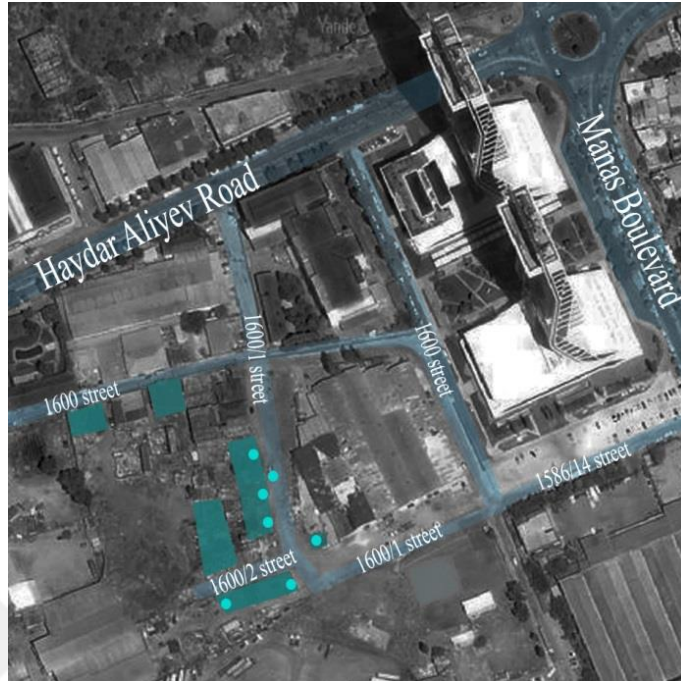


Figure 44 Interviewed houses, zone D (Yandex Map image edited by the author)

4.1.2.1 Social Life

During the site visits, a remarkably large number of residents were observed to be sitting outside in front of their houses (Figure 45). Although this seemed to be an expression of eagerness to socialize, they were not willing to talk with outsiders. One resident, D11, who worked for a carwash company, emphasized the social unity and network in their neighborhood. He conveyed his observations as follow:

“My neighbors do not talk with you because they are not able to express themselves. They are also afraid of something else; they think that any stranger who comes here may be from the police. If you ask me, if you have nothing to hide it does not matter.”



Figure 45 Screenshot, *Kulelerin Gölgesindeki Adalet*, 2016 (Youtube, 2016, 2:37 sec)

According to D14, the construction of the Towers affected the area positively in terms of the neighborhood's livelihood. However, one of the oldest residents, D9, who had lived there for 35 years, stated that:

“After the construction of the Towers, everything has changed. These Towers harmed the social life of the neighborhood. The intensity of former interaction between us is not available anymore. Everyone knew each other beforehand; but now no one knows who is who.”

He also said that although he had blood ties with other residents, they were not close in social terms. Consequently, he preferred to go to *kahvehane* on the other side of the Manas Boulevard, behind zone A, to socialize. However, D9 participated in the socio-economic organization of the neighborhood by feeding the goats of D7 as part of the culture of communal care of the livestock. This shows perhaps the last traces of a mutual-help economy that survives despite the neo-liberal economic policies that govern the urban transformation process of the area.

4.1.2.2 Perception of Folkart Towers

Folkart Towers are located approximately 150 meters away from the slum neighborhood of old Salhane and there is no visual barrier between the two. Yet, the latter have minimal contact with the Towers. In fact 6 of the interviewees stated that they had never been to the Towers. M attributes their lack of contact to the Towers'

social impermeability due to their image of luxury. He had lived there for 24 years and shared his past experiences as follows:

“There were factories and leather ateliers where a lot of workers worked. During lunch time, they went to the seashore to eat and drink tea. The flow of those workers earned money for salesmen and drivers here.”

In other words, the area used to have a socio-cultural homogeneity which did not survive to date. According to D11, the Towers have nothing to offer to them and most of the residents feel uncomfortable in their presence. He said,

“To be able to go there you have to pay for the service that you get, but the price of one dinner is equal to my monthly expenses.”

His statement is supported by D12 and D13 who said:

“We feel shame even when we walk by the Towers. How can we go there? People we see there are their own people.”

The repeated use of the word “they” by the interviewees for the users of the Towers is remarkable in showing the residents’ dis-identification with the gentrified life style of Salhane. Emphasizing the unequal income distribution in the area, D10 adopted a fatalistic viewpoint and said:

“It does not matter if you live in this house or that in this transient life, death is the great leveler.”

The youngest interviewee, 15 year old D6 said that youngsters were precluded from entrance by the security guards of the Towers. Despite their general feeling of exclusion, some of the residents said that they visited the park in front of the Towers due to the relative coolness of the area during the summer months. However, their general expressions demonstrate that the public nature of the area is reduced after the construction of the Towers. This may partially explain why most of the interviewees, except one, did not identify Folkart Towers as the symbol of İzmir.

4.1.2.3 Environmental Changes

Many residents complained about the climatic changes which they witnessed after the construction of Folkart Towers. While the sunlight reflecting from the Towers' façades generates additional heat in the summer months, the increased wind velocity generated by the monumental scale of the Towers causes discomfort especially during the winter months. One of D10's guests, who lives on the other side of the Manas Boulevard, stated that,

“Since these are tall buildings, the wind became too intense and made winters chilly here. My neighborhood has no wind. We are living in two separate worlds.”

