

A CRITICAL INQUIRY ON THE MODE OF PRODUCTION OF INFORMAL
FABRIC AND THEIR REFLECTIONS ON BUILT ENVIRONMENTS: A
ROMANI COMMUNITY AT IZMIR EGE NEIGHBOURHOOD

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ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL INQUIRY ON THE MODE OF PRODUCTION OF INFORMAL FABRIC AND THEIR REFLECTIONS ON BUILT ENVIRONMENTS: A ROMANI COMMUNITY AT IZMIR EGE NEIGHBOURHOOD

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This dissertation elaborates on the socio-spatial analysis of a Roma Community, through the dialectical relation between labour and the circuit of capital. The neighbourhood faced socio-spatial transformations in the last century, along with Turkey's political and economic transformation. It emerged before the Republican Era, turned into a Roma community with the population exchange. Following Turkey's industrialisation, urbanisation and de-industrialisation period, the urban fabric of the neighbourhood faced several transformations, evolving from a tin-can area to a working-class neighbourhood, then turning into a marginal setting. The labour force and urban interventions became pioneer factors in transforming the built environment as political and economic conjuncture changed. The rapid industrialization transformed the community into a labour force and this was later supported by social housing project. In the de-industrialisation phase of the country, the community affected by the change in labour practice and the urban interventions of the urban regeneration and New City Center projects.

The thesis re-frames these historical transformations concerning labour practice to discuss the urbanisation of the capital by carrying out ethnographic research, in-depth

semi-structured interviews, and archival work to present spatial narratives and historical transformation of space. Drawing from an epistemological stance analysing the circuit of capital and transformation of labour practice, I focus on the dialectical relation between transformation of the land and change in labour force. The transformation of urban space and labour economy through socio-political, historical, and temporal contextualisation cannot be ontologically separated from the broader paradoxes in Turkey's history. Thus, this thesis also aims to draw a relational framework from the national economic crisis using the Roma neighbourhood of İzmir as a case study.

Keywords: Labour Practice, Circuit of Capital, Ege Neighbourhood, Roma Community

ÖZ

ENFORMAL DOKUNUN ÜRETİM TARZI VE YAPILI ÇEVREYE YANSIMALARINA İLİŞKİN ELEŞTİREL BİR ARAŞTIRMA: İZMİR EGE MAHALLESİ ROMAN TOPLULUĞU

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Bu tez, bir Roman topluluğu olan Ege mahallesinin sosyo-mekânsal analizini emek ve sermayenin dolaşımı üzerinden araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Mahalle, son yüzyıl içinde Türkiye'nin geçirdiği siyasi ve ekonomik dönüşümleriyle birlikte sosyo-mekansal dönüşümlerle karşı karşıya kaldı. Tez, Türkiye'nin sanayileşmesi, kentleşmesi ve sanayisizleşme sürecine paralel olarak, tenekeliden, işçi mahallesine dönüşen ve sonrasında marjinal bir mekâna dönüşen Roman Mahallesini konu almaktadır. Süreç emeğin tarihsel dönüşümü ve sermayenin kentleşmesine ekseninde ele alınmıştır. Ülkenin siyasi ve ekonomik değişimleri, mahallenin yaşadığı süreçlerle paralellik göstermektedir. İşgücü ve kentsel müdahaleler, yapılı çevrenin dönüşümünde öncü etkenler olmuştur. Hızlı sanayileşmenin getirdiği iş gücü ihtiyacı, Roman topluluğu aracılığıyla sağlanmış ve bu dönemde bölgeye sosyal konut projesi yapılarak, topluluk desteklenmiştir. Ancak ülkenin sanayisizleşme sürecinde işgücüne olan ihtiyaç azalmış, üretim alanlarının değişimine sebep olmuştur. İşgüçlerine talebi azanan mahalle, önerilen kentsel dönüşüm ve Yeni Şehir Merkezi projeleri ile ülkenin sanayisizleşme sürecinden etkilenmiştir.

Tez yöntem olarak, etnografik araştırma, derinlemesine yarı yapılandırılmış röportajlar ve arşiv çalışmasına dayanan araçlardan yararlanmıştır. Sermayenin döngüsü ve emeğin dönüşümünü analiz eden epistemolojik bir duruştan yola çıkarak, her iki teori arasındaki diyalektik ilişki üzerinden mevcut çerçeve yeniden uyarlanmıştır; Kent mekânın dönüşümü, emeğin dönüşümüdür ve işgücündeki değişim, kentsel mekânın ve gündelik yaşamın değişimine neden olur. Kentsel mekânın ve emeğin tarihsel dönüşümü, Türkiye tarihinde görülen krizlerden ayrıştırılamaz. Dolayısıyla bu tez, ulusal ekonomik değişimlerin kent mekânına ve emek ilişkilerine yansımalarına ilişkin bir analiz yapmakta ve İzmir'in bir Roman mahallesinden bakarak sermayenin döngüsü ile mekânın emeğinin değişimine odaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Emeğin Dönüşümü, Sermaye Döngüsü, Roman Topluluğu, Ege Mahallesi

To my late grandparents whom I lost in Phd Process; Turgut & Türkan Baba

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APIKAM: Ahmet Priştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi

DSİ: State Hydraulic Works

ENSHP: Ege Neighbourhood Social Housing Project

İBB: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality

ILO: International Labour Organisation

IMF: International Monetary Fund

NCC: New City Centre Project

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

TARİŞ: Fig, Grape, Cotton and Oil Seeds Agricultural Sales Cooperatives Associations

TEKEL: Turkish Tobacco and Alcoholic Beverages Company

TOKİ: Housing Development Administration

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Neoliberal policies played an essential role in restructuring the capital crisis and reshaping the urban environment after the 1980s. They were formed as a tool for capital to mitigate the crisis. Cities became essential actors in capital restructuring and accumulation to address the adverse effects of crisis. In the process of cities gaining importance in accumulation, urban policies changed and rapidly transformed the urban fabric and social structure. Also, as a result of globalization, entrepreneurial cities started to receive more capital investment. The competition brought the urban transformations to provide a suitable environment for the capital.

Throughout history, Turkey has experienced many crises; while the oil crisis in 1973 conveyed the shift to neoliberal policies by a military coup, lately 2001 crisis increased the urbanization of capital. Since crises are essential to the reproduction of capitalism, they reshape and restructure the economic system to create a new version of capitalism. As reconstructions emerged in the urban environment, productive landscapes metamorphoses to industrial waste lands, old factories were demolished or converted to new functions and uses, working-class, squatter settings, and tin-can neighbourhoods get gentrified¹. Urban interventions were not initiated in the 2000s, back to the 1980 and 1990s. However, by the 2000s urban, it had gradually evolved into a process triggered by external interventions.

The adaptation of neoliberal urbanization policies in Turkey paved the way for the implementation of emerging urban interventions in the inner city deprived area. The first, most known example of intervention is in Sulukule, Roma neighbourhood.

¹ David Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, Oxford University Press, 2014.

Many scholars have studied the subject from urban regeneration² and social-spatial perspective³. Both perspectives focused on the project's participation structure, the valuable character of the society, being Romani community, expropriation issues, and socio-spatial memories. State perspective is reflected in conserving urban tissue and constructing earthquake-resistant buildings, improving living standards. After long-lasting debates against non-governmental organisations', chambers' and inhabitants' thoughts, the project was completed, and the area was gentrified.

The gentrification resulted from the capital's movement. Through the neoliberal policies, cities became a competitor and tried to take more investment from the capital. In the circuit of the capital, the intervention was the tool for the capital's urbanization, and the state became the apparatus of this circuit through the ruling elites. The intervention could have occurred in another area; however, the difference between land use and exchange value is an important investment for capital. As an inner city area, the Romani neighbourhood became a profitable choice for the capital where the difference between the use value and exchange value of the area increased. Also, from another perspective, the Roma neighbourhood chose intervention due to labour practices; therefore, the area turned into an inner city deprived area. In Sulukule, inhabitants were working in the informal sector; previously, they were operating entertainment houses (*devriye evleri*)⁴ where they used to dance and play music. Closure these houses altered the socio-economic conditions of the neighbourhood and accelerated the deprivation process in the area, making relationship between the alteration of labour and the urban environment more visible

² David Behar, and Tolga İslam. *İstanbul'da "soylulaştırma"*. Vol. 122: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları 2006;

Ozan Karaman, Resisting Urban Renewal In Istanbul, *Urban Geography*, 35 (2), 2014. pp. 290-310

³ Ülke Evrim Uysal. An Urban Social Movement Challenging Urban Regeneration: The Case of Sulukule, Istanbul. *Cities*, 29(1), 12–22, 2012.

