

URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEO-LIBERAL URBAN HEGEMONY: THE CASE OF İZMİR

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1. Urban field study was carried out as a part of the PhD thesis of the author, in which 45 face-to-face semi-structured in-depth interviews with key governmental and non-governmental actors were conducted, including local and central government politicians and civil servants, investors, heads of local business associations and professional chambers, academicians, lawyers, representatives of non-governmental organizations and local residents.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last three decades, urban development projects (UDPs) have become the dominant mode of production of urban space, not only in developed countries, but also in developing nations. With the implementation of UDPs, new central business districts, regenerated urban spaces, tourism-oriented consumption complexes, gated and luxury communities, shopping malls, etc. have sprung up in such metropolitan cities of the developing world as Shanghai, Mumbai, Sao Paulo, Cape Town, and İstanbul. İzmir, a city on Turkey's Aegean coast with a high population growth and inward migration, may also be counted on this list given the many urban development and redevelopment processes undertaken in the city.

As the dominant entrepreneurial urban policy, the rise of UDPs has attracted different views on the politics of urban development. There are agent-oriented perspectives emphasize relations, networks and coalitions between governmental and commercial agents; while on the other side are Marxist geography-based explanations that stress the main role of the relationship between UDPs and capital accumulation. This article reconsiders these approaches by draw from a neo-Gramscian perspective to investigate how the collaborative relationships and hegemonic discourse of governmental and non-governmental agents are able to wield hegemonic power over the defined urban political priorities within the formation of UDPs.

The article reveals how UDPs give rise to the construction of a neo-liberal urban hegemony; and to this end, the role of governmental and non-governmental agents, the dominant discourse and collaborative relationships, and their agenda-setting practices and legislative mechanisms are investigated. In order to uncover these politically constructed dynamics, the article critically reinterprets the findings of an urban field study (1) of two leading UDPs in İzmir, namely the New City

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Center (NCC) and Inciralti Tourism Center (ITC) development projects. These constitute the two flagship UDPs in the city, attracting the interest of government, business, professional chambers, media and other non-governmental actors, and have been introduced to the local public of Izmir as “vital projects” for “investment”, “growth” and the creation of a “competitive local economy”.

The article argues that governmental agents aim to construct a “capacity to produce consent” (CPC) in the formation of UDPs through the domination of hegemonic discourses and the collaboration with key agents of civil society like local business associations, chambers, universities and media institutions. In this regard, NCC and ITC projects represent two faces of the neo-liberal urban hegemony: one that achieved hegemony through a powerful CPC and the other that failed in its attempts at hegemony, and therefore enforced a project-based law as a coercion of state power.

The article is organized in five parts. After the introduction in the first part, the different theories of urban development politics will be analyzed, with particular emphasis on such key concepts as “neo-liberal urbanization”, “hegemonic project” and “the production of space”. The third part contains an analysis of Turkey’s neo-liberal urbanization trends in the last decade, focusing on the role played by the state, legislations and UDPs. The fourth part presents the findings of the field study, and makes a comparison of the role of hegemonic discourse, collaborative relationships and legislative mechanisms in the formation of the NCC and ITC projects. This case study part of the article offers an explanation of how these politically constructed discourses, relationships and mechanisms contribute to building a common sense neo-liberal urban development vision. The article concludes in the fifth part with a discussion of the relevance of the neo-Gramscian perspective in investigating the political-ideological relationship between UDPs and the construction of neo-liberal urban hegemony.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION AND REFORMULATION: URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AS HEGEMONIC PROJECTS FOR THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

UDPs have begun to lead the rising worldwide practice of neo-liberal urbanization over the last three decades. As Swyngedouw et al. (2002) emphasized ten years ago, UDPs brought radical changes to urban policy and planning processes by ensuring the primacy of project-based initiatives over comprehensive long-term plans. In this way, UDPs have become mechanisms of exceptional power in the making of entrepreneurial urban policies. In Western Europe, some case studies show that although UDPs are initiated to alleviate social inequalities, most of them result in favor of high income groups (Moulaert, et al., 2007). Although there are possibilities for social innovation most of the property-led UDPs lead to socio-economic segregation and socio-spatial polarization. Besides these economic, social and spatial consequences, Swyngedouw et al. (2002) highlight also the dominance of business-driven interest in UDPs from investors, business associations and property developers, who are able to consolidate their power and dominate the decision-making processes in the formation of UDPs. However key questions still need to be answered if one is to understand the political-ideological relationship between UDPs and neo-liberalization. How have UDPs given rise to the construction of neo-liberal urban hegemony? What role do governmental and non-governmental agents play in this process? To answer these questions this article suggests

a neo-Gramscian perspective of urban politics to overcome the problems of economic determinism and voluntarism which arise from different approaches in urban governance literature.

A number of different approaches emphasizing different dimensions of urban development in urban governance literature. Agent-oriented perspectives such as “growth machine” and “urban regime” approaches emphasize agent-based relations in the formation of urban development policies (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Stone, 1989). The Growth Machine approach identifies the key agents in the process, such as property developers, local business associations, media institutions and universities, and defines their role in the politics of urban development. Like the Growth Machine approach, the Urban Regime theory also follows an agent-oriented perspective, emphasizing the formal and informal network relations that exist between governmental and business agents in the formation of urban development policies (Stone, 1989). From the perspective of urban regime theory, UDPs may be viewed as “identifiable urban policy agendas”, around which “governing coalitions” have been formed with the involvement of powerful governmental and non-governmental agents (Stoker & Mossberger, 2001). Although the “growth machine” and “urban regime” approaches elucidate the role and the organization of governmental and non-governmental agents, they can be criticized from a Marxian perspective. According to Macleod & Goodwin (1999), such agent-oriented approaches neglect the role of capital accumulation, class conflict and hegemony in the politics of UDPs, and fail to reveal how the state intervenes in these processes.

Unlike agent-oriented approaches, Marxist Geography-based explanations concentrate on the structural relationship between the formation of UDPs and capital accumulation. As the dominant means of producing the built environment, UDPs give rise to the movement of capital from the first circuit to the secondary circuit of capital (Harvey, 1985), and thus contribute to the temporary resolution of the over-accumulation problem and provide the necessary economic conditions for capital accumulation. Furthermore, as Harvey (1989) argues, UDPs reflect entrepreneurial urban policy mechanisms, aiming to provide a “good business climate” for a better functioning of the capitalist market forces under the dominance of “coercive laws of inter-urban competition”. In parallel with Harvey’s capital accumulation-based arguments, Smith (1987; 2002) points out that UDPs have become a global capitalist urban strategy to minimize the “rent gap”, which is defined as the gap between the ground rent at present and the best use, in terms of exchange value. UDPs provide continuity for capital accumulation through the minimization of the rent gap. Although such Marxist Geography arguments overemphasize the role of structural dynamics, they neglect the role of agents, their relations and the discourses that give rise to the construction of neo-liberal urban hegemony. Therefore, the article proposes a neo-Gramscian perspective of urban politics to take into account the role of both structural and agential dynamics.