Her other guest indicated that she is uncomfortable with the reflecting sunlight due to its carcinogenic effects.

Since rumors spread about the area's demolition, the interviewees claimed that they could not benefit from public services such as pest control. D11 said that the prospect of demolition negatively affected their daily life as they could not demand anything from the municipality or the local headman regarding the area's environmental maintenance. He summarized their situation saying “we are neither alive nor dead; we feel like living in purgatory”.

4.1.2.4 Future Projections

When asked what they would do after demolition, most residents adopt a fatalistic attitude, simply saying that they would find another place to live. Yet some expressed their grief over losing their social network. For instance, D14 who lives in a rental house, works for a *kokoreççi* and has two adult brothers who also work, says

“What can we do if they demolish this place? Our neighborhood will fall apart. We have been hearing this for years, but one day we will have to find another place.”

D14 is in a relatively comfortable position living in a triple income family. However D5, who has to take care of his elderly mother, sounded worried when he said “if they decide to demolish this place, we will have to move on”. Presently, the owner of their house allows them to live rent-free, providing that they take care of the land.

Like D14 and D5 almost all of the interviewees can have any future plans since they have no idea when the process will start.

4.2 Business and Commercial Functions

4.2.1 Manas Boulevard

Zone A covers the front row of the urban lot along Manas Boulevard which faces Folkart Towers (Figure 46). The lot includes single and double story slums and multi-story apartment blocks built since the 1990s. In addition to residential functions, there are recently built plazas which house a broad range of business and commercial functions ranging from car maintenance facilities to restaurants. According to the interviews, the number of business and commercial spaces in the area has increased in direct relation to the progress of urban regeneration. The interviews were conducted with the owners and the employees at 9 different locations (Figure 47) (See Table 1). Issues of increasing sales volumes and real estate prices and the socio-economic effects of Folkart Towers on the area were the recurrent themes that were recurrently emphasized by the interviewees.



Figure 46 Manas Boulevard (Photograph by author, 2015)



Figure 47 Business and commercial spaces where interviews were carried out in zone A (Yandex Map image edited by the author)

4.2.1.1 Economic Transformations

Zone A is not included among the areas that are planned to be demolished by the municipality. Therefore, particularly business owners there reported their increased sales and positive economic expectations. For instance, although the owner of the bakery shop, A15 stated that as the Towers had their own bakery and there was not much business during the initial months, their sales increased afterwards when residents of the Towers began to patronize his shop. He thinks that his business will benefit further from the upcoming projects in the area.

The owner of the sandwich shop, A22, who had been running his business for 18 years, stated that they had been there before the Towers were constructed when they sold sandwiches to the workers of Tekel factory. He mentioned the present diversity of their clients' profile, and also claimed that if they kept their shop open 24 hours a week, they would always have customers since their sales did not depend on the factory employees' schedule anymore.

The owner of the auto body shop, A17, who had been working there for 24 years, also mentioned the increase in the number of their customers after the Towers' construction. He explained that when they first started the business, the area was underdeveloped and the land would gain value with the new regeneration project. He explained his future plans as follows:

“I am in this business for 40 years, and have worked for 24 years in this location. I am retired but I continue to work. When the urban regeneration process comes to a point to sufficiently increase the value of this plot, I would like to retire completely.”

In general, the owners and the employees of the businesses stated that the Towers had positively affected their sales. 6 of the interviewees indicated their choice of the area to start their business was consciously made since it was part of the new entrepreneurial zone. All respondents were positive about the urban regeneration process as it would increase their business in the future, despite the negative effects of increasing traffic load in the area.

4.2.1.2 Perception of Folkart Towers

The relationship between Folkart Towers and the residents of Zone A is not symmetrical. While the residents of the former patronize the businesses on Manas Boulevard, Folkart Towers does not seem to offer much to the latter. There are only a few exceptions like the employees of the florist shop, the print house and the translation office on Manas Boulevard who stated that they used the restaurants and the cafes at the ground level of the Towers, namely Folkart Bazaar, for business meetings. However, they did not prefer to go to Folkart Bazaar for entertainment purposes due to the limitations of their financial status. Only one of the employees of the translation office, A24, specified that she patronized Starbucks, and the owner of home cooking restaurant, A25, said that he had been to Mostari Restaurant once to celebrate his wedding anniversary. A15 said that his children occasionally used the Towers to take the free painting course offered at the gallery space¹⁷.

¹⁷ Since 2015, Folkart Gallery offers free painting courses to children between the ages of 5 and 11, sponsoring all art supplies. There are no preconditions for registration (Folkart Gallery, 2016; Interview with the employees of Folkart Gallery, 03.11.2016).

Most residents were not quite at home with the presence of the Towers. The owner of the sandwich shop, A22, said that when his employees went to the Towers to deliver their orders, they had to leave the food to the reception on the ground floor. Similarly, A24 stated that they were isolated from the Towers as visitors had to pass several security barriers and were not granted access without prior appointment. She had an unusually dark view of the Towers due to their impermeability;

“I heard that there were suspicious activities there as luxurious cars approach the Towers at night and some dubious people come out. I cannot really understand this place; there is a great contrast. The district includes both slums and luxurious buildings. They say that all businesses will move here but I do not think so. This place is not like a new central business district.”