⁴ Hacer Foggo, The Sulukule Affair: Roma against Expropriation, *Roma Rights Quarterly*, 4, 2007. p.41.

The shared intuitive and stereotypical judgments about the Roma society are mostly based on the representations depicting them as lazy, lousy and stolid. Also, their labour is generally related to music, dance or informal works such as collecting paper and street vending. They have mostly been associated with unemployment and criminalisation. Research mostly focuses on these stereotypical areas, such as Sulukule in İstanbul or Tepecik in İzmir. However, each community have a different orientation in terms of work. Music and entertainment could be the dominant ones, but it does not mean dealing with other labour does not exist. Each community could have a different historical process and path they have developed in labour practices.

The thesis focuses on a Roma neighbourhood in İzmir that became an inner city area. The Ege neighbourhood faces an urban regeneration project as in Sulukule. However, it has not been implemented yet. Gentrification is related to the capital's urbanization process with neoliberal policies. However, looking into the Roma neighbourhood, which is located next to production spaces, this research does not look only at the urbanization of capital but also at its industrialisation. Since labour conditions affect historical capital processes, the research also interconnects the relationship between capital and the labour market through a Roma community. The neighbourhood has a physical connection with state-run industrial activities, and since the neighbourhood was formed at the beginning of the 1900s, it has been through Turkey's industrialisation and de-industrialisation process. As a Roma community, the site experienced historical turns of the capital and alterations in labour practice as organized or re-organized in line with the circuit of the capital. Therefore, this thesis looks into a Roma neighbourhood with a specific focus on labour practices and the transformation employment together with the urbanization of capital.

1.1 Aim & Objective & Research Questions

Recently, research on the Roma community focuses on their neighbourhood, urban regeneration projects affecting them, and the process that places them as the subjects of gentrification⁵. In Balkan geography and Turkey, Adrian Marsh focused on the ethnic identities and historical background of Roma⁶. Similarly, in the Turkish case, several scholars elaborated on their cultural life⁷, political participation⁸, ethnic identity⁹, identity construction¹⁰ and the identity construction of Roma children¹¹,

⁵ Arzu Kocabas, & Mike Gibson. Planned Gentrification In İstanbul: The Sulukule Renewal Area 2005-2010. *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning*, 6(4), 420–446, 2011. Mehmet Melih Cin & Yakup Egercioğlu. A Critical Analysis of Urban Regeneration Projects in Turkey: Displacement of Romani Settlement Case. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 216, 269–278. 2016.

⁶ Adrian Marsh, Türkiye Çingenelerinin Tarihi Hakkında. *European Roma Rights Center Country Reports Series*, (17) 5-18, 2008;

Adrian Marsh, Research And The Many Representations of Romani Identity, *Roma Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No.3, Budapest: European Roma Rights Centre, 2007, pp. 17–30;

Adrian Marsh, A Brief History of The Gypsies In Turkey, in E. Uzpeder et al. [eds], *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights in Turkey*, İstanbul: Helsinki Citizen's Assembly, 2008, pp. 5–20;

Adrian Marsh, The Gypsies of Sulukule, *City: Analysis Of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, vol.14, no.6, 2010, pp.670-674.

⁷ Semra Özlem Dişli. “Çingene” mi?, “Roman” mı? Bir inşa süreci. *Antropoloji*, 31, 97–117, 2016.

⁸ Suat Kolukırık & Şule Toktaş. Turkey's Roma: Political Participation And Organization, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43:5, 761-777, 2008.

⁹ Ali Arayıcı. The Gypsy Minority in Europe – Some Considerations. *International Social Science Journal*, 50 (156), 253–262, 1998.

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Suat Kolukırık, Türk Toplumunda Çingene İmgesi ve Önyargısı, *Sosyoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 8(2): 52-71, 2005.

¹⁰ Levent Ürer, *Roman Olup Çingene Kalmak*, İstanbul: Melek Yayıncılık, 2012.

¹¹ Derya Koptekin, *Biz Romanlar, Siz Gacolar: Çingene/Roman Çocuklar Kimlik İnşası*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2017.

social problems¹², representation in media¹³, Roma women¹⁴, social exclusions¹⁵ and discrimination¹⁶, urban poor and minority perspectives. However, these studies lack an understanding of the labour market, the transformation of their labour and to the entanglements of their employment and precarity with urban development.

In terms of the built environment, apart from the urban regeneration studies, the Roma community was analysed through public participation¹⁷, urban social movements¹⁸ and the right to the city¹⁹. Yılıgür conducted labour-oriented research on the social and political struggles of tobacco workers²⁰. Since the stereotypical Roma community's labour highlight the entertainment sector, this thesis positions them as working-class subjects. Instead of attributing particular labour practices to the community, looking directly at the market through their eyes is a fruitful starting point for questioning the entanglements and complexities with the formal-informal labour dichotomy. Therefore, the study addresses the gap on community's formal

¹² Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Özçelik, Sinan Gökçen, *Biz Buradayız! Türkiye'de Romanlar, Ayrımcı Uygulamalar ve Hak Mücadelesi*. İstanbul: Mart Yayınevi, 2008.

¹³ Hakan Alp, Film Ve Dizilerde Çingenelere Yönelik Nefret Söylemi Örnekleri. *Uluslararası İletişim ve Sanat Dergisi*, 2(2), 50–85, 2021.

¹⁴ Fatma İlknur Akgül, Kesışimsellik Yaklaşımı Bağlamında Roman Kadınların İktisadi Hayata Katılımı: İzmir Örneği, *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 2, 1073-1098, 2021;

İlknur Akgül. Roman Kadını Gözüyle Erkeklik: İzmir Örneği. *Yıldız Social Science Review*. 2021; Buse, Erhalim Gümüş, and Falka Çelik. İzmir'de Roman Kadın Olmak: Sosyal Dışlanma, Yoksulluk ve Yoksunluk İle Müzakere Anlatıları. *OPUS Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2021.

¹⁵ Başak Ekim Akkan, Mehmet Baki Deniz, Mehmet Ertan. *Sosyal Dışlanmanın Roman Halleri, İstanbul: Punto*, 2011.

¹⁶ Gonca Girgin-Tohumcu, From Social Stigma To The Ultimate Genre: The Romani Dance Of Turkey. *Romani Studies* 24(2): 137-163, 2014;

Gül Özateşler, *Çingene: Türkiye'de Yaftalama ve Dışlayıcı Şiddetin Toplumsal Dinamiği*. Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016.

¹⁷ Zerrin Toprak Karaman. Participation to The Public Life and Becoming Organized at Local Level in Romani Settlements in Izmir. *Land Use Policy*, 26(2), 308–321, 2009.

¹⁸ Ülke Evrim Uysal. An Urban Social Movement Challenging Urban Regeneration: The case of Sulukule, İstanbul. *Cities*, 29(1), 12–22, 2012.

¹⁹ Gülçin Erdi Lelandais. "Right To The City As An Urban Utopia? Practices of Every Day Resistance In A Romani Neighbourhood In İstanbul." In *Understanding the City. Henri Lefebvre and Urban Studies* edited by Gülçin E. L, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 69-90. 2014.

²⁰ Egemen Yılıgür, *Roman Tütün İşçileri*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2016;

Egemen Yılıgür, Peripatetik Gruplar ve Kentsel Mekâna İlişkin Yerleşme Stratejileri: İhlamur Deresi, Küçükbakkalköy, Hasanpaşa, Unkapanı ve Kuştepe Örnekleri. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 130: 189-213, 2014.

and informal labour practices and how these are manifested in the urban environment.

In the urbanization literature of Turkey, the term is also related to urban poverty and gecekondu studies. However, there is a need to differentiate the urban poverty and gecekondu studies in this research. Urban poverty literature²¹ focuses on the structural conditions, assumes that low-income groups desire to be integrated into society and the labour market or looks into how they transfer urban poverty through the generations of gecekondu dwellers²². Gecekondu neighbourhoods are widely studied in the urban studies of Turkey. These neighbourhoods emerged as a response to workers' housing needs during the rapid urbanization period of the country. Immigrant workers formed an urban fabric in industrialized cities by constructing houses on vacant land. Since the immigrants came from different sociological backgrounds and cities, they produced heterogeneous social structures and experienced similar problems, such as a lack of public services and amenities²³. The Roma community in the Ege neighbourhood differentiates itself from the gecekondu debates since the urban area is composed of people from the same social and ethnic background as the urban area was formed long before the rapid industrialization period of the country.