Gramsci (1971) defines hegemony as the “political and ideological activities, moral and intellectual leadership with which the ruling class becomes capable of taking the active consent of the governed”. Dominant discourses, collaborative relations and obtaining the consent of the key agents in civil society (including business associations, professional chambers, media institutions, universities, etc.) all play a constitutive role in the construction of hegemonic power. That said, hegemony is not

the only basis through which the political power of the capitalist ruling classes is produced and maintained, as force also plays a leading role. Repressive and coercive instruments of the state, such as the police force and public surveillance reflect the mechanisms of force; while legislation can also be considered as a force mechanism of the state, being both coercive and obligatory. Hegemony (consent) and force (coercion) are the two underlying, interrelated and articulated dimensions of political power (Forgacs, 2000).

Hegemony is constructed through the formation, operation and domination of "hegemonic projects" Hegemonic projects, for Jessop (1997), are the key mechanisms of political power that reflect a unity of social and political forces, and are constructed to secure the economic base of capital accumulation processes. Şengül (2000) critically reinterprets "hegemonic project" in the context of urban politics and argues that such projects have become "successful" as long as capitalist class alliances mobilize public support and consent for these projects. The article benefits from these neo-Gramscian perspectives to investigate political and social forces, their role and interests, collaborative relations and dominant discourses in the formation of the projects.

The article asserts at the theoretical level that UDPs play key roles in spatializing/urbanizing the concept of hegemony, since they result in the commodification, alienation and homogenization of everyday life practices in the contemporary capitalist city. As Kipfer (2008) unveils, everyday life practices, projects and activities for "the production of space" may be investigated as a strategic terrain through which the capitalist classes aims to acquire the active consent of large segments of society. Thus, Lefebvre's concept of "the production of space" could be considered as a spatialized/urbanized conception of "hegemony", which gives rise to the commodification, alienation, homogenization and fragmentation of everyday life practices (Kipfer, 2002; Lefebvre, 1991).

Through a discussion of the concepts of "hegemony", "hegemonic project" and "the production of space", a Lefebvrian-inspired neo-Gramscian approach is formulated to investigate how UDPs give rise to the construction of neo-liberal urban hegemony. The Neo-Gramscian perspective of the article conceptualizes UDPs as "hegemonic projects for the production of space" which have become mechanisms for the construction of neo-liberal hegemony over urban political priorities such as public interest. In the construction of neo-liberal urban hegemony, hegemonic discourse, collaborative relations and legislative mechanisms of both governmental and non-governmental agents play a key role. Turkey's neo-liberal urbanization experience constitute a background for these discourses, relations and mechanisms. Therefore, the following section discusses briefly Turkey's neo-liberal urbanization trends over the last decade, with particular emphasis on the roles of the state, legislations and UDPs.

TURKEY'S NEO-LIBERAL URBANIZATION OVER THE LAST DECADE: PRODUCTION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT, THE STATE AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Urbanization has become the driving force of the capital accumulation regime in Turkey in the post-1980s. With this new impetus of capital accumulation, redistributive demand-side policies have been replaced by

supply-side growth oriented policies that target attracting investment, the privatization of public land and the promotion of built environment production in the metropolitan cities of Turkey (Şengül, 2012; Keskinok, 2006). These policies gave rise to the dominance of neo-liberalization process in the reproduction of urban space.

The rise of neo-liberal urbanization in Turkey may be analyzed through an investigation of the movement of capital from the primary to the secondary circuit. For Harvey (1985) this cyclical movement gives rise to the “urbanization of capital” that may be observed through the increase in production of the built environment. As Balaban (2008) points out, there have been two periods in Turkey in which production of built environment has seen a marked increase under the dominance of neo-liberal government policies: the first in the 1980s, and the second in 2002, which continued despite the onset of a global financial crisis. The increase in the total number of buildings presented in **Figure 1** indicates how these two periods played a key role in Turkey’s neo-liberal urbanization experience.

State policies and legislations triggered the production of the built environment and gave rise to the “urbanization of capital” in these two periods (Balaban, 2008). In the 1980s, the neo-liberal central government under the authority of the Motherland Party decentralized urban planning powers, restructured the municipal system and provided new financial means for the development of the construction sector, by which the legislative power of the state was mobilized to promote the production of the built environment.

After the economic crisis of 2001, the neo-liberalization process brought a more interventionist role to the state in Turkey (Bayırbağ, 2009). In this new phase of neo-liberalization, the Justice and Development Party (JDP) came to power in 2002 and has retained its power. The JDP has enacted various legislations since 2002 to stimulate urban development. These legislative interventions that included new laws, amendment laws and decree-laws, brought about a reorganization of urban planning powers, empowered new central and local government institutions, provided new financial means and attracted investors to the construction sector (2).

In the last decade; Turkish state under the political authority of the neo-liberal JDP government, has played a leading role in the “urbanization of capital” through legislations and key institutions. For instance, throughout the 2000s the Mass Housing Administration was provided with extended and exceptional authority in the production of mass housing and urban

2. For a comprehensive analysis of these legislative interventions and construction boom see: Balaban (2012).



Figure 1. The Number of Buildings in Turkey According to Construction Permits, 1980-2012. Source: TUIK

regeneration through a series of legislations. Moreover, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism has also been granted increased powers through key legislative interventions in such areas as urban planning, the development of protected sites and the regeneration of built-up urban areas that are deemed as having a high disaster risk (Decree laws no. 644 and 648 and Law No. 6306). These legislative interventions indicate how much of the authority for the production of the built environment has been recentralized by increasing the powers of central government institutions.

In addition to the empowerment of central government institutions, the production of the built environment is also being encouraged by such new housing finance mechanisms as a mortgage system, established in 2007; and by making it easier for foreign investors to buy Turkish real estate through amendments to existing laws (Laws no. 5582 and 6302) in 2012. With these regulations, the state intends to attract investors and consumers to give further impetus to the production of the built environment and UDPs.

Although it would seem that legislative interventions since 2002 have recentralized urban planning powers, a series of other legislative interventions were made to decentralize a number of key urban planning powers in same period. In 2004, as the first location-specific law, the Northern Ankara Entrance Urban Regeneration Project Law (Law. No. 5104) reorganized authorities in urban planning, property transfer and project implementation for a specific area. One year later, under a new law, all Greater Municipalities were given extended powers to develop urban regeneration projects for historical urban sites (Law no. 5366); and five years on, these urban regeneration authorities have been reinforced by a change in the Municipality Law, giving Greater Municipalities overall authority in determining urban regeneration areas and in developing regeneration projects for these areas (Article 73 of Law No. 5393). For instance, the authorities given to the Greater Municipalities of İstanbul and Ankara have cleared the way for the formation and implementation of a number of key urban regeneration projects, including those in Tarlabaşı, Northern Ankara and Güneypark (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010; Sakızlıoğlu, 2007; Uzun, 2006).