The waiter of the kebab restaurant, A18, supported her, in saying that great amounts of cash were delivered to some of the offices in the Towers at night time, when security measures were visibly increased.

5 of the interviewees think that the Towers became the new symbol of the city, although they associated İzmir’s image with the Clock Tower and the commercial center, Alsancak. They agreed that the Towers had influenced the area positively and accelerated work on other constructions. A25 asserted that the area would become the Manhattan of İzmir. However, in contrary to those who think Folkart Towers became the new symbol of the city, A17 claimed that the latter would become imperceptible in the future when other towers would surround them.

4.2.2 Folkart Towers

Most of the commercial functions of the Folkart Towers are located at the ground floor. Called Folkart Bazaar, the area features cafes, restaurants, two car galleries, a super market, a pharmacy, and a dry cleaning store (Figure 48). There is a sports center between the 5th and 7th floors in tower A. The 18th floor of tower B features an art gallery which belongs to Folkart Yapı, and both of the Towers include offices between the 18th and 44th floors (See Figure 2). The interviewees, which included employees, clients and a business owner, are distributed across these locations (Figure 49) (See Table 1).



Figure 48 Folkart Bazaar (Photograph by author, 2015)

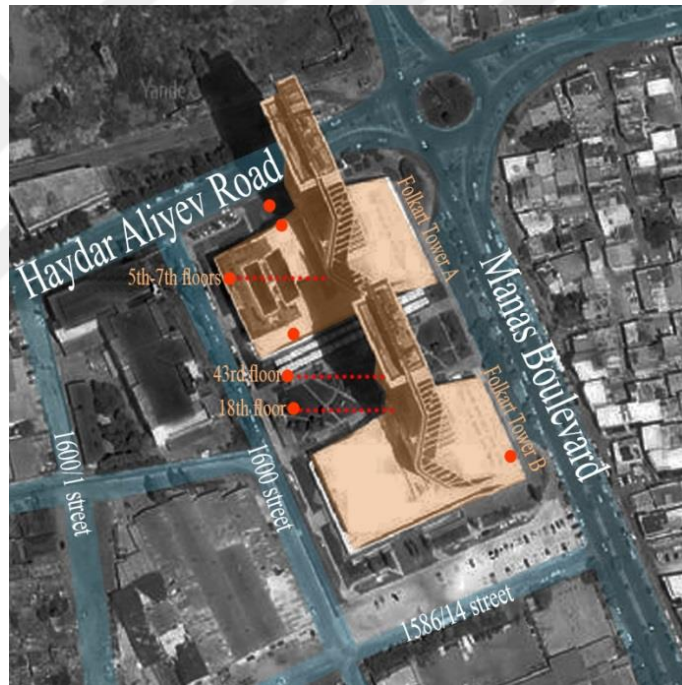


Figure 49 Business and commercial spaces where interviews were conducted in zone B (Yandex Map image edited by the author)

4.2.2.1 Perception of Folkart Towers

Echoing the media images and publicity films, most of the interviewees saw Folkart Towers as the new symbol of İzmir. The employees of the art gallery, B37 and B38, and the employee of the sports center, B34, emphasized that the visibility of the Towers made them worthy of being the city's symbol. B38 was convinced that the distinguished architectural characteristics of the buildings would render them highly

visible even in the presence of future skyscrapers. However, there are contrary opinions as well. The employee of the insurance company, B36, stated that he did not think that the Towers were the new symbol of the city as they were “ugly buildings” away from the city center. He continued saying that,

“They erected some Towers with the idea that this place would be the Manhattan of İzmir, but I do not think this is sufficient. It is only for show-off, I hate this place.”

The occupants of the businesses at Folkart Towers keenly expressed their opinions on the latter’s positive role in ecology. B37 and B38 found vertical urban development beneficial in environmental terms. According to them, provision of green space and energy efficient cooling and heating systems were some of the advantages of Folkart Towers. However, B36 and his colleague B35, reported health problems among employees, such as allergic diseases due to closed-circuit ventilation. B36 said that,

“There is never fresh air, the windows cannot be opened. Sometimes I feel like there are electric cables inside my body.”

Height was also expressed as a concern by the occupants. B35 said that some of their colleagues developed vertigo after moving in. She also complained that they were isolated from their surroundings when they entered the Towers. Their former office, which was at the ground level in Alsancak, enabled them to be a part of everyday activities in their neighborhood. Since both Ç and F work in the sales department of their company, it is very important for them to socialize to find new customers. In terms of business-contacts their new location did not seem to have provided them with any advantages except the magnificent view from the 43rd floor, which impressed the customers.

The security guard B27 found some merit in the Towers in terms of their contribution to the area despite his complaints about wages and working conditions. As a former user of Salhane, who came to Tekel factory to buy and drink wine, he asserted that it was not a safe place at that time. According to him, the Towers had changed the user profile and increased the area’s prestige. The owner of the café & restaurant, B28, supported this as he explained their choice of location to start the business. However, he added that the image of the Towers was misleading to many who thought that the

place was very expensive. This was partially refuted by university students B30, B31 and B32, who spent time studying at the Folkart Bazaar coffee shop, due to the quiet environment. Since they were coming from different parts of the city, they found the location of the Towers convenient in terms of accessibility. The free parking facility of the Towers was a great advantage according to B31, a point which was also made by B36 and B34.