Departing from the gap in current studies, the neighborhood reflects a partial history of Turkey's industrialization and urbanization process. The shift in political economies of the country echoes and manifests themselves in the neighbourhood

²¹ Bora, Aksu, Kemal Can, Ahmet Çiğdem, Necmi Erdoğan, Ömer Laçiner, Ersan Ocak, and Mustafa Şen. *Yoksulluk halleri: Türkiye'de kent yoksulluğunun toplumsal görünüşleri*. İletişim Yayınları, 2007.

Ayşe Buğra, *Kapitalizm, Yoksulluk ve Türkiye'de Sosyal Politika*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2021.

²² Işık Oğuz and Melih Pınarcıoğlu *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk, Gecekondulaşma ve Kent Yoksulları: Sultanbeyli Örneği*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

²³ Şentürk, *Bu Çamuru Beraber Çiğnedik: Bir Gecekondu Mahallesi Hikâyesi*.

through labour and urban transformations. Therefore, this research seeks to address following research questions:

- 1. How is the labour market transformed through urbanization and industrialization?**
- 2. How can a circuit of capital transform a Roma community's urban fabric through labour power?**

1.2 Context and Scope of This Study

My first visit to the neighbourhood was in 2014 while I was exploring the possible ramifications of an upcoming urban regeneration project to the area and envisioning a sustainable, feasible, and long-lasting project for the inhabitants and the city. However, these visits triggered me to explore the main reason of a regeneration project. At that time, Sulukule urban regeneration was a fervent topic on media and was under the close scrutiny of scholars, activists, planners, architects, the inhabitant of Sulukule. Yet, the regeneration became an unsuccessful experience from which we could draw lessons. When my friends and colleagues asked me about the area's location and told their stories about the neighbourhood, I realised that these stories were based on the pre-judgments and urban rumours and misinformation about the inhabitants of the neighbourhood and the area rather than being based on their observations or experiences.

The Ege neighbourhood is located in the city centre, between the port and middle/upper-class residential area; it has a story of providing cheap labour force to factories located hinterland of the port. Residents of the area are stigmatised for being Roma, and they are forced to work and live under precarious conditions.

The current image of duality is also representing the whole story historically. Throughout the historical development of the neighbourhood, residents are discriminated on the basis of their ethnic and socio-economic background. However, their labour force conditions changed across the time and have a temporal history.

Until the 2000s, there was a continuous shift between formal and informal labour. This period later on was followed mainly followed by a labour force concentrated in the informal sector. The workforce condition is linked with the history of the land and with changes in policies of the country, such as a shift to liberal and then neo-liberal policies. Therefore, I argue that **this transformation of the land is also the transformation of labour**. After the 1940s, the industrialisation of Turkey faced a shift from agricultural production to industrial production leading to an increase in urban land population compared to rural land. The transformation in production type also affected the transformation of urban areas and the concept of *gecekondus*²⁴ emerged as informal settlements. They became the main habitation for the cheap labour force, and an apparatus of reproducing cheap labour during the industrialisation process.

Gecekondus are part of formal and informal labour forces which are the mechanism of the market economy. Both types of labour are part of a market economy that works in tandem with each other. Transformation of the land could encourage the need for formal labour. In some cases, this policy could support local/central interventions such as legalisation of *gecekondus* or construction of low budget social housing facilities. On the other hand, the transformation of the land could encourage inhabitants shift to informal labour due to decreasing demand for unskilled labour. So, market economy could benefit from this precarity until the land value is more important than their informal labour. Currently, Ege neighbourhood lands exchange value is more important than labour value, and as a *gecekondus* settlement, they face a ghettoisation process that could end up with the transformation of urban space and also everyday life. However, de-industrialisation process, industrialised land transformed to non-industrial areas; therefore, the settlements that are home to the industrial labour force faced loss of formal labour and experienced compulsory shift

²⁴ Neighbourhoods that composed of squatter housings or tin-can neighbourhoods, emerged during the urbanisation period in Turkey.

to informal labour. This radical change indicates the dialectical relationship between the transformation of the land and labour.

The continuous interchange of the dominant labour force that is between informal and formal sector are also tactics of survival strategy. **The shift between the two labour forces also emanates from the change of urban space and everyday life. There is a relational account among the change of the land, urban space, and labour. They all affect one another and are in a mutual and dialectical relationship. This thesis aims to explore this complex and interactive relationship among the change of the land, urban space, and labour economy through a socio-political, historical, and temporal contextualisation as these changes cannot be ontologically separated from the wider paradoxes and crises seen in the history of Turkey. Only such an account can provide a robust reading of how land, space, and labour spirally form the politics of everyday life and lived experiences of marginalised bodies.**

1.3 Methodology

This research is based on my continuous engagements and visits to the neighbourhood over the past decade, since 2014²⁵. My initial visits to the city was not easy, I was an outsider for the inhabitants. From the very beginning of the research, the neighbourhood gave birth to unexpected questionings; which

²⁵ My first attempt of understanding transformation of the neighbourhood was within the scope of the Master thesis that focused on the Ege neighbourhood Urban regeneration project, aiming analyse the participation process of the inhabitants in the regeneration debates from the right to the city perspective. Therefore, I have conducted a mixed method approach of both questionnaires and open-ended structured interviews to explore the demographic structure of the neighbourhood, their expectations, demands and opinions both from landlords' and tenants' perspectives. I also conducted semi-structured interviews with both stakeholders: heads of non-governmental organisations, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Urban Regeneration Bureau and the muhtar.

The MA thesis was completed in the Urban Regeneration Department of Izmir Katip Çelebi University and titled; "Urban Regeneration Strategies for Supporting Social Sustainability of Roma Community: İzmir-Ege Neighbourhood Urban Regeneration Project".

encouraged me to focus on the history of labour and the history of the neighbourhood to generate a rich and multi-layered socio-spatial understanding of the site.

Before starting the field trip, I have decided on specific methods and strategies composed of two steps: (1) walking in the neighbourhood and (2) conducting interviews with inhabitants. An initial visit to the field showed me that the neighbourhood has unique, dynamic life. The uniqueness is based on two intertwined layers. Firstly, it is hard to find an adjective to describe the neighbourhood. It can be considered a *gecekondu* or tin-can neighbourhood, however, *gecekondu* refers to the quickly built squatter houses without proper permissions. The land has the interlocking character of *gecekondu*, houses (that have proper permission) and social housing are built by local authorities. Secondly, its daily practices are not shaped by the urban poor but being ethnically Roma characteristics. For instance, the Ege neighbourhood at Ankara²⁶, where urban poor was located is a home to the citizens from different backgrounds and identities. Still, they mobilised themselves to organise many protests because their main motivation to gather was to voice the common problems or struggles. In Ege neighbourhood of İzmir, residents' mobilisation was not only driven by making their everyday challenges or common struggles hear but also had a bond with being part of Roma society, therefore forming strong connections through cultural activities. The neighbourhood has a mix of two interlocking character: spatially it is composed of *gecekondu* and planned neighbourhood, socially it is based on daily practices of urban poor and Roma society. Hence, to understand the spatial dimension, I need to clarify the daily life of the neighbourhood. Eventually, I questioned the historical development of the neighbourhood and its relation with urban area and labour. Hence, step by step I tried to work on historical data, bringing together with literature and meta-analysis. The data on which this research was built on represented a combination of ethnographic and historical data.

²⁶ Şentürk, *Bu Çamuru Beraber Çiğnedik : Bir Gecekondu Mahallesi Hikâyesi*.

First part of the data set was based on archival research on how the neighbourhood was formed and how it was developed and transformed? Since, I could not find anyone who lived before 1950s in that area, the data from 1900 to 1950s was mainly based on archival research and meta-analysis. The archive of the municipality/metropolitan municipality played an important role to conduct this research. They provided rich data about the history of urban area, society and its transformation and the city archive²⁷ was helpful to access local daily newspaper archives and local parliamentary minutes.

Data set between 1950s to 2020 includes both archival research and ethnographic research based on oral history interviews with the residents. Since my aim is to collect narratives of the lived experiences and everyday life practices of inhabitants, ethnographic research and my everyday interactions with the residents helped me develop an understanding of the culture. In order to carry out the oral histories, I visited the site regularly for six years and I participated some ceremonies, rituals or meetings such as weddings, *hidirellez*²⁸ or going out with the youth of neighbourhood.