Urban regeneration projects in the metropolitan cities of Turkey not only displace urban poors and low income groups but they also incorporate them into a globally articulated mortgage market which means a long term dispossession to their labor (Karaman, 2012; Yılmaz, 2011). Dramatic consequences of these projects are most obvious in İstanbul, where social injustice, spatial segregation and socio-spatial polarization have been exacerbated as a result of these projects (Karaman, 2008; Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008). In the formation of these projects, urban planning powers are concurrently recentralized and decentralized and these reorganizations give rise to the dominance of new leading entrepreneurial central and local government institutions (Türkün, 2011). However, as Taşan-Kok (2007) emphasizes local property markets in the cities of developing countries (like Turkey) respond to global dynamics of neo-liberal urbanization within different institutional settings and governance structures. Large scale urban regeneration projects become highly complex in terms of governance structure which influence the implementation of the projects (Taşan-Kok, 2010). Therefore, there is a need to investigate through which agents, discourses and activities a powerful neo-liberal political-ideological basis is constructed for the formation of these UDPs. To this end, a comparative

analysis of the formation of two UDPs in İzmir will be presented and discussed in the following part.

TWO FACES OF NEO-LIBERAL URBAN HEGEMONY IN THE CASE OF İZMİR: NEW CITY CENTER AND INCIRALTI TOURISM CENTER PROJECTS

This part of the article aims to reveal the relationship between the formation of UDPs and the construction of a neo-liberal urban hegemony through an analysis of the NCC and ITC projects in İzmir. To this end, the case study reveals how governmental and non-governmental agents, their collaborative relations, dominant discourses and legislations give rise to the construction of neo-liberal urban hegemony. The study draws from plan reports, media texts and the findings of in-depth interviews to compare and discuss the relationships, discourses, positions and perceptions of both the powerful hegemonic agents and those opposing the projects. 45 face-to-face semi-structured in-depth interviews are carried out with a range of actors including local and central government politicians and civil servants, investors, heads of local business associations and professional chambers, academicians, lawyers, representatives of non-governmental organizations and local residents.

The NCC project has become a flagship urban regeneration project in İzmir, attracting investment for a new central business district, luxury and gated residential communities and shopping malls. Since the early 2000s the local government authority, the İzmir Greater Municipality, has paid particular attention to incorporating the views of key non-governmental agents (including investors, local business associations, chambers of architecture and city planning, university academicians) into the formation of the NCC development plan. As a result of this strategic decision, the NCC development plan was approved in 2005 with the consensus of local governments, investors, local business associations and professional chambers, and was introduced and presented to the public as “a crucial opportunity to regenerate the declining and abandoned back part of the port” (IYKMNIP, 2010). Governmental and local business agents argued that the NCC project site “should become the locomotive of İzmir’s competitiveness and entrepreneurialism within the context of new global and local economic development dynamics” (Hürriyet, 2007). Accordingly, the 2005–2010 period has seen the Greater Municipality of İzmir, investors, local business associations and the İzmir Branch of the Chamber of Architectures all playing a dominant role in the production and dissemination of hegemonic discourse. The NCC development plan was revised in 2010 and has since been put into implementation.

The ITC project followed a different path to the NCC in terms of the planning process and the relationships between the governmental and non-governmental agents. The inception of the ITC project dates back to 1989, when Inciraltı was declared a “tourism center” by the central government, prior to which it was an agricultural area with diverse of ecological resources. Since the decision was taken to redefine the area as a tourism center, it has been subjected to various development efforts.

In 2006, the leading local business association, the İzmir Chamber of Commerce, stated that “Inciraltı should be developed as a convention and tourism center to attract investment for EXPO” (IZTO, 2006). Both the central and local governments (Ministry of Culture and Tourism,

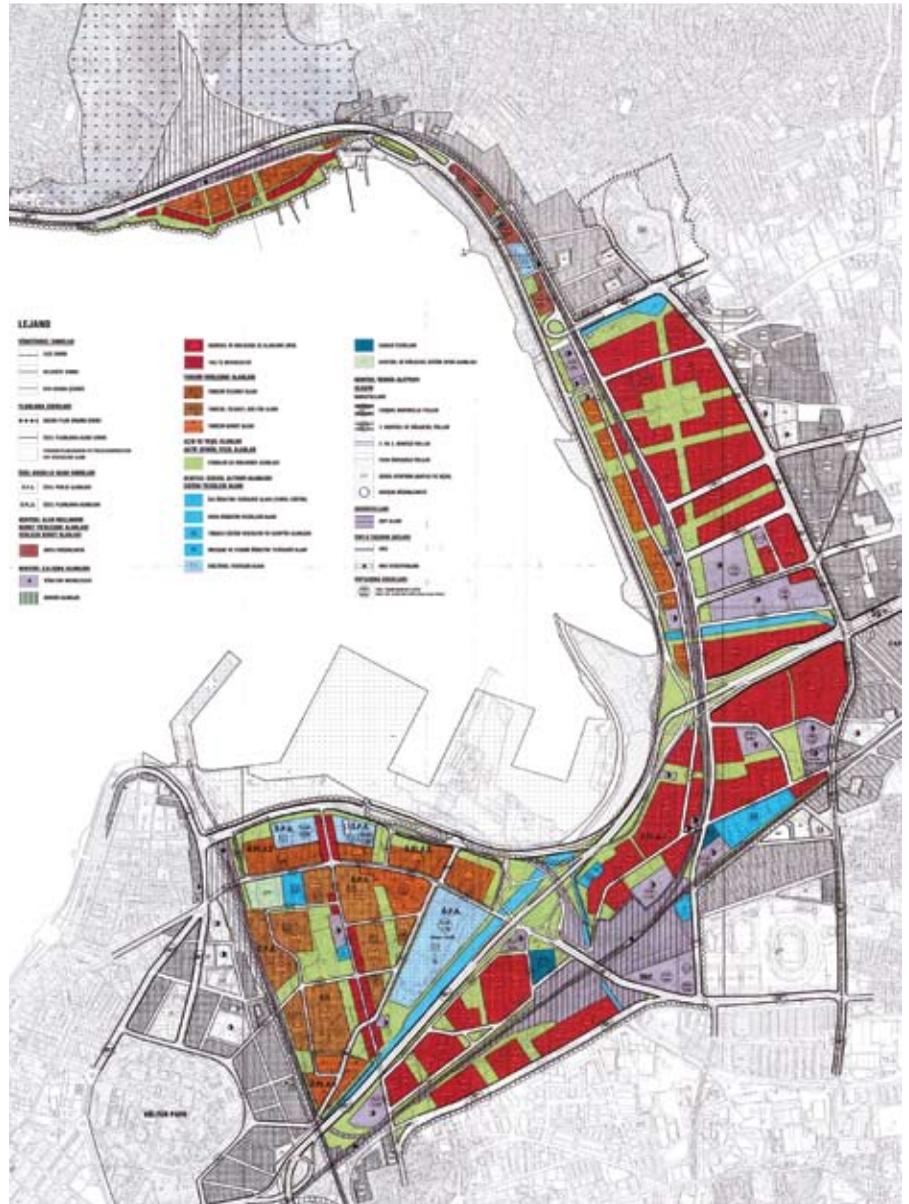


Figure 2. New City Center Development Project, put into implementation in 2010. Source: IYMNIP (2010)