Despite their ease of access from various parts of the city, the Towers have a labyrinthine structure inside. This was vividly described by B30, who once had an appointment at one of the offices. She explained that due to security issues, after passing the reception, one needed to code the required floor number on the elevator buttons, which were located at a distance from the elevators themselves. There was no way to change one's destination after embarking the elevator. She said that when she found out that she coded the wrong floor number, she was trapped in a random floor with no access to the elevator buttons.

“I waited for a while for someone to come. Someone came and I asked her. Yes. They were mounted on the wall [at the lobby]. I could not understand, whether they were placed that far due to aesthetical reasons. I was trapped in another way as well: I wanted to walk around in the building, so I got off at a floor when the elevator automatically stopped. I was looking around and stuff; the floor happened to be a spa. All of a sudden I found myself surrounded by mystical sounds. It was a very interesting experience, I was struck with surprise.”

In spite of some reservations, the interviewees were generally impressed by the presence of the Towers. One of the customers', B33's, expressions at the cafe summarized the situation when pointing to one of the Towers she said:

“It looks like a secure and durable building; this place is for people who are keen on comfort and classiness.”

4.2.2.2 Perception of Urban Regeneration and Future Projections

Like the residents of the commercial units on Manas Boulevard, most in Folkart Towers too approached the regeneration project positively. Even the term “Manhattanization” was enthusiastically used by B28, who agreed that the Towers would be İzmir’s symbol and said, “This place will be like Manhattan. Folkart started the process”. His enthusiasm stemmed from the so-called prestigious nature of the area, which attracted clients.

The interviewees’ support of the project is also grounded in the prospects of increasing business. B34 and B38 predicted that the development process will increase the employment rates. Furthermore, B38 thinks that if the transformation of the area started 10 years ago, it could have been more beneficial for the city’s economic development.

However, whether supportive or not, the interviewees did not reserve their criticisms. While M thought that tall buildings would damage the city’s silhouette, B36 and B31 saw them as show cases of private investors. B36 said that he could not identify himself with Folkart Towers; he hoped that the developers of the new buildings would be more concerned about their environmental quality:

“I think that they must have observed the deficiencies here [i.e., Folkart Towers]. That is, unless profit making and unearned income is their only goal.”

B35 was also against the area’s urban development, but thought that the land owners were very lucky due to increasing real estate prices. Similar to her, B30 and B27 also expressed their wish to be land owners in the area.

The discrepancy of the current urban fabric was voiced by most of the interviewees except for B29 and B34 whose expressions were neutral. The deep disparity between the environmental quality of Folkart Towers and the neighbouring slum area was characterized as an “abyss” by B26, B35 and B37. B26 said that,

“There is a strange abyss that is as deep as the height of these skyscrapers...Very wealthy, very intellectual, very poor; all classes co-exist here.”

B35 found that the back streets were haphazard despite the orderly main roads and it was possible to encounter unexpected and unpleasant situations. For instance, particularly after the Sacrifice Feast, carcasses of livestock would be left on the streets on the way to the underground station. All interviewees agreed that the new regeneration project would provide a much needed orderly urban space.

The slum neighborhood was reported to be a problem by the interviewees. B28, B37 and B38 think that the slums should be adapted to the new development. According to B37 and B38, the visitors of the art gallery complain about the view, which faces the slum neighborhood (Figure 50). B27 complained about the neighborhood, too, not because of the view, but the conflict between the security guards and the residents. He said,

“God damn it! We are fighting every day. Many of our friends get injured by them. Demolish, demolish them [the houses at the slum area] all!”



Figure 50 The slum neighborhood, from Folkart Gallery (Photograph by author, 2015)

He also added that the residents were “disgusting” since they were poor, although he himself lived in a shanty house in another neighborhood. His approach has a critical importance in revealing the conflict between the Towers and the existing urban fabric can be observed in both physical and social terms.

4.2.3 Warehouses and Mixed Use Development

The inner areas of Salhane quarter was swampy ground until the 1978 plan of İzmir proposed to turn it to a central business district. The warehouses in zone C were built according to this plan (Figure 51). The prior users of the area, who are still working there (Figure 52), explained that eucalyptuses which required large amounts of water were planted in the gardens to dry the land. They also stated that the area was covered with vegetable gardens until the early 2000s. The zone has been included within the borders of the NCC Plan since 2010.



Figure 51 The warehouses, zone C (Photograph by author, 2015)

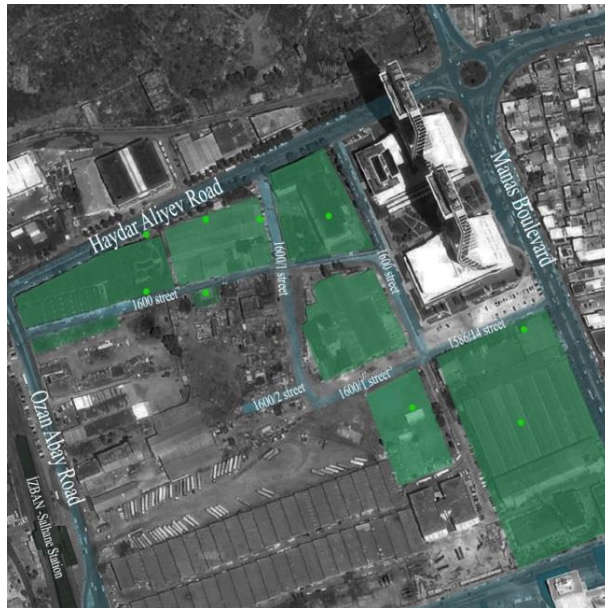


Figure 52 Locations of the business and commercial spaces where interviews were conducted in zone C (Yandex Map image edited by the author)