As I moved on with the analysis, I have taken a chronological approach to my narrative and analysed the neighbourhood under three eras 1950-80, 1980-2003 and 2003-2020. In addition to the oral histories with residents, I also carried out interviews with those who were not part of the community but have been working in the neighbourhood to get the voices of those who could be considered outsiders and their interactions with the community to deepen my understanding of intersectionally shaped inequalities and stigmatisation. The outsider participants were a nurse who worked in that area between 1988-90, a manager responsible for TEKEL tobacco storage, a former worker in TARİŞ.

²⁷ Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (APIKAM).

²⁸ Spring Festival

The thesis's methodological uniqueness lies in its distinctiveness of combining oral histories and historical data. Briefly, different methods and strategies are used in this research; meta-analysis of urbanisation (chapter 2,3,4 and 5); auto-ethnographic mapping of the neighbourhood (chapter 2) and oral histories with semi-structured in-depth interviews with residents and outsiders (chapter 3,4 and 5) to allow triangulation of the data.

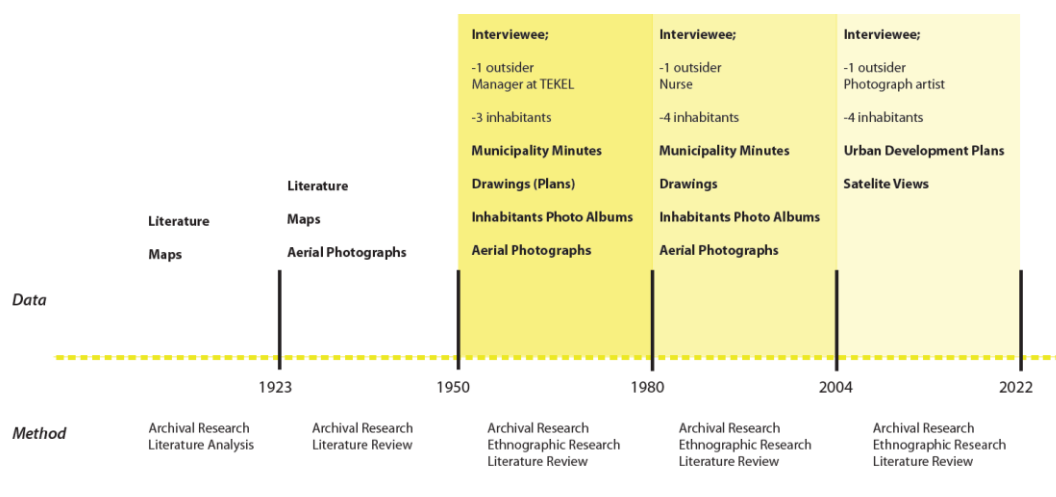


Figure 1.1 Methodology

1.3.1 Complexities of Working with Marginalised Communities

Surveillance practices are becoming increasingly insidious, finding their way into every aspect of public and private life. Surveillance by policing agencies has particularly targeted marginalized/disadvantaged communities, structuring all aspects of social life. Therefore, it makes difficult for a researcher to have a meaningful relationship with residents. Semi-structured interviews are one of the tools for ethnographic research in marginalized communities. The interviewer and interviewee need comfortable conditions to conduct healthy and reliable communication. In this research, there were two challenges, the initial one was getting trust and consent, and the second one was police surveillance. Both challenges are linked with each other. Surveillance stimulates a suspicious and

uncomfortable environment for this communication for both parties. Therefore, it prevents getting the trust and consent of inhabitants as researchers. Moreover, the painful conditions are not limited to a period of interviewing but also affect the presence of a researcher in the field.

Before the interview, the phase is to reach the field and meet with an inhabitant willing to speak with the related research subject. In that phase, as a researcher should give confidentiality about the interviewee's name, thoughts, anonymity and a suitable environment for freedom of thoughts and speech. Also, a researcher should draw a clear image about the intention of the research. Conditions of the environment are vital to provide this confidentiality, and the presence of police or suspicion of having an undercover policeman prevent generating this environment and also obstruct the trust and consent.

I have been working with the community since 2014; some of the inhabitants have known me for a long time and know the research and what I am doing at the site. Even though inhabitants know me as a researcher after the presence of police, it prevented or complicated the trust-building process and generated new understanding for interviews with community members. The police presence started in 2016 in the neighbourhood. The presence existed within three levels: police checkpoint, an undercover/civil police in the neighbourhood and police vehicles that patrols inside the neighbourhood. After a particular time, people get used to their existence; however, it caused a restructuring of their social relations in terms of trust. The so-called aim of all tools of surveillance mentioned is to secure the area, prevent drug dealing and sustain the inhabitants' security. Among these tools, police checkpoints and undercover police officers were my initial challenges before interviewing.

Police checkpoint is one of the initial challenges for the research due to affecting my entrance to the site. Since the area has physical borders, it has only two entrances for pedestrians and vehicles. Police checkpoints were located at both entrances. When a pedestrian wants to enter the neighbourhood, they need to stop at the checkpoint, and

police ask for an ID card, questioning why they are entering the area, and where they will go. Even inhabitants face the same question when they go in and out of the area.

Moreover, knowing that I was conducting academic research, they started observing me on the site and searched me and my items. When I started to visit the site more frequently, waiting time at the checkpoint increased and it became more difficult to enter the neighbourhood. However, the inhabitants eased my entrance. In interviews, an inhabitant mentioned that “police officers who are located at the checkpoint changes every six months, therefore after three months they get to know who lives there and start not asking questions to inhabitants and their guests”. Therefore, after meeting several times with inhabitants, I constructed close relationships with them, and they accompanied me at the checkpoint to avoid police interrogation.

After getting inside the site, there was another challenge for the interviews. So, the quality of interviews depends not only on on-off recorded meetings; it also relates to the researcher’s dress code and behaviours. Since the surveillance uses undercover police officers, people became suspicious about outsiders on the site due to the possibility of being an undercover agent. I became a close friend or a mentor of a group of young people who helped me a lot with my visits and interviews. After several meetings with this group of young people, they indicated that “we thought you were an undercover police officer”. In my perspective, I was going to the field in casual clothes such as a black t-shirt, pants and sneakers, and I am just an ordinary outsider who came to the area for a visit. However, according to them, my dress code implicated my possibility of being an undercover agent. Inhabitants prefer to wear colourful clothes with catchy colours such as flashing yellow, orange or red. In another visit to the site, this group of young people indicated me the undercover agents. This encounter and the young’s indication showed me that the inhabitants constructed an image of an undercover agent based on wearing glasses, jeans, sneakers and a plain black t-shirt, speaking Turkish without a posh accent and no dialect. Due to clothing, accent and behaviour, they thought I was an undercover agent. Young people’s feedback was helpful for me to overcome these biases, I observed the young people’s clothing patterns and in later site visits, I tried to wear

colourful clothes, not to wear glasses. These attitudes help me to formulate deep conversations with inhabitants or eased meeting opportunities with members of society.

During the interviewing process, the police existence affected the research through patrolling. The quality of interviews depends on constructing an intimate relationship with inhabitants. There was a layer of complexity in defining what one could say “on the record” to the researcher and what was said, “off the record”. Inhabitants with whom I worked were engaged in complex planning, trust and meaning-making. It is easy to understand their feelings through gestures and narratives based on common truth according to hegemonic society or authority’s perspective. Therefore, it questions the data collected in in-depth interviews.

Consequently, I have spent some time with especially the young generation. I became part of their social activities, such as going out together or playing some card games. In an ethnographic study, researchers are sometimes listening as a researcher, as a friend, as a mentor or as a community member. These informal meetings initiated a trust-building process between the researcher (me) and the young generation. Being their friend and mentor provided two important opportunities. Firstly, I had a chance to take feedback on my attitudes and clothing; secondly, they could talk freely and invited me to informal spaces I would not be able to enter.