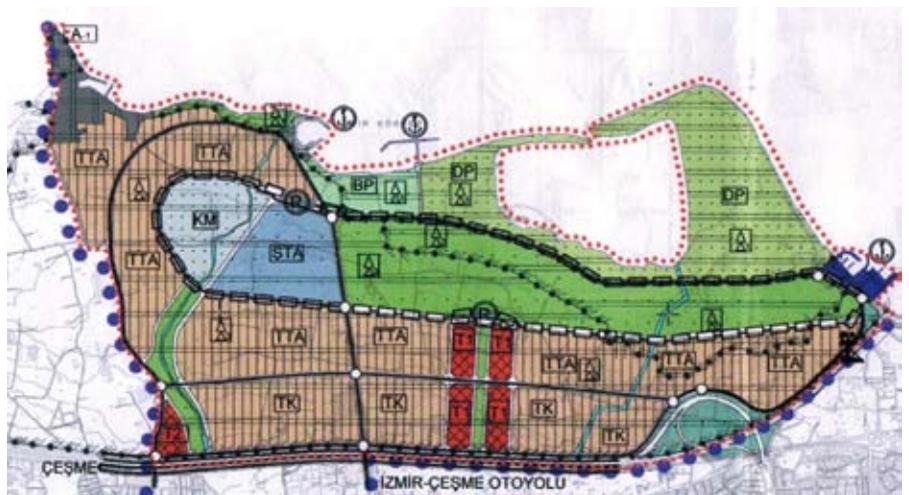


Figure 3. Inciralti Tourism Center Development Plan, prepared in 2011 but not implemented yet. Source: KTB (2011)

İzmir Greater Municipality and Balçova Municipality) supported the proposal, and pushed for the launch of planning procedures for tourism development. In 2007, the ITC development plan was prepared and approved with the collaboration of central and local governments, local business associations and property owners, under which the Inciraltı waterfront was determined as an EXPO fair site, and the surrounding area as a mixed-use tourism development zone, to include five star hotels, health spas, gated luxury communities and shopping malls. The formation of the ITC project offers a clear perspective of how mega events like EXPO and tourism-oriented discourses and land-use decisions were used in the planning process to legitimize the rent-based development of Inciraltı.

However, chambers affiliated to the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA) were opposed to the rent-based development of the ITC site, and took legal action for the cancellation of the ITC development plans. As a result, the plans were canceled several times in the 2000s; however the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, after each cancellation, prepared new plans for the site and had them approved, the latest of which was in 2011. To overcome the opposition from the chambers, the central and local governments and the local business associations agreed upon the enactment of an EXPO-based law, enacted in 2012 (Law No. 6324), allowing all previous court decisions to be bypassed and facilitating the implementation of the ITC project. Although the ITC project is still yet to be implemented, the EXPO-based government and business collaboration is giving it aggressive support.

Hegemonic Agents and the Role of Collaborative Relations

Powerful and predominant governmental and non-governmental agents play a key role in the formation of the NCC and ITC projects, and their collaborative relations give rise to the construction of a neo-liberal hegemonic power that exerts dominance over urban policy and planning. There are three leading governmental and non-governmental agents playing key roles in the formation of the NCC project

Firstly, the Greater Municipality of İzmir operates as the central decision-maker in the planning process. The Municipality's responsibilities have included organizing an international urban design competition, preparing and approving the development plan, and establishing an advisory committee to make decisions related to the preparation of the plan. This committee is charged with making key land-use and density decisions in the development plan; and by including investors, large property owners, local business associations and professional chambers on these advisory committees, the Municipality has been able to acquire the support and consent of these key social groups (Bal et al., 2005).

Secondly, it is obvious that investors and local business associations could be emphasized as significant non-governmental agents in the formation of NCC project. They all declared their active support to the formation of NCC project, without disagreement. As can be understood from the interview texts, the investors and most of the local business associations were invited to take part in the advisory committee meetings for the formation of NCC development plan. Investors and local business associations play a significant role in mobilizing public support and consent through collaboration with the İzmir Greater Municipality.

Professional chambers (affiliated to UCTEA), which may be considered as the most crucial non-governmental agents in the formation of the NCC

project. In the urban planning system of Turkey, professional chambers have key roles in the activities of occupational professions like city planning, architecture and engineering, as well as a legislatively defined authority to bring legal action against urban development plans that violate the principles of urbanism and planning. In the case of the NCC project, the governmental decision-makers chose to collaborate with chambers from the outset to ensure their support. The interviews undertaken as part of this research reveal that the İzmir Greater Municipality, by collaborating with the Chambers of City Planners and Architectures in the preparation of the NCC development plan, succeeded in establishing a collaborative relationship that, as stated by interviewees, “was a strategically taken decision by the Greater Municipality of İzmir to mobilize the active support and consent of the chambers in İzmir” (Interviewees 1; 3; 21).

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

“We made advisory committee meetings before the preparation of NCC development plan... Investors, business groups, chambers and us we all gathered together and worked as an advisory committee... By this way we have prevented any court cases from these social groups”

Chamber of Architectures, The Head of İzmir Branch

“I am one of the people worked in the Greater Municipality in the preparation of NCC development plan. Therefore, I have supportive views in favor of NCC project... As I said, not only supported, but also we even involved in the formation of the project”

In the formation of ITC project there are five governmental and non-governmental agents playing leading and predominant roles. Firstly, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has the authority to prepare and approve development plans for the ITC site and operates as the central decision-maker in the planning process. Secondly it is clearly observable that property owners and investors are in an influential position in the planning of ITC site. Interview texts unveil that investors are dominant in influencing land-use decisions through direct and closed door meetings with the top managers from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Thirdly, local government institutions (İzmir Greater Municipality and Balçova Municipality) collaborate with central government (Ministry of Culture and Tourism) in the preparation of ITC development plans. As the interview texts show, all draft plans prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism are sent to the local governments for final approval, with final decisions made taking the views and revisions of local government into account. The central and local governments not only collaborate in the planning processes, but also cooperate in the reproduction and dissemination of “investment”, “tourism”, “employment” and “EXPO” based discourses.

As the fourth and the fifth agents, local business associations and the EXPO İzmir Steering Committee play predominant roles in the formation of the ITC project. A large part of the ITC site was earmarked for the EXPO 2015 fair site in 2007, and since then the ITC project has followed an EXPO-based tourism development approach under the collaborative relations of central and local government, local business associations. The EXPO İzmir Steering Committee was established as a public-private partnership, with a membership comprising representatives of government institutions and local business associations, and has played a key role in increasing awareness and mobilizing public support and consent through the presentation of the ITC project as an EXPO-based tourism development

scheme. Despite losing out to Milan in the competition to host EXPO 2015, İzmir was again declared as Turkey's candidate to host EXPO 2020, and so the ITC site is expected to be once again planned as an EXPO-based tourism project (Yeni Asır, 2011).