4.2.3.1 Economic Transformations

The interviewees' views about the economic effects of urban regeneration were contradictory. The manager of the cold storage, C41, who had worked there for 11 years, stated that he witnessed the public buildings in the area being sold to private firms due to the neo-liberal economic policies of the past decade. He said that

“A lot of investment is made in the construction sector nationwide, but I do not think this is beneficial for this area... Since 2006, we have been hearing rumors about this region's and even Tekel factory's potential sale. Later both this parcel and the latter were sold and the entire area turned into a construction site.”

Employees of the fire station reported that the users of the area changed in time. They think that Folkart Towers pioneered this change, and in ten years, after the construction of 63 planned skyscrapers, the area will look completely different. However, the security guard of the cold storage, C39, asserted that the area was not as actively utilized as it had been expected at the beginning. He added that;

“Seemingly Folkart Towers have been on demand for 1.5 – 2 years but they are largely vacant; at the ground level there are cafes. People come and sit at the cafes and order drinks. Apart from that I did not feel any vitality.”

He claimed that the Towers had many vacant apartments and offices; therefore, to be more attractive for the firms, Folkart Yapı allowed prospective tenants to conduct their businesses rent-free during the first six months. Contrary to the security guard's opinion, the purchasing manager of the insulation firm, C50, and the owner of the car wash company, C48, reported increase in their sales volumes and stated that the area gained vitality. In relation to the area's rising popularity, the security guard of the food storage, C42, who lives near Bayraklı, stated that real estate prices increased even in his neighborhood.

The director of finance of the tobacco storage, C40, stated that his bosses wanted to renew the firm to adapt to the new circumstances. In fact, they had a high-rise building project, which was not implemented yet. In fact, since Bayraklı Municipality

expected joint land owners to share their plots prior to their appeal for construction license, a considerable number of projects came to a halt.

4.2.3.2 Environmental and Infrastructural Problems

The interviewees shared the environmental problems that they faced during and after the construction of the Towers, and their future concerns. According to C42, the construction process of the Towers caused discomfort due to the noise and pollution generated by heavy machines. He thinks that, the Towers have had no effect on them since then. However, many of the users mentioned several environmental disadvantages caused by the reflecting surfaces and the scale of the Towers such as increase in temperature and wind velocity. 6 interviewees stated that their buildings and roofs were damaged by the wind in winters, which was not as strong before the construction. C41 said that,

“The population of the area will increase considerably due to the new plan. I do not know how they will solve infrastructural problems. There is no research but only monetary concerns. Since the voice of bureaucrats, rather than those who conduct academic research count, results are not going to be satisfactory.”

In conformity with his opinion, the owner of the metal workshop, C47, said;

“It is not appropriate to damage nature in order to enable some people to make investments. What will happen in the future? We will hardly see the sun in the future, like in New York.”

C50, who moved to İzmir from İstanbul 6 years ago, stated that the transformation of the area was reminiscent of İstanbul’s aggressive urban growth. He hopes that İzmir’s urban fabric will not be damaged in relation to this regeneration process.

The interviewees generally complained about the increasing traffic density. The fire chief, C46, said,

“The skyscrapers’ visual beauty is an advantage but they will bring a lot of disadvantages. Unfortunately traffic will increase due to population density. Alternative routes need to be constructed.”

The problem of accessibility was voiced by other interviewees as well, who pointed to the traffic that resulted in the increase in public transportation, especially during the rush hours.

4.2.3.3 Perception of Folkart Towers

Seeing Folkart Towers as the precedents for future skyscrapers, the interviewees had mixed views about their image. While the fire station employees and C48 agreed with the Towers' positive effects on their surroundings, most of the others were critical of their imposing presence and the current urban development of the area.

The residents also had mixed views about the identification of the Towers with the city. Except for C42, who was clear when he said "İzmir's symbol is the Clock Tower, but this area's symbol is Folkart Towers". Other interviewees identified the Clock Tower, Alsancak, Kadifekale, and the old Fire Station with İzmir, although most of them saw Folkart Towers as the new city symbol.

C46 stated that the Towers "have a visual beauty" and helped to modernize the area. He added that their publicity increased their popularity. C48, who has been running his business for 15 years, supported C46's perception by stating that the area hosted more elite users after the construction of the Towers. However, negative opinions were voiced as well. C43 pointed to the slum neighborhood as the biggest problem of the area. He claimed that the slum dwellers damaged the environment and increased the crime rate. C43 said;

"All of them sell heroin; they sell drugs; they sell everything. They break windows and frames. Folkart's security guards do their best. The front side of the Towers signals luxury, but the back side is a disgrace."