Another critical factor in the research was recording the interviews. Members of a marginalized community hesitate to talk with media, officials or political agents due to facing sanctions towards them. These sanctions could cut the benefits they are taking from local/central authorities. Rapley²⁹ notes that it is appropriate to turn off the record during the interview with the interviewee's request because something is confidential, and the person does not wish her/his voice to record relaying the information. As a survival tactic, they conceal their opinions or ideas and provide

²⁹ Tim Rapley. Interviews. In: *Qualitative Research Practice* (Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium, David Silverman, eds.). London: Sage, 15–32, 2004.

minimum details about daily life. Providing detailed information about their occupation, and life practices could harm them. In terms of off-the-record and on-the-record debates, Nordstrom³⁰ mentioned that “recording devices – social science tools or apparatuses – are not mute or innocent entities that simply record interviews”, they have influences on data. She advocates that recording devices are as a tool to capture apolitical, acultural and aproblematic data³¹. The impact of the recording device was valid for the research case. On the record, interview data was problematic in indicating the troubles or challenges that they wanted to share. Even turning off the record during an interview may remain in the situation and affect the research. Because of the device's existence and the interviewer's intention to record, even if the recorder is put out of sight can still has a presence and influence the interaction³². Shaver's³³ participation cantered approach is another case for recording. Since some inhabitants work in informal sectors such as drug dealing or operating their facilities informally (a facility without having any official document) such as restaurants, water pipe café, gaming shops, recording the conversation would affect the informality process, and covert use would affect the built trust. Therefore, in these informal conversations, I record the conversation directly after the end of the interview through my voice record or taking notes. This methodology also allows me to observe my surroundings during the interviews.

In some cases, I conducted the interviews in a public space such as *Kahvehane* (a man-dominated coffee house) or sitting on a street. Recording interviews may push the interviewer to focus on the interview data, not the broader research experience

³⁰ Susan Naomi Nordstrom. Not so innocent anymore: making recording devices matter in qualitative interviews. *Qualitative Inquiry* 21(4): 388–401 p.389, 2015.

³¹ Ibid. pp.390.

³² Rwamahe Rutakumwa, Okello Mugisha, Sarah Bernays, Elizabeth Kabunga, Grace Tumwekwase, Martin Mbonye, & Janet Seeley. Conducting In-Depth Interviews with and Without Voice Recorders: A Comparative Analysis. *Qualitative Research*, 20(5), 565–581, 2020.

³³ Frances M. Shaver. Sex Work Research Methodological and Ethical Challenges, Sex Work Research: Methodological and Ethical Challenges. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 20(3), 296–319, 2005.

such as personal interaction and observation³⁴. In an interview, inhabitants may provide inaccurate information to protect their privacy, or they may tell what the interviewer wants to hear³⁵. At that moment, interviewing and observing surrounding and interviewee's interactions are important for the research and reliability of the research data. Thus, depending on the interviewee, apart from informality concerns, the off-the-record conversation provided more focus on observation and interaction to check the accuracy of the data. Therefore, I preferred using off-the-record interviews with inhabitants who work in the informal sector to ensure the data. By doing so, I provided confidentiality to the interviewee and enhanced the pace of the trust-building process.

1.4 Building an Epistemological Framework

Developing the structure of this research and building an epistemological framework was a long journey. In this process, I considered different theoretical to analyse the neighbourhood's condition and its relation with surrounding areas. In this section, I will briefly outline three epistemological approaches I have considered and explain why I have not deployed them and why they could not promise a feasible framework to examine the historical transformation of the neighbourhood.

Building the epistemological framework started in the first year of my PhD. Since the thesis has a Marxist perspective to understanding urban geography, the course "Politics and Space" taught by Professor Güven Arif Sargin was immensely helpful to build the framework. Deamer's books³⁶ were the primary texts we discussed, but

³⁴ Barney G. Glaser. Constructivist Grounded Theory? *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 3(3), 2002.

³⁵ Frances M. Shaver, *Sex Work Research Methodological and Ethical Challenges*, *Sex Work Research: Methodological and Ethical Challenges*.

³⁶ Peggy Deamer. *Architecture and Capitalism 1845 to the Present*. London & New York: Routledge, 2014.;

Peggy Deamer. *The Architect as Worker - Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class, and the Politics of Design*. New York and London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.

the discussions were beyond the books as Professor Sargın broadened our horizon about the relationship between architecture, capitalism and labour. He encouraged us to appropriate the ideas in the current urbanisation process of Turkey. Through the lectures, we developed an understanding of architecture in a capitalist mode of production and the perception of an architect's position as an immaterial labour or a worker. We questioned the architect's role in the reproduction of social relations of capitalism³⁷; discussions formed crucial questions about whether an architect could position him/herself against capitalism. Moreover, debates provoked the exploitation of architecture by capitalism and the transformation of an architect's labour into a commodity in capitalism³⁸. Thus this thesis's first understanding of the transformation of labour and its commodification through the capitalist mode of production was formed in our discussions.

Then, I observed in my initial site visit that the use of public space was common in the area. It was not a place to spend time with their neighbours but also constituted an essential part of their life, including rituals and entertainment. Therefore, their private and public space were integrated, and inhabitants spent most of their time in public spaces. Therefore, the notion of public space was the first theory I elaborated on to distinguish the difference between the public space in the neighbourhood and the city and how it affected forming the built environment.

In order to understand the public space debates, Habermas' concept of the public sphere was my starting point. Habermas relies on the representation of the people in public spaces and the necessity of rational debate. In his book *The Structural Transformation of Public sphere*, he focuses on transforming the public sphere from private to public space due to societal, economic, political and philosophical changes

³⁷ Güven Arif Sargın. Sermaye ve/veya Sermayesiz Mimarlık: Kavgalar, Çatışmalar, Karşıtlaşmalar, Polemikler, Tartışmalar Üzerine Ekonomi-Politik bir Okuma. *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 301, 70-73, 2016.

³⁸ Güven Arif Sargın. İktidarın Mimar-Öznesinden Devrimci Siyasi-Özneye: Yaratıcılık Miti, Burjuva İdeolojisi ve Devlet Aygıtları – Kısa Değİnmeler. *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 307, 78-80, 2017

with the rise of bourgeoisie culture. The public sphere is a space of opportunity for public deliberation and is necessary for engaged citizenship. The altering power of economics and politics triggers the birth of “a space between the political and the private authority where people meet to discuss issues related to trade and commerce”, and space becomes a place for rational critical debates³⁹ about socio-political issues. The bourgeois public sphere is “a forum in which the private people, come together to form a public, readied themselves to compel the public authority to legitimate itself before public opinion”⁴⁰ this public sphere is “coffee houses, the salons and *Tischgesellschaften* (*table societies*)”⁴¹. These spaces are elitist and designed for educated individuals or property owners. Participants of these debates belong to a specific class reflecting the interest of the bourgeoisie, and the lower class does not have access or opportunity to have a voice in the public sphere. The power and legitimacy of the public sphere are transferred to the bourgeoisie, thus becoming the dominant power in the public sphere through capitalist development. Since Habermas’ approach is based on class relations, the concept is not feasible to explore and explain the area’s historic transformation. According to Sennett, the public realm, which started in the eighteenth century and continued in the nineteenth century, is redefined with the public-private dichotomy. His perspective on public space is the specific type of interaction that goes on in public. However, current trends in the modern city related to the erosion of public space due to unrestricted mobility of people cost of deteriorating urban streets turn public space instrumental. Habermas and Sennett have agreed that the modern city’s public understanding is bourgeois public space. In line with the nation-state process, Turkey also tried to internalize a modernity project in a formal sense and the definition of public space

³⁹ Jürgen Habermas. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991. p.51.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 25-26.

⁴¹ *Ibid*. p.30.

is accepted by the elitist ruling groups of the state⁴²; thus in Turkish case is similar to western practices, current conditions of public space transformed into a bourgeois space which became apparatus in transforming everyday life and mode of production. In addition, urban public space defines through accessibility and activities in the space by the large number of urbanites⁴³. However, In the Ege neighbourhood, the area has turned into a marginalised neighbourhood where the public space has been excluded from dominant class hegemony and appropriated by the inhabitants. The existence of dominant class practices is limited and abandoned due to the marginalised character of the area. Since the concept is limited to power relations and entanglements of the state's or bourgeoisie's hegemonic power, the notion of public space is not adaptable to this case. Similarly, Gramsci's perspective of subaltern has the same deficiencies.

Gramsci constituted thoughts on subalterns by looking into south Italy during the period of Mussolini. In *Prison Notebooks*, he dissociated his ideas from traditional Marxist characteristics through mechanistic and economic forms. Rather than providing one definition for the subaltern, the definition of subaltern develops between 1929-1935. Firstly, subaltern groups are called non-commissioned military members who are subordinate to the authority of colonels and generals (Notebook 1, 48,54). Later, the subaltern is referred to as the position of subordination or lower status in non-military members. In notebook 3, the term was used regarding social class; "subaltern classes are subject to the initiatives of the dominant class, even when they rebel; they are in a state of anxious defence" (Notebook 3, 14). Subalterns evolved from non-military members to subordinated groups by the ruling class. In another sense, the term refers to groups who are not part of the ruling class and have become subjects of the ruling class policies. Later, enslaved people, peasants,

⁴² Güven Arif Sargın. *Başkent Üzerine Mekân Politik Tezler: Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

⁴³ Ela Alanyalı Aral. Peripheral public spaces. Types in progress. In *Public İstanbul: Spaces and spheres of the urban*, ed. F. Eckardt and K. Wildner, 141–162. Bielefeld: Verlag Transcript, 2008.

religious groups, women, different races, and the proletariat were identified as subaltern social groups.⁴⁴ Thus, the term is related to the oppression of the state/dominant class or hegemonic relations.