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Top Level Bureaucrat 1

"We started the planning of Inciralti after the demand of investors. Two public meetings were organized. We invited all stakeholders to this meeting because EXPO is a common issue arousing the interest of all the stakeholders. In this meetings, İzmir Greater and Balçova Municipalities declared their support to the ITC project... After this meeting, we started to the planning of ITC site... ITC plans were prepared with the collaboration of Ministry and Municipalities."

Although the ITC project is presented to the public using "tourism", "economic development" and "collaboration"-based discourse, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism failed to collaborate with the professional chambers in the preparation of the development plans. As interview texts mentioned below indicate central and local governments were ready to collaborate with the chambers and universities, however attempts to form consensus with these non-governmental agents failed as the professional chambers and universities decided against collaboration in the preparation of the development plans. As the head of İzmir Branch of the Chambers of Architectures stated, chambers are against ITC project because the project went against their priorities of public interest and ecological conservation. Interviews reveal that it is a politically-ideologically motivated struggle that erupted between the governmental decision-makers and the professional chambers in the formation of the ITC project.

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Top Level Bureaucrat 1

"The representative of the chamber of city planners states that they do not oppose to the planning of Inciralti. We ask for their participation in the planning of this area. We invite them to make a draft plan and bring it to the ministry so that we can discuss it... But they have never agreed to collaborate."

Chamber of Architectures, The Head of İzmir Branch

"We opposed to the approach of planning in Inciralti. For us, a tourism-centered strategy and EXPO are wrong planning decisions. Hence there can be no consensus in the ITC project... In fact their call for consensus is an approach to prevent us from bringing a court case."

In both the NCC and ITC projects there have been obvious attempts to develop collaborative relationships between governmental and non-governmental agents. The efforts in this regard in the NCC project were successful, with all parties – local and central governments, investors, local business associations and professional chambers – involved in the decision-making process. The in-depth interviews uncovered that the collaborative relationship between the İzmir Greater Municipality and the Chamber of Architectures played a facilitating role in the formation and implementation of the NCC project, with the chambers putting up no resistance. In contrast, in the ITC project the Ministry of Culture and Tourism failed to develop such a collaborative relationship, although that had been their intention, and the contrasting opinions led the professional chambers to launch legal proceedings against the ITC plans, bringing about several cancellations of the project in the 2000s.

This article argues that local and central governments, investors, local business associations and professional chambers have become hegemonic agents in the formation of the NCC project by developing a collaborative relationship and dominating hegemonic discourse. In the formation of the NCC project, this gave rise to a “political, ideological, intellectual and moral leadership” through which the hegemony of neo-liberalization was constructed in the urban context. In contrast, the governmental and non-governmental agents in the ITC project were unable to reach consensus. The professional chambers, environmental NGOs, left-wing political parties and some university academicians were politically-ideologically opposed to the ITC project, and launched legal action preventing its implementation; and as a result, the local and central governments, investors and local business associations were unable to gain their support. In other words, the governmental and business agents in the ITC project failed in their attempts to become hegemonic agents, and were unable to construct a political and ideological leadership over the definition of urban political priorities.

Hegemonic Discourses and the Mobilization of Public Support and Consent

Hegemonic discourses play an initiative role in attracting public support and consent for UDPs; they are produced and reproduced by the hegemonic agents of the UDPs and disseminated to the public through the mass media. There are two types of hegemonic discourse in this respect: firstly, definitions of the current situation of the project sites, which are not objectively defined realities, but rather politically-ideologically constructed definitions that are intended to encourage supportive common-sense opinions for UDPs; and secondly, “economic growth”, “investment”, “competitiveness”, “employment” and “urban regeneration”-based discourses, as used in the NCC and ITC projects, which are put forward as potential means of overcoming the structural problems associated with neo-liberalization. These two types of neo-liberal hegemonic discourse are restated, reemphasized and reiterated through the declarations of powerful agents with the intention of garnering public support.

NCC project site is an old warehouse area located at the backside of Alsancak Port and specialized in storage and small scale manufacturing functions. In the last three decades, this site has become a declining and deteriorated urban area in terms of its functions and the quality of built environment. The declining conditions of the project site are over-emphasized and exaggerated by the key local policy-makers to manipulate public opinion. In their definitions policy-makers describe NCC project site as “an old warehouse area surrounded by unauthorized buildings”, “economically unproductive”, “abandoned”, “deteriorated” and “declining” urban area “not transformed to a modern city center” (IZBB, 2001). Through such manipulative descriptions the NCC project site is portrayed as an “old, unproductive and declining urban area” that needs to be “regenerated” to “provide higher economic returns” for the “development of the city center” (IYKMNIP, 2010). As the interviews reveal, the NCC project is promoted as a certain solution for the overcoming of such problems in this particular urban area.

Chamber of Architectures, The Head of İzmir Branch

“There are large public and private properties in NCC site. All of them have become functionless in the last two decades... Currently NCC site is an

obsolete and declining urban space... And today, we need to regenerate it to make İzmir a competitive world city."

ITC project area is an ecologically sensitive waterfront site located along western coast of İzmir gulf. This site has not been subjected to urban development owing to its ecological and agricultural values and conservation decisions. However key policy makers, investors and local business associations define Inciralti as a "valuable waterfront location that is not developed with tourism" (Interviewees, 7; 24; 31). To manipulate public opinion toward ITC project, Inciralti is described by such powerful actors as an "economically unproductive area as a result of the decades of decreasing competitiveness of agriculture as an economic sector in both Turkey and İzmir". This manipulative argument emphasizes that "Inciralti should be developed as a tourism zone to stimulate the local economic growth of the city" (Interviewees, 1; 12; 41).

Mayor of Balçova Municipality

"Inciralti is now a rubbish place full of unused greenhouses and junks. Who can accept it. As the mayor of Balçova, I cannot accept... The soil is unproductive and the production of citrus fruits has finished. There is not a well functioning water system to irrigate the land. There is no agriculture I mean... The only way for the development of Inciralti is tourism and EXPO."

A critical analysis of the interview texts and news reveals that these definitions do not objectively describe the current state of the project sites, as the intention has been to build hegemonic power to supersede the priorities defined in urban planning for these project sites. By using such terms as "growth", "employment" and "regeneration" in their discourse, the powerful agents are able to redefine the role of urban planning in line with the neo-liberalization. In the formation of the NCC project, such agents as the İzmir Greater Municipality, investors, local business associations and chambers state that the "NCC project attracts investment and employment" and therefore "contributes to the growth of the local economy" through "the construction of towers, residencies and malls".