His claim was confirmed by one of the photographers, Nilgün Yoldaş Atilla, who took part in the *Kulelerin Gölgesindeki Adalet* workshop. She stated that, even though some of the residents were involved in crime activities, she did not feel insecure while documenting their everyday life. Furthermore, she added that the photographers and the residents formed warm relationships, and the residents were always respectful of them (Kulelerin Gölgesindeki Adalet, 2016).

C50 stated that Folkart Towers did not have any significant meaning for İzmir; however, their visibility provided a practical advantage for his business:

“When truck drivers coming from İstanbul and Ankara ask me how to reach our place, I tell them to find the courthouse, and then ask where Folkart Towers are; we are on the back street. They say ok and they come. Otherwise, they are not much of a symbol for the city.”

Most of the interviewees stated that benefiting from the significantly expensive services offered by the Towers was not possible for them. However, two of the interviewees stated that they liked to go to the supermarket at the Folkart Bazaar for shopping. The security guard of cold storage stated that he had never been to Folkart Towers and he preferred to spend time at the seashore rather than at luxurious places like the Towers. He said;

“We may see the economic returns of the regeneration area in the following years, but it is not the right time. The Towers are mostly vacant. If I had enough financial means, I would not live close to these warehouses.”

C47 emphasized his astonishment while telling that the monthly dues of the Towers amounted to the monthly rental of a flat. He added that he had never been to the Towers;

“It is actually an expensive place. If you drink a cup of tea, it will cost 5 liras; if we sit there together, we will pay between 30 and 40 liras. A cup of coffee is around 10-15 liras, I have been to Uludağ, and even there you pay less. That place is not open for the use of the public.”

He also underlined that he was against the regeneration of the area saying;

“After these Towers were constructed İzmir became a cool place. People desire to come here; I don’t know, like New York, like Paris, you know, like the Eiffel Tower. I make no bones about being against them. If you ask me, people are happier in the old Bayraklı houses with gardens.”

C41 made a critical comment on the area’s current situation:

“There are sheds in the residential zone at the back. You can encounter sheep and goats. When the direction of urban development shifted, the residents deserted this area and migrants settled in. However, they preserve some of their old habits. Folkart Towers and million dollar cars on one side, sheep on the streets on the other, we have an arabesque life” (See figures 43 and 51).

C41 is the only person who mentioned Tekel factory buildings on Folkart Towers’ site. He stated that one of them had been restored for workers to stay during the construction of the Towers adding that the restored building was very attractive and all of Tekel factory’s buildings could have been restored similarly instead of erecting the Towers. Similarly, C50 stated that urban regeneration projects could preserve the existing urban fabric rather than demolishing everything to make space for high rise structures. He questioned the politics behind the situation asking, “Who benefits? Nobody but the investor”.

Supporting the manager’s explanation, the employee of the car wash company, C49, who used to live in the slum neighborhood, made a fatalistic comment which summarized the situation;

“Now there are some who are pleased and some who are not pleased by this situation. The area became more upscale but they victimized people. The rich ones are surely pleased, others are crushed. It is the rule of life.”

4.2.3.4 Future Projections

Since there have been rumors about demolition, the users of zone C seemed to have come to terms with their potential displacement. Most of them think that their employers will run their businesses in different locations except for the firemen, whose existence in the area will be crucial in the following years. Only C47 said that he wanted to retire after his daughters’ graduation and move to the countryside.

C50 did not believe that their place would be demolished. According to him, for the plot’s joint land owners to come to an agreement would require a couple of years before any action would be taken. At any rate, he thought that the only change in the area would be an increase in the traffic load. In fact, C39 reported that the traffic density had already increased. According to him, when filled with high-rise

structures, the area would transform into a claustrophobic space despite the orderly spatial arrangement that the regeneration would bring.

He also reported that the Towers had construction errors which could be seen with the naked eye and hoped that the new constructions would learn from their predecessor. He stated that the Towers have only temporarily become the new symbol of İzmir; and the upcoming skyscraper projects, the heights of which would surpass Folkart Towers, would render the latter unnoticeable in the future. However, the employees of the fire station had a different view. C43 reported;

“The ‘other’ can be much better, but ‘the one’ is always there, since it is our first encounter. Maybe it is due to subconscious constructions I don’t know. Even if a taller one is built, we would say ‘this one’. It is just like the Clock Tower in Konak, and the old Fire Station which are well known places.”

The positive statements of the firemen could be partially related to their place which will not change through the regeneration project. Since the other interviewees have the possibility of losing their jobs, their views on the urban transformation were more critical.

5 CONCLUSION

Salhane, a quarter of Bayraklı district, was a modest urban settlement until 2006 when İGMM declared Bayraklı as a regeneration zone that was planned to be completed with public-private partnership. The area constitutes the first stage of the NCC development which was redesigned after the international planning competition in 2001. Local newspapers publicized the developments by using headlines which claimed the area to be the “Manhattan” of İzmir. Since then, a largely unpublicized discrepancy has characterized the area in terms of the publicity discourses and images and the everyday lives of its inhabitants.

Emphasizing competitiveness and entrepreneurialism within global and local economic contexts, İGMM presented the new urban development as a “crucial opportunity” for Salhane which mostly includes old industrial buildings and warehouses (Penpecioglu, 2012, 193). The mayor himself underlined the potential investment and job opportunities that would be generated by the new plan (Penpecioglu, 2012, 193).