In the literature of subaltern, Morton explores Gramsci's approach to urban space, architecture and planning through the lens of the state's passive revolution, whereas British scholars examine subaltern through the perspective of ideology as a constructive force in social life^{45 46}. Since this thesis reframes the historical transformation of the urban environment, focusing on the hegemony perspective draws a different frame, the focus on the space of production could be limited due to a lack of understanding of the economic perspective and its relation with the urban area.

The neighbourhood could be approached from the urban informality and gray space debates. The notion of informality was introduced in 1960s debates as an alternative to the functionalist urbanism proposed by CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne). Notably, the population growth of the 60s and the rapid spread of the first informal spatial forms coincided with the loss of certainties regarding urbanism and the modern architecture paradigm⁴⁷. Furthermore, the concept was taken up in theoretic models by Situationist International⁴⁸ between the 50s and 60s. The movement opposed functionalist planning; therefore, they proposed radical actions through mobile urban spaces which could transform a pace according

⁴⁴ Green, Marcus. Gramsci Cannot Speak: Presentations and Interpretations of Gramsci's Concept of the Subaltern, *Rethinking Marxism*, 14:3, 2002, pp. 2

⁴⁵ Stuart Hall. *Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity*. In D. Morley & K.-H. Chen (eds.), *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Routledge, London, pp. 411 – 446, 1996.

⁴⁶ Paul Willis. *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1981.

⁴⁷ Laura Lutzoni, In-formalised urban space design. *Rethinking the relationship between formal and informal. City, Territory and Architecture*, 2016, p.6.

⁴⁸ SI was a movement in the political, social and artistic fields led by Guy Debord that operating in the political, social and artistic fields opposing the effects of functionalist planning, formulated new approaches for the social space of the city.

to the desires of inhabitants. The central idea was to link the built environment with the context and conceive space as a product of the social activity of inhabitants.

After the 70s, urban informality was conceived as a group of marginal activities excluded from the formal economy⁴⁹. It is a sphere separated from the formal or regular process and provides a living for inhabitants or groups living on the margins of society. However, this approach mainly formed in post-colonial studies and the global south. Informality debates in these areas focus on its relation with the state and name informality as counteraction when the state tries to intervene to suppress or attack it. Since the circumstances and dynamics in these geographies differ from the Turkish experience, it could not intersect with Turkey's *gecekondu* case and rapid industrialisation after the 50s.

In line with subaltern studies and urban informality, the notion of gray space was related to these conceptions, and Oren Yiftachel conceptualised urban informality through the Palestine/Israel context by focussing on state relations. The term is referred to as a field of legal ambiguity and manipulation — a space between legality and illegality, between approval and destruction, which he refers to as “gray space”⁵⁰. This space is a legal transgression used by both the dominant group or state and the marginalised. The dominant group manipulates it to their advantage for economic and political gains — such as when private developers violate various urban laws and regulations, exempted from legal compliance and punishment. This way, legal ambiguity primarily benefits the strong groups, resulting in what Roy calls “elite informality” or “elite illegality”⁵¹. Conversely, “gray space” is described as a space of vulnerability and risk for disadvantaged groups. Yiftachel advocates that the legal transgressions of the dominant group are legitimated or “whitened,” while

⁴⁹ Laura Lutzoni, *In-formalised urban space design. Rethinking the relationship between formal and informal. City, Territory and Architecture*, 2016, p.6.

⁵⁰ Yiftachel, O. Theoretical notes on “gray cities”: The coming of urban apartheid?. *Planning Theory*, 2009, p.90,

⁵¹ Ananya Roy, *Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization, Planning Theory*, 2009, p. 76.

those of the marginalised are criminalised or “blackened”⁵². The dominant power’s arbitrary use of the law further contributes to legal uncertainty for the disadvantaged. Therefore, he conceptualises gray space as “positioned between the ‘whiteness’ of legality/approval/safety, and the ‘blackness’ of eviction/demolition/death”. Thus the gray space blurred boundary between informal and formal, and what is deemed informal today may be formal or vice-versa through the decision of the dominant ruling class. The spatial characteristic of gray space is neither integrated nor eliminated.

To sum up, gray space debates produced through urban informality debates in the post-colonial world emerged from hegemonic relations between Israel and Palestine society. Thus, the notion is also related to power relations on the mode of production through classes. Due to geographical and historical differences in the political economy of Turkey, the concept is limited to understanding the construction, transformation and de-transformation of a Roma community in İzmir.

Lastly, the thesis’s epistemological framework benefited from the discussions in the “Critical Theories on Urban Architecture” course taught by Professor Sargin. Two books were discussed in two different terms: Brenner’s critique of urbanisation and Harvey’s Anti-capitalist chronicles. Discussions of the course provoked me to question neoliberal urbanisation in different geographies and to reframe the historical and contemporary crises of global capitalism and the urbanisation of various territories regulated by market relations⁵³. Throughout the course, these exercises were reinforced by theoretical thinking on the urbanisation of capital.

This thesis argues that the circuit of capital and labour practices might engage deeper with the historical transformation of the built environment as the political economy shifts of the country. The core epistemological orientations of the circuit of capital

⁵² Yiftachel, Oren. “Theoretical Notes On ‘Gray Cities’: The Coming of Urban Apartheid?” *Planning Theory*, vol. 8, no. 1, Feb. 2009, p. 89.

⁵³ Güven Arif Sargin and Ayşen Savaş. Dialectical urbanism: Tactical instruments in urban design education. *Cities*, 29(6), 358–368, 2012

and labour practices are profoundly valuable for thinking about the dialectical relation with the urban area. Shifting the analytical perspective from hegemonic relations to the urbanisation of capital and its transformation promises deeper insight into the analysis of İzmir port area and Ege Neighbourhood.

1.4.1 Theoretical Framework: Transformation of The Land is Transformation of the Labour

From my first contact with the neighbourhood, I developed an understanding of how inhabitants narrate the change in the land and their labour. Currently, unemployment seems the most important problem for residents and elders emphasize on how they had many opportunities to work in the formal sector, in other words work as labourers in the factories, therefore, now they have retirement benefits. While elders had working opportunity in formal sector, the next generation, the young are complaining about lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector. Elders were employed in state-run factories as only working opportunity due to close-down of these factories, young were forced to work in informal sector. Even this situation shows how the economic structure change due to the work opportunities in one generation. There is a relationship between the transformation of land and the transformation of labour.

Marx and Engels indicated the relationship between city and labour, in the name of city is a division of labour⁵⁴. In the *German Ideology*⁵⁵, the *Communist Manifesto*⁵⁶ and *Capital*⁵⁷, they discussed the relationship between city, industry and agriculture. Early understanding of “urban” narrative was seen as rise of capitalism and Marx

⁵⁴ Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels. *The Marx–Engels Reader*, ed. by Robert. C.Tucker. New York: Norton, 1978.

⁵⁵ Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels. *The German Ideology*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1970.

⁵⁶ Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels. *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. by Jodi Dean. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2017.

⁵⁷ Karl Marx. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Ed by Fernbach, David, Ben Fowkes and Ernest Mandel. London; New York: Penguin Books in association with New Left Review, 1991.

emphasised (Capital 1- original accumulation chapter) the role of agricultural change, and colonisation in restructuring pre-capitalist relations. The structuring develops through the class formation. Similarly, Engel's *Housing Question* and *Condition of the English Working Class* narrates a contrast between London and Manchester that considers urban as a matter of class formation. Class relations integrally, by relating sites of production (workplaces) to spaces of reproduction (neighbourhood), these spaces are geographically distinct. Sites of production are places where the labour is consumed and space of reproduction are where the reproduction of the labour force occurred. In Marxist philosophy, labour and nature have an interconnected metabolic relationship; nature is transformed when labour is materialised.