Investors in NCC site argue that "İzmir has lost its competitiveness in the last two decades" and "needs to regain competitive power through such flagship urban regeneration projects as NCC" (Interviewees 26; 28). Not only investors but the other hegemonic agents produce and disseminate such "growth" and "competitiveness"-based neo-liberal discourses in the formation of the NCC project. For instance, politicians and civil servants from local government, academicians from universities, and architects and city planners from professional chambers all emphasize the key role of the NCC project in promoting "İzmir's local economic development" (Interviewees 1; 4; 21; 29; 38).

Investor in NCC site, Investor 4

"NCC project is a very important project to make İzmir a competitive and entrepreneurial world city. This project is important for not today but for future of the city, because İzmir should be able to compete with other metropolitan cities of the world."

The powerful governmental and business agents in the ITC project state that "İzmir is in serious economic difficulty", citing "decreasing investment" and "increasing unemployment and trade deficit", and claim that "these problems could be solved by attracting investments into tourism and service-based sectors" (Interviewees 11; 13; 25). Such "investment",

“employment” and “tourism”-based neo-liberal hegemonic discourses propound the ITC project as the “best alternative” and “opportunity” for “İzmir’s local economic development”. The key decision-makers from local and central government and local business representatives share the view that “the undeveloped position of İzmir in the tourism sector could be changed by implementing such tourism-oriented large projects as the ITC project”, which is expected to transform the “agriculturally declining” and “economically valuable” Inciraltı into an “attractive site of investment and development” (Hurriyet, 2010).

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Top Level Bureaucrat 2

“İzmir has not become a leading brand name city in tourism. It could not get high levels of tourism revenue and this has negatively affected its local economy... ITC project is in a key position for the development of tourism in İzmir... When it is implemented, you will see how EXPO and tourism facilities would contribute to the development of the city.”

A critical analysis of the discourse of governmental decision makers and local business representatives reveals the intention to reach consensus and to produce and disseminate common discourses that support an agreed perspective. Although it is a fact that İzmir has become a declining local economy in the context of neo-liberal globalization (Kaya, 2010), this decline is over-emphasized and manipulated to justify neo-liberal urban development visions like the ones that could be observed within the NCC and ITC projects. The discourse of powerful governmental and business actors propose projects such as NCC and ITC as “possible solutions to overcome the economy-based problems of all the people living in İzmir”. The NCC and ITC projects are introduced and presented to the public as “opportunities” to overcome the structural problems of the local economy, such as the low levels of investment and high unemployment.

Through which mechanisms are these hegemonic discourses disseminated? The findings of the urban field study reveal two mechanisms: firstly, through news, articles and advertisements in the mass media; and secondly, through public declarations by the key agents which are covered in the mass media. Advertisements displaying the shopping malls, office towers and gated luxury communities that are to be constructed within the NCC project have become a powerful mechanism in the dissemination of discourses like “investment”, “employment”, “regeneration” and “quality of life”. During the interviews, most people stated that “they learned of the NCC project after seeing advertisements”, and that “they decided to support to the formation of the NCC project after seeing these advertisements” (Interviewees 10; 45; 46). It is also apparent that their perception on the formation of the NCC project has been manipulated through the images, themes and messages disseminated by these advertisements. These advertisements disseminate an ideologically constructed message and mislead the public by claiming that all of the people living in İzmir have an opportunity to benefit from the residences and malls to be constructed on the NCC site.

Investor in NCC site Investor 3

“Folkart Towers have profound effects on the city-wide and nation-wide recognition of the NCC project. We have advertisements in newspapers, televisions and billboards. Everybody in İzmir see these advertisements and know us very well... People say that we increase the quality of life in the city, we bring value to it and we help it develop. Such comments of the people make us happy.”

The ITC project has also been promoted as the site of Turkey's bid to host the international EXPO event, first for EXPO 2015, in which it lost out to Milan, and then again for EXPO 2020. Central and local governments, local business associations and the EXPO İzmir Steering Committee all promote EXPO as "an irrefusable mega event to attract investment and tourism development". It has been stated by most of the governmental agents that "EXPO will boost the development of the local economy" and provide "spill-over effects" for different people by "creating new employment opportunities in the tourism-based sectors". Such EXPO-based neo-liberal discourses and advertisements prepared as part of the EXPO candidacy process have all aimed to garner public support for the ITC project.

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Assistant Expert

"It was claimed that EXPO would bring İzmir millions dollars of investment, tourism income and thousands of new job opportunities. These claims were made in order to increase public support for ITC project. This was achieved jointly by the municipalities, the ministry and local capital owners, via using the media power... It was an important strategy in order to gain support from different social groups."

The mass media plays a crucial role in both disseminating hegemonic discourses and attracting public support for UDPs. Particularly in the formation of the ITC project the mass media became the battle ground for the political-ideological struggle between the neo-liberal perspective (of governmental and commercial agents) and the opposing view (of the professional chambers and other NGOs). However, it is clear that the governmental and business agents have more opportunities to shape public opinion, given their influence and command over most of the mass media.

Oppositional Agents, Counter Discourses and Activities

A small group is making counter arguments against the continuation of the NCC project, comprising a former mayor of İzmir Greater Municipality and a few city councilors. The group argues that the "NCC project site poses severe geological risks in terms of high rise construction", and accordingly the group has taken legal action for the cancellation of the NCC development plan (Milliyet, 2010). Although the plan was cancelled twice in the 2000s, the latest plan has begun to be implemented in 2011. This small group of local politicians have failed to become a powerful block against the NCC project. In contrast, the ITC project attracted a powerful and ideologically-motivated opposition of non-governmental organizations, comprising professional chambers, university academicians, left-wing political parties and environmental NGOs. This politically-ideologically motivated group has raised criticisms against the ITC development plans on the basis of "public interest" and the "principles of urbanism and planning", arguing that "owing to the ecological characteristics of Inciralti, ITC is not an appropriate location for the EXPO fair site" (Cumhuriyet Ege, 2011). The opponents to the ITC project have on several occasions brought legal action for the cancellation of the ITC development plans, and have won all cases, resulting in the cancellation of the ITC development plans twice in the 2000s. The main point of the opposition was that the "ITC development plans violate the principles of urbanism and planning and ignore the ecological features of the site" (Interviewees 20; 21; 35; 44).

Chamber of Architectures, The Head of İzmir Branch

“The ecological quality of Inciraltı has been destroyed consciously. Large tourism investors are directed to this area and small property owners are provoked. All these are performed by the state and they constitute a development pressure on Inciraltı... Political power imposes its own plans and it acts as the single planning authority. This is an undemocratic way of planning”

The powerful stakeholders in the ITC project from government and business attempted to circumvent the opposition by enacting “the Law on the İzmir EXPO Site” (Law no. 6324) in 2012, which is expected to facilitate the implementation of the project. The new law is a project-specific coercive-legislative intervention that makes exceptions for the development of the EXPO fair site, effectively making part of the project site a plan-free zone over which the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is free to implement development decisions. This type of project-based legislative intervention was first used in the Northern Ankara Urban Regeneration Project and this would pave the way for the enactment of similar laws to facilitate the Tarlabaş, Haydarpaşa and Güneypark Urban Regeneration Projects by overturning authority in urban planning and facilitating the transfer of property rights. It is apparent that such project-based legislative interventions have been used as a legal means of overcoming opposition from different actors against projects, including professional chambers, conservation councils and opposing district municipalities.