Folkart Towers are the first completed skyscrapers among the low-rise buildings of Salhane. They are represented as the new symbol of İzmir in their commercials produced by Folkart Yapı. In Folkart Towers’ commercial films, the images of İzmir’s historic symbols, such as the Clock Tower, Kordon and Cumhuriyet Square, appear besides the Towers. The latter also appear in filmic and photographic representations of the city and dominate the urban silhouette with their monumental scale.

Following the framework of Lefebvre’s spatial analysis, these issues were examined in the first two chapters which focus on the urban transformation of Sahane on the ground, and the image of Folkart Towers in discourse. The third chapter which is based on a close analysis of the area is also inspired by Lefebvre’s triad. However, it may be more appropriate to evaluate and conclude the field study with Soja’s concept of Thirdspace which includes both material and mental spaces and the meanings that we give to them.

Based on the field work the relationship between the Towers and their surroundings can be summarized as follows. First of all, the Towers’ highly polished environment

is rendered impermeable to outsiders by means of high security measures. This mostly affects the slum area behind, the inhabitants of which clearly expressed their alienation from them. The users of the warehouses on the other hand, were mostly affected by environmental changes such as increased wind velocity and heat effect generated by the Towers. The commercial spaces across the Towers seem to be less concerned about the negative effects of the Towers such as increasing traffic load, as they have been enjoying increased sale volumes brought by the new population. The inhabitants of the Towers' office spaces are mostly concerned about their isolation from the immediate environments, while the residential population contentedly associates itself with the prestigious environment.

Consequently, Folkart Towers are rarely cited as the new city symbol by the residents of their immediate neighborhood. Those who do see a symbolic value in them are residents of the commercial and business spaces, who benefit from the flourishing economy of the area and associate the Towers with the latter. Even so, they were in conformity with the rest of the residents in citing the historical symbols that are closely associated with the city's history and memory.

To conclude, top down approaches to urban regeneration often creates negative and sometimes unpredicted effects on the everyday life of the area in question. In the case of Salhane, these may be classified as infrastructural, environmental and social effects. Although the first two, which include such problems as traffic congestion and increase in wind and heat effects can be considered as technical issues to be handled by related specialists; the social effects raise different issues regarding the planning process, which had totally excluded the users of the area. If the target of urban regeneration exceeds short-term political and economic benefits, it can turn to be a process that benefits the users of the concerned area in terms of their physical and social needs alike.

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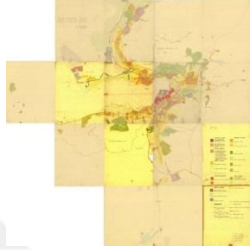
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APPENDIX 1 1925 – 1953 -1973 İZMİR PLANS COMPARISON

	1925 DANGER-PROST PLAN	1953 ARU PLAN	1973 1st METROPOLITAN PLAN
			
DESIGNERS	İzmir Municipality asked for Rene and Raymond Danger to prepare the city's first urban plan under the consultancy of Henri Prost.	Bank for Municipal Services launched an international urban design competition in 1951 Ahmet Aru and his team (Gündüz Özdeş and Emin Canpolat) won the first price.	İzmir Metropolitan Planning Office (<i>İzmir Metropolitan Planlama Bürosu</i>) as a branch of Ministry of Development and Settlement (<i>İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı</i>)
SCOPE	The city center which burned down in the great İzmir fire in 1922.	The area between Üçkuyular and Karşıyaka.	<p>1. Aegean Region: İzmir, Manisa, Aydın, Denizli, Muğla</p> <p>2. İzmir Metropolitan Region Center of İzmir, Karşıyaka, Bornova, Karaburun, Çeşme, Urla, Seferihisar, Selçuk, Torbalı, Bayındır, Kemalpaşa, Menemen, Foça, Dikili, Bergama, Kuşadası, Çevre Belediyeler, Manisa Merkez Belediyes</p> <p>3. İzmir Metropolitan Center of İzmir, Karşıyaka, Bornova, Buca, Çiğli, Gültepe, Çamdibi, Altındağ, Yeşilyurt, Işıkkent, Balçova, Narlıdere, Güzelbahçe, Gaziemir, Pınarbaşı</p>