Land and labour were one of the major inputs of Marx's discussion of land rent as he focused on agriculture and the role of pre-capitalist rentiers in the distribution of surplus value. However, the classical Marxist theory is based on class conflict and goes deep into the complex nature of class formation and then the form of antagonism between the bourgeois class and the proletariat. The relation between those two class based on whoever inherently captures the means of production. On the other hand, along with those of analysis limited to the conditions of class, the class conflict needs a broader context in order to understand the semi-autonomous conditions of urban land in the current mode of urbanization (Lefebvre, Harvey, Castells, Merrifield, etc). Therefore, Lefebvre, David Harvey and his student Neil Smith have taken up the concept of surplus-value on the role of land rent differentials in explaining the dynamics of land transformation and development. To develop an understanding on the transformation of land, there is a need to explain the circuit of capital and respect to reasons of uneven development.

The circuit of capital was discussed by Lefebvre and Harvey however Lefebvre's understanding is not as detailed as Harvey's. Circuit of the capital is related to two sectors: space of production and reproduction. Lefebvre also discusses the circuit of capital with separating the complex qualities of real estate from mere production; in the primary circuit, the bourgeois produces the good for profit that can be used for

further investment. The second circuit of capital in contemporary urbanization is the land, that is the real estate already binds it. In other words, the bourgeois heavily relies on urban property or land for further profit in the capitalist market. The profit from the production stimulates the space of reproduction. This circuit repeats itself by the time the bourgeoisie reinvents the profit in an expanded urban land.

In a similar fashion, Harvey established a ground for understanding capitalist urbanism within the Marxian theory of accumulation advocating that there is an inherent tendency toward over accumulation in the capitalist production process. The city is a contested space where capital accumulates and circulates, therefore, he provides understanding through dividing capitalist production into three interrelated circuits; that are primary, secondary and tertiary circuits of capital. The oscillation of funds between them serves as an explanation for urbanization⁵⁸. The primary circuit of capital relates to industrial production. The bourgeois invests in industrial production to make as much profit as possible. It is composed of the investment and production of consumer goods. When the excess capital occurs or the capital faces a crisis, the secondary circuit encompasses capital flow into the built environment and it “appears as a godsend for the absorption of surplus, over accumulated capital”⁵⁹. The circulation has cyclical rhythms of switching. Autonomy of the secondary circuit has an independent character that can shape “the spatial configurations of the built environment to the variegated requirements of capital and labour in general”⁶⁰. However, switching from primary to secondary depends on production conditions. Inherently, an autonomous secondary circuit has the cyclical behaviour of construction investment to occur independently of conditions in the primary circuit.

The built environment serves as a buffer field where capital flows freely, as the secondary circuit. It is based on “*spatial consumption*” where over-accumulated

⁵⁸ David Harvey. The Urban Process Under Capitalism: A Framework For Analysis. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2(1–3), 101–131, 1978.

⁵⁹ David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital*, 2018, p. 236.

⁶⁰ Ibid p. 194

capital is always invested into fixed assets. The built environment is essential to the production process due to the generation of surplus-value, as well as to consumption (such as shopping malls) and social reproduction (such as housing and real estate). Hence, switching of investment into the urban fabric can and does contribute positively to the production of future surpluses. Therefore, the urban space is a contested world where capital circulates into the land market according to its own interest, as it produces over an extra built environment for the sole purpose of the reproduction of capital. Haussmannization⁶¹ and Neo-haussmannization⁶² process is a concrete example of it: inside the secondary circuit, when capital faces a crisis, it withdraws from one field to reinvest in another in order to maximize its profit. However, the switching is only a temporary solution for the overaccumulation crisis that later transformed into a crisis in the valuation of property assets. Therefore, switching is not a function of overaccumulation and impending crisis. Also, in the secondary circuit, when capital faces a crisis, it withdraws from one field to reinvest in another to maximize its profit, which is also essential for urban sprawl.

Accumulated capital in primary circuit absorb by the secondary one however not all capital is the form of Money, therefore, excess capital has to transform into money capital. This is where *fictional capital* comes within the credit system. It is implemented by financial or state institutions which serve as mediatators between primary and secondary circuits and provide structure for capitalist to reinvest and gain more.

Tertiary circuit invests in service sector, technology, science where the primary goal is to improve production process. It also invests in social expenditures that relate to reproduction of labour power and co-optation and repression to prevent labours from acquiring class consciousness. Interest of the capital in tertiary circuit rely on well-being of workers as far as it relates the production and bottom line.

⁶¹ David Harvey. *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, 2012, p.48.

⁶² Andy Merrifield. *The New Urban Question*. London: Pluto Press, 2014, p.23.

During times of economic crisis, investors face the prospect of diminishing returns, in the primary circuit attempt to move their funds into more profitable areas⁶³. At that point, both secondary and tertiary circuits occur concurrently. Investing in healthcare or tourism also means investing in construction of related facilities or health units. Demarcation between second and tertiary circuit is permeable. According to Harvey, this is how urbanisation occurs by switching funds from the primary circuit into the other circuits as investors chase new areas for profit.

The circuit provided by Lefebvre and Harvey formulate Marxist explanation of the economic structure of production of urban space/urban developments. Capital accumulation in production space formulates the space of reproduction (built environment) that is explained with the three circuits of capital as way of capital dealing with over accumulation crisis, also it is the formulation of how the system being crisis-prone. Therefore, from Harvey's perspective in capitalist societies, urban land became a meta which is produced and re-produced, territorialized and re-territorialized for purpose of capital accumulation⁶⁴.

1.4.2 Uneven Development

The accumulation process of the capital through circuits occurs in different geographies at different times. Every urban land, it invests in urban land with a spatial fix however, these investments do not occur at the same time in different geographies. Neil Smith defines spatial structuring as fundamental to the accumulation process⁶⁵ not a result of a historical accident. Uneven development may initially be the outcome of history and geography. Certain resources such as

⁶³ David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital*, Oxford:Blackwell, 1985.

⁶⁴ Neil Brenner, Between Fixity and Motion: Accumulation, Territorial Organization and the Historical Geography of Spatial Scales. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 16(4), 459–481, 1998.

⁶⁵ Neil Smith. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, And The Production of Space*: University of Georgia Press, 2010

cool or agricultural goods were located in particular places, therefore capitalism developed in different geographies due to the need for closure to raw materials. Over time, productive forces of capitalism were developed and now food may grow in regions without irrigation investment of capital or manufacturing can take place in regions that are thousands of miles away from the sources of their raw materials. Therefore, the uneven development of capitalism could be explained less by natural resources and more by the machinations of the accumulation process⁶⁶. However, two contradictory spatial tendencies are embedded in a particular location so that accumulation can continue and being spatially mobile to take a new position for new profitable investment opportunities that may occur elsewhere.

The shift between two contradictions depends on the use value and exchange value of the land in long-run. Capital invest on fixed capital for the purpose of production (production space) or to provide the means of production (house, park, etc.) or means of circulation (banks, offices, etc.)⁶⁷. When the capital was invested in fixed capital, it became valorised, and immobilized for a long-run in material form. The valorised capital returns its value piece by piece. Devalorization process starts immediately start with its functioning. In housing case, devalorization process emerge with the tenure arrangements, occupancy, and physical condition of properties in a neighbourhood⁶⁸. In production spaces or in reproduction spaces, prevention of devalorization process depends on repairs or replacements of the physical stock. In urban scale, if a neighbourhood is dominantly owner occupied, devalorization depends on owners financial ability for the necessary repairs and replacements, on the other hand, if a neighbourhood dominantly rented, repairmen and replacement depends on the profitability of the investment in respect to other plausible investments of the landlords⁶⁹. When the necessary repairmen did not occur, their

⁶⁶ Ibid., page xiii.

⁶⁷ Neil Smith. Gentrification and uneven development. *Economic geography* 58 (2):139-155, 1982. p. 147

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p.157.

use value diminishes and capital steadily devalorises. Therefore, material form of capital's exchange value became more important than its use values, because steady devalorization creates longer term possibilities for a new phase of valorization. This is what happens with urban rehabilitation, urban regeneration projects.

1.4.3 Theory of Informal Economy

The informal labour and its relationship with economy and urban environment commonly have theories rooted in sociology and industrial development. It refers to series of activities that took place outside the normal regulated economy or evaded official record keeping⁷⁰. The concept of informality was coined by the International Labour Office (ILO) study while defining the urban labour markets in Ghana⁷¹. Afterwards, the word was used to describe the labour conditions in other African cities. Also, the World Bank adapted the concept to urbanisation and poverty studies throughout the Third World⁷². Light and Feige observed informality in developed countries⁷³. The informal sector is defined as the sum of earning activities of people who are not involved legally regulated employment⁷⁴ and, this definition includes activities in the food, clothing and housing industries which are not illegal but the production is located outside legal borders. The criminal activities are not defined as the informal sector. Yet, there are three standpoints in the literature based on what is absent in informal economy regarding formal economy: enterprise, jobs and activity-

⁷⁰ Alejandro Portes, and Saskia Sassen. "Making It Underground: Comparative Material on the Informal Sector in Western Market Economies." *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 93, no. 1, 1987. pp. 30–61.