Oppositional non-governmental agents argued that the “central government aims to enact an EXPO-based law for the ITC project so as to bypass the judicial actions of the chambers”, and that “project-based laws are utilized to provide exceptional building decisions for the project sites” (Posta Ege, 2011). It is understood that since governmental decision-makers were unable to reach consensus with oppositional non-governmental actors (like professional chambers and environmental NGOs) in the formation of the ITC project, they enforced a project-based law to impose a coercive and legally legitimate base of power for the implementation of the project.

CONCLUSION

The term “Urban Development Project (UDP)” is, in this article, used as a general definition of neo-liberal urbanization practices that aim to garner hegemonic power over the role and priorities of urban policy and planning. From a neo-Gramscian perspective, UDPs are conceptualized as “hegemonic projects for the production of space”, not only dominating discourses and developing collaborative relations (amongst governmental and non-governmental agents), but also enforcing coercive-legislative mechanisms (new laws, amendment laws, project-based laws, decree laws, etc.). UDPs give rise to the construction of a neo-liberal urban hegemony through dominant discourse, collaborative relations and the coercive-legislative mechanisms of governmental and non-governmental agents, and it is these relationships and mechanisms that are comparatively investigated in this article through an analysis of two UDPs in İzmir.

This article has explained how the Turkish state, through policy and legislation related to the development of the built environment and urban regeneration, has become the underlying superstructural force behind the rise in dominance of UDPs under a neo-liberal urban hegemony. As the third part of the article clarifies, the legislative power of the state

encourages the formation and implementation of UDPs through project-based laws, amendment laws and decree laws; however state policy and legislation are not the only superstructural mechanisms at work in the construction of neo-liberal urban hegemony. It is necessary to reveal which discourses and collaborative relationships between governmental and non-governmental agents play what roles in the UDPs. The fourth part of the article answers these questions and explains through a comparative analysis of the NCC and ITC projects.

The NCC project has become an exemplary case of how collaboration among local government, investors, local business associations, professional chambers, universities and the media can work. The governmental and non-governmental agents have come together as a project-based coalition of political and social forces, and managed to reach consensus in the formation of the NCC project. This coalition has not only agreed upon a neo-liberal development vision for the NCC site, but has also mobilized public support and consent for the project with the support of “investment”, “employment” and “regeneration”-based discourses, redefining the priorities of urban policy and planning for the development of the NCC site. The mass media played a crucial role in both disseminating the discourses and in gathering public support for the project, which was presented to public as something that was for the benefit of all people living in İzmir. In this way, public support has been mobilized and the NCC project has become a “hegemonic project for the production of space”.

Unlike the NCC project, the ITC project saw no collaboration between governmental and non-governmental agents. The professional chambers, environmental NGOs, left-wing political parties and university academicians raised political-ideological opposition to the project, and brought legal action that has to date prevented the project from being implemented. As a result, central and local governments, investors and local business associations have failed in their attempt to become hegemonic agents of the project, despite their efforts to promote the project using “EXPO”, “tourism”, “investment” and “employment”-based neo-liberal discourse. To circumvent the legal action and secure the implementation of ITC project, decision-makers in the central government enforced an EXPO-based law (Law no. 6324) as a coercive-legislative mechanism. With the enactment of this EXPO-based law, a large part of the ITC project site has become a plan-free zone over which the Ministry of Culture and Tourism could freely implement development decisions without opposition from the professional chambers. The ITC project can thus be considered as a failed attempt to become a “hegemonic project for the production of space”.

The main argument of the article is that governmental agents aim to construct a “capacity to produce consent” (CPC) through the domination of hegemonic discourses and the collaboration with key agents of civil society like local business associations, chambers, universities and media institutions. CPC is a key concept urbanizing/spatializing Gramsci’s conception of hegemony, and provides the framework for a comparison of the NCC and ITC projects. In the formation of the NCC project, powerful governmental and business agents construct a powerful CPC by dominating discourse and collaborating with key civil society organizations (including professional chambers, universities, environmental NGOs and the mass media). In contrast, ITC project has a powerless CPC owing to the

failed attempts of the state and investors to collaborate with civil society (including professional chambers, universities, environmental NGOs and left-wing political parties). Thus, the NCC and ITC projects represent two faces of the neo-liberal urban hegemony: one that achieved hegemony over the definition of urban planning priorities; and the other that failed in its attempts at hegemony, and therefore enforced a project-based law as a coercion of state power. The NCC project has entered into implementation since it has given rise to the construction of a neo-liberal hegemonic power and has managed to mobilize public support and consent; however unlike the NCC project, the ITC project failed to gain the support of its opponents in civil society and is still to be implemented owing to the legal action taken by the opposing agents against the implementation of the development plans.

How is it possible to organize an urban struggle against the neo-liberal hegemony of UDPs? In the formation of UDPs, urban planning, as the strategic mechanism in space production, has been subordinated to the priorities of “economic growth”. However, urban planning is not a simple instrument of the capitalist forces through which they can impose their profit-oriented UDPs. The basic principles of urban planning concern public interest, social justice and use value of urban space. Accordingly, urban planning, by its very nature, plays a strategic role in providing social and spatial justice and equality. In contrast to the profit-oriented UDPs of neo-liberalization, they also have potential as an anti-capitalist urban planning activity, focusing on socio-spatial justice and the primacy of use value of space over exchange value. To sum up, urban planning may be viewed as a strategic area of urban political praxis upon which the hegemonic UDPs of capitalist forces and opposing counter-hegemonic views and projects of revolutionary social forces compete and struggle. The role of counter-hegemonic activities, in this respect, is to create alternative anti-capitalist urban development visions by empowering new imaginations and new revolutionary utopian visions to create livable, accessible, socially just and egalitarian cities for the people, rather than for profit.