AIM	<p>To create a modern city To improve means of access to the city. To achieve urban aesthetics in planning: zoning, low densities, hygiene, new functions, and large green spaces.</p>	<p>To solve socio-economic problems. To prevent squatting. To extend the city. To facilitate economic growth.</p>	<p>To facilitate economic growth To extend the borders of the city and increase connectivity. To develop the city's network with other cities</p> <p>(The plan can be seen as an outcome of the Second Five-Year Economic Development Plan)</p>
CRITICISMS	<p>Duality in the urban fabric: Dangers' protectionist approach versus the municipality's logic of modernization from scratch.</p> <p>Delays in the implementation process</p>	<p>Traffic density in Alsancak due to inconsiderate planning around the station</p> <p>Designation of the south of Bayraklı, a central area, as industrial zone.</p>	<p>Problems of land ownership prevented planned public investments.</p> <p>Implementation problems due to lack of cadastral maps and small scale urban plans.</p> <p>Difficulty of control of linear macroform due to budget limitations.</p>
HOUSING	<p>New residential areas as garden-suburbs (<i>cites-jardin</i>).</p> <p>Residential areas for workers in Çınarlı in line with the organic urban fabric.</p>	<p>New development between Karataş and Üçuyular.</p> <p>West of Karşıyaka as the secondary development area with lower density including 3-4 story apartment blocks as in garden cities.</p> <p>Residential areas for workers in South of Tepecik and Bayraklı separated by green areas from the industrial zone.</p>	<p>Kemeraltı, Tilkilik, and Bayraklı's urban profile and characteristics of the city's modern settlements (Coastal of Alsancak, Cumhuriyet Square, Karşıyaka, Konak and coastal of Üçkuyular) are protected.</p> <p>Squatting areas are seen as redevelopment areas.</p> <p>Second dwelling areas (<i>ikinci konut alanı</i>) are planned at the west.</p> <p>New residential areas are planned near industrial areas.</p>
GREENERY	<p>Emergence of initial ideas about Kültürpark - an area which is planned as a residential zone.</p> <p>Planting at the edges and the center strips of the new boulevards and roads.</p> <p>Foresteing the ridges of Kadifekale</p>	<p>Hatay Road as the new development's transportation axis; Green corridors to separate the city blocks parallel to Hatay Road</p> <p>Surrounding residential settlements and commercial areas by greenery.</p>	<p>Recreational areas to be increased in general</p> <p>Yamanlar and Çatalkaya as new recreational centers.</p>

INDUSTRY	Industrial zone at the back of the new port in Alsancak.	Industrial areas at the back of Alsancak port and south of Bayraklı unchanged East of Bornova Bay as the new industrial zone.	In the 1960s, the industrial zones had grown through the eastern and western parts of the city. The 1973 plan designated northern and southern parts of the city for new industrial development. New locations for heavy industry: Şemikler, Çiğli, Ulacak, Menemen at the north, and Karabağlar, Gaziemir, Cumaovası at the south Existing industrial areas that did not harm the city would not be kept intact but light industries and storage facilities would be constructed in the new development areas
COMMERCE	New port in Alsancak. Old train stations to be closed and new train station to be built in Halkapınar. Gazi Boulevard as the most important axis to include office buildings.	Historical Kemeraltı bazaar to be preserved.	New attraction centers for the increasing population. The historical, natural and archaeological aspects of the city were emphasized
ADMINISTRATION	The town hall (<i>belediye sarayı</i>) to be located in Konak.	Konak square and its surrounding to be kept as the administrative zone. (A competition was held to redesign Konak square. The implementation process was undertaken by the collaboration of the state and private firms).	No alterations
HERITAGE	No intervention to the historical districts except for the improvement of circulation.	Historical Kemeraltı bazaar to be preserved.	Kadifekale, Alsancak, Kemeraltı, Bayraklı, and Güzelyalı to be restored due to their historical and cultural importance.

<p>TOURISM</p>	<p>New hotels on Punta Boulevard and especially on Gazi Boulevard.</p>	<p>Agora's value to be emphasized according to the competition brief.</p>	<p>Touristic facilities were planned to the west.</p> <p>Some districts at the peripheries (Çeşme-Karaburun Peninsula, Sefherihisar-Sığacık, Gümüldür, Ahmetbeyli, Selçuk, Kuşadası, Foça and its surrounding, Dikili, Çandarlı, and Bergama) designated as new touristic centers.</p>
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APPENDIX 2 FOLKART YAPI'S PUBLICITY MEDIUMS OF 2011

TV CHANNELS	MOVIE THEATERS	NEWSPAPERS	MAGAZINES	WEBSITES	BILLBOARDS AND MEGALIGHTS
KANAL D	AFM passtel izmir	Hürriyet	CAPITAL	www.mynet.com	Mavişehir
STAR	Agora	Yeni Asır	Capital Egiad	www.ntvmsnbc.com	Karşıyaka
ATV	Cinebonus Kipa Balçova	Habertürk Egeli	PEGASUS	www.sabah.com.tr	Çeşme
SHOW TV	AFM Forum Bornova	Milliyet Ege	HELLO	www.takvim.com.tr	Adnan Menderes Airport
HABERTURK	AFM Ege Park Mavisehir	Posta Ege	MAİSON FRANÇAİSE	www.internethaber.com	
BLOOMBERG	Cinebonus Konak Pier	Zaman	FORBES	www.haberturk.com	
NTV		Akşam	CNBC-E BUSINESS	www.patronlardunyasi.com	
NTVSPOR		Sabah	ROBB REPORT	www.emlak.net	
CNBC-E		Star	ALEM	www.haberler.com	
CNNTURK		Gözlem	SKYLİFE	www.emlakhaberleri.com	
SKYTURK		Ekonomik Çözüm	ANADOLU JET	www.sahibinden.com	
EGE TV		HABER EKS.	ONUR AİR	www.milliyet.com.tr	
KANAL 35		İZMİR TİCARET	İZMİR LİFE	www.milliyet.com.tr/finans/	
SKY TV		YENİGÜN	DİVA	www.hurriyet.com.tr	
YENI ASIR TV		GAZETEM EGE	MEGA LİFE	www.google.com.tr	
24 TV					