⁷¹ Keith Hart. "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 11:61-89, 1973.

⁷² Sethuraman, S. V. *The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries*. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1981.

⁷³ Ivan Light. "Disadvantaged Minorities in Self-Employment." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 20:31-45, 1979.

Edgar Feige. "How Big Is the Irregular Economy?" *Challenge* 22 (November- December): 5-13, 1979.

⁷⁴ Portes, and Sassen. 'Making It Underground: Comparative Materials on the Informal Sector in Western Market Economies'. p.57.

based definitions. Enterprise and job-based perspectives in developing countries focus on missing part of informal in relation to formal enterprise and jobs⁷⁵. Activity-based perspective is commonly seen in developed countries and transition economies⁷⁶. This perspective is also supported by various organisations such as Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Labour Organization (ILO). These organisations' perspective reflects informal economic relations with public authorities and monetary transactions. According to them, the informal economy is all legal production activities that are sheltered from public authorities due to “*avoid payment of income, value-added or other taxes; to avoid payment of social security contributions; to avoid having to meet certain legal standards such as minimum wages, maximum hours, safety or health standards*”⁷⁷. This activity-based perspective excludes illegal activities, or the work is not paid; therefore, criminal or unpaid activities are located as a separate sphere rather than part of informal activities. In an urban context, this definition excludes the work that has an internal dynamic of the urban conditions. Their primary focus is related to monetary transactions between the employer and employee. Therefore, this economic approach lacks understanding urban context in the scope of the thesis.

There are three approaches dominated the conceptualisation of the national differences in the informal economy: modernisation, neo-liberal and political economy perspectives. The modernisation perspective reflects that the informal economy was part of pre-modern era and gradually vanished as the formal economy became more dominant. Therefore, the informal economy is linked with traditionalism, under-development and backwardness. On the other hand, a formal

⁷⁵ Ralf Hussmanns. *Measuring the Informal Economy: from Employment in the Informal Sector to Informal Employment*. Geneva: ILO, 2005.;
ILO. *Statistical Update on Employment in the Informal Economy*. Geneva: ILO Department of Statistics, 2012.

⁷⁶ European Commission. *Special Eurobarometer 402: Undeclared Union*. Brussels: European, 2014;

⁷⁷ OECD. *Reducing Opportunities for Tax Non-compliance in the Underground Economy*. Paris: OECD, 2012.

economy is seen as progress, advancement and development⁷⁸. When the perspective was widespread, the formal economy was slowly expanding; therefore, this sphere understood the subject as informal activities would disappear through the advancement in industrial production. The informal economy was portrayed as a leftover from the pre-modern mode of production that was gradually decreasing⁷⁹. Thus, informal activity-related phenomena with less developed and less modern economies due to their measurement are related to the employment participation rate, average wages and modern bureaucratic state apparatus⁸⁰. According to this view, the formal economy was expanding, and employment in the informal sector was declining only in underdeveloped countries. So, development in a capitalist economy and industrialisation would formalise informal activities⁸¹.

Secondly, the neo-liberal perspective defines the term as a matter of choice and a rational economic response to state interventions through high taxes, public sector corruption and offered new regulations through the ruling class⁸². This meant that people voluntarily operate informal activities to avoid the costs, time and effort of preparing formal documents⁸³. In response to new neo-liberal policies, people prefer not to deal with burdensome controls and try to fight against the control by circumventing them⁸⁴. Similarly, De Soto mentioned that the problem is more

⁷⁸ Rafael La Porta and Andrei Shleifer. *The unofficial economy and economic development*: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2008;

Rafael La Porta and Andrei Shleifer. "Informality and Development," *Journal of Economic Perspective*, 28(3), 109-126, 2014.

⁷⁹ Başak Kus. The informal road to markets. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 41(4), 278–293, 2014.

⁸⁰ Colin Williams. "Explaining the Informal Economy: An Exploratory Evaluation of Competing Perspectives." *Relations Industrielles / Industrial Relations*, vol. 70, no. 4, 2015, pp. 741–65

⁸¹ Portes and Sassen, *Making It Underground: Comparative Materials on the Informal Sector in Western Market Economies*, p.51

⁸² Hernando De Soto. *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs Everywhere Else*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2000.;

Augustine Nwabuzor. "Corruption and Development: New Initiatives in Economic Openness and Strengthened Rule of Law." *Journal of Business Ethics*, 59(1-2), 121-138, 2005.

⁸³ Hernando De Soto. *The Other Path*. New York : Harper and Row, 1989.

⁸⁴ Perry Guillermo. *Informality : Exit and Exclusion Building Effective and Legitimate Institutions*. Washington DC: World Bank, 2007.

formality than informality⁸⁵. Therefore, from a neo-liberal perspective, informal economies have big sizes in countries with higher taxes, public interventions and lengthy bureaucratic documentation. The perspective evaluates informality as a problem to be addressed by reducing taxes and having minimal state interventions. Both theories on the informal economy, through the lenses of modernisation and neo-liberal perspective, focused on the growth of capitalist investment and located the informality as an end product of regulation or a traditional type of working conditions. However, there is a mutual relationship between formal and informal one. The third perspective focussed more on that.

In contrast to the neo-liberal perspective, the political economy perspective states that the informal economy is not a product of state intervention in work and welfare arrangements. The informal economy is integral to capitalist production and embedded in the system through sub-contracting and outsourcing practices that provide channels for organisations to obtain flexible production, profit and cost reduction⁸⁶. Fordist and welfare regimes transformed into a new post-Fordist and welfare regime of deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation that occurred through outsourcing, subcontracting and declining State involvement in welfare and employment. Thus informal economy became a central subject of neo-liberal economies⁸⁷. Also, the term is associated with unregulated, low-paid, insured work

⁸⁵ De Soto, *The Other Path*. New York.

⁸⁶ Manuel Castells and Alejandro Portes. 'World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics and Effects of the Informal Economy', in A. Portes, M. Castells, and L. A. Benton (eds.), *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press:11–41, 1989.

Mike Davis. *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso, 2006.

Dan Gallin. "Propositions on Trade Unions and Informal Employment Globalisation." *Antipode*, 33 (3), 531-549, 2001.

⁸⁷ Castells and Portes, "*World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics and Effects of the Informal Economy*".

Saskia Sassen. "Informalization in Advanced Market Economies". *Issues in Development Discussion Paper*, 20. Urban Planning Programme, International Labour Office, Geneva, 2002.

of marginalised communities who have limited access to the formal economy and sell their labour as a survival tactic in the absence of formal labour opportunities⁸⁸.

From a neo-liberal perspective, De Soto⁸⁹ argued that informalization results from State's rigid regulatory arrangements. However, the size of the informal economy is more extensive in countries with a high level of government regulation, but reducing this regulation does not automatically lead to more formalisation⁹⁰. The lack of enforcement capacity of the State to use the regulations effectively could cause an increment in informality. The relation between State and informality is more complicated, and rather than being a result of the regulation of the State; informality takes place under the auspices of the State⁹¹. Through central or local decisions, states allow or even encourage the informal economy to achieve certain economic and social outcomes. Especially through the neo-liberalisation process, informalization was used as a tool. In this process, neo-liberal reforms contributed to the informal labour market through the decline of public-sector employment, deregulatory changes in social security and the weakening of unions⁹².

In the 1980s, changing position of the State towards the economy and industrial production under neoliberal reforms fostered informalization in the Turkish economy. Two concurrent regulatory trends, deregulation and declining quality of legal enforcement in economic conjuncture, played an essential role in informal economic growth. Regulations eliminated constraints that prevent the activities of

⁸⁸ Davis, *Planet of Slums*; Gallin, "Propositions on Trade Unions and Informal Employment Globalisation".

Sassen, Saskia. "Service Employment Regimes and the New Inequality." *Urban Poverty and the Underclass*, ed., E. Mingione. Oxford; Basil Blackwell, 142-159, 1996.

⁸⁹ De Soto, *The Other Path*.

⁹⁰Başak Kus. "Regulatory Governance and the Informal Economy: Cross-national Comparisons." *Socio-Economic Review*, 8 : 487–510, 2010.

⁹¹ Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, and Anna M. Garcia