ABBREVIATIONS

CPC: Capacity to Produce Consent

ITC: Inciraltı Tourism Center

NCC: New City Center

UDP: Urban Development Projects

INTERVIEWEE LIST

Interviewee 1: Mayor of İzmir Greater Municipality (3)

Interviewee 2: İzmir Greater Municipality, Ex-head of the Department of Urban Development

Interviewee 3: İzmir Greater Municipality, City Planner 1

Interviewee 4: İzmir Greater Municipality, City Planner 2

Interviewee 5: Konak Municipality, City Planner

Interviewee 6: Bayraklı Municipality, City Planner

- Interviewee 7: Mayor of Balçova Municipality
- Interviewee 8: Mukhtar of Bahçeleraşın Neighborhood
- Interviewee 9: Mukhtar of Ege Neighborhood
- Interviewee 10: Mukhtar of Bayraklı Neighborhood
- Interviewee 11: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Top Level Bureaucrat 1
- Interviewee 12: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Top Level Bureaucrat 2
- Interviewee 13: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Expert
- Interviewee 14: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Assistant Expert
- Interviewee 15: İzmir Cultural and Natural Assets Conservation Council, City Planner
- Interviewee 16: Governor of İzmir (3)
- Interviewee 17: İzmir Development Agency, Expert
- Interviewee 18: Chamber of City Planners, Head of Central Office
- Interviewee 19: Chamber of City Planners, Ex-Head of İzmir Branch
- Interviewee 20: Chamber of City Planners, Head of İzmir Branch
- Interviewee 21: Chamber of Architectures, Head of İzmir Branch
- Interviewee 22: Chamber of Geology Engineers, Board Member of İzmir Branch
- Interviewee 23: Chamber of Geophysics Engineers, Board Member of İzmir Branch
- Interviewee 24: İzmir Chamber of Commerce, Consultant of Urban Affairs
- Interviewee 25: Ege Foundation of Economic Development, Administrative Board Member
- Interviewee 26: Investor in New City Center Project Site, Investor 1
- Interviewee 27: Investor in New City Center Project Site, Investor 2
- Interviewee 28: Investor in New City Center Project Site, Investor 3
- Interviewee 29: Investor in New City Center Project Site, Investor 4
- Interviewee 30: Investor in ITC Project Site, Investor 1
- Interviewee 31: Investor in ITC Project Site, Investor 2
- Interviewee 32: Justice and Democracy Party, Administrative Board Member of İzmir Branch
- Interviewee 33: Republican People's Party, Administrative Board Member of İzmir Branch
- Interviewee 34: Freedom and Solidarity Party, Administrative Board Member of İzmir Branch
- Interviewee 35: Dokuz Eylül University, Academic Staff 1
- Interviewee 36: Dokuz Eylül University, Academic Staff 2
- Interviewee 37: İzmir High Technology Institute, Academic Staff
- Interviewee 38: İzmir Economy University, Academic Staff
- Interviewee 39: Cumhuriyet Newspaper, The Journalist of İzmir Bureau

Interviewee 40: Yeni Asır Newspaper, News Chief

Interviewee 41: Association for Beautification and Development of Inciralti and Bahçeleraş, Member of Association.

Interviewee 42: Solidarity Association for Victims of Plot in Balçova, Member of Association

Interviewee 43: Bar of İzmir, Member of Urban and Environment Commission

Interviewee 44: Aegean Environment and Culture Platform Association, Member of Association

Interviewee 45: Property owner household member living in Ege Neighborhood

Interviewee 46: Tenant household member living in Ege Neighborhood

Interviewee 47: Property owner household living in Bahçeleraş Neighborhood

Interviewee 48: Employer working in Tenant Workplace in Korutürk Neighborhood

Interviews were made on February 2010 and August 2011. Names, personal and company information of interviewees are not mentioned in article owing to the ethical conduct of research.

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KENTSEL GELİŞME PROJELERİ VE NEO-LİBERAL KENTSEL HEGEMONYANIN İNŞASI: İZMİR ÖRNEĞİ

Son 30 yıllık süreçte neo-liberalizme eklenmiş bir çok ülkede, büyük ölçekli kentsel projeler (BKP'ler) başat bir girişimci kentsel siyasa mekanizması haline gelmektedir. Mekanın üretiminde hegemonik bir güç inşa eden BKP'ler ile; merkezi iş alanları, turizm merkezleri, korunaklı ve lüks konut alanları ve alışveriş merkezleri gibi "neo-liberal kentleşme" mekanları üretilmektedir. BKP'ler "mekan üretiminin hegemonik projeleri" olarak yalnızca sermaye birikim ilişkilerinin yeniden üretilmesinde değil; aynı zamanda kentsel siyasa ve planlama süreçlerine ilişkin önceliklerin yeniden tanımlanmasında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır.

BKP'ler ile neo-liberal kentsel hegemonyanın inşa edilişi yalnızca "yapılı çevre üretimi" ve "sermaye birikimi" arasındaki yapısal ilişkinin çözümlenmesiyle incelenemez. Böylesi bir inceleme için; BKP'lerin yaşama geçirilmesinde devlet ve sivil toplum aktörlerinin rolleri, ortak ve karşıt söylemleri, uzlaşma ve çatışma ilişkileri araştırılmalı ve bunların hegemonya inşası veya mücadelesindeki işlevleri ortaya çıkartılmalıdır. Makale bu kapsamda yapılmış olan doktora tezi araştırması bulgularına dayanmakta, İzmir'de iki BKP örneğinde "mekanın üretimi" ve "neo-liberal kentsel hegemonya" arasındaki ilişkiyi çözümlemektedir. İzmir örneğinde incelenen BKP'ler, Yeni Kent Merkezi (YKM) ve İnciraltı Turizm Merkezi (İTM) projeleridir. Her iki projenin de İzmir'de en büyük yapılmış çevre yatırımını çekmesi beklenmekte ve hegemonya inşa edici baskın söylemlerin, uzlaşma ilişkilerinin ve hegemonyaya direnişi yansıtan karşıt söylemlerin ve çatışma ilişkilerinin yoğunlaştığı iki farklı örnek olduğu gözlenmektedir. YKM ve İTM projelerinin neo-liberal kentsel hegemonya ile ilişkisi her iki projenin hazırlanması sürecinde devlet ve sivil toplum aktörlerinin rollerinin, ilişkilerinin ve söylemlerinin karşılaştırmalı çözümlenmesi ile incelenmiştir.

Makale beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. Giriş bölümünün sonrasındaki ikinci bölümde kentsel gelişmenin siyaseti üzerine farklı yaklaşımlar tartışılmış ve "hegemonya" ve "mekanın üretimi" kavramları arasındaki ilişki üzerinden BKP'lerin incelenmesine yönelik neo-Gramsci'ci bir kuramsal çerçeve önerilmiştir. Üçüncü bölümde Türkiye'nin son 10 yıllık süreçteki neo-liberal kentleşme deneyimi yapılmış çevre üretimi, devlet politikaları ve BKP'lerin rolü bağlamında tartışılmıştır. Dördüncü bölüm doktora tezi araştırmasının bulgularına ayrılmıştır. Bu bölümde İzmir örneğinde incelenen YKM ve İTM projelerine ilişkin devlet ve sivil toplum aktörlerinin rolleri, hegemonya inşasına veya mücadelesine konu olan ortak ve karşıt söylemleri, uzlaşma ve çatışma ilişkileri karşılaştırmalı

bir şekilde ortaya konmuştur. Sonuç bölümünde BKP'lerin neo-liberal kentsel hegemonyanın inşa edilmesinde oynadığı rol araştırma bulguları ışığında yorumlanmış ve toplumcu bir karşı-hegemonyanın nasıl geliştirilebileceğine ilişkin düşüncelerle makale sonlandırılmıştır.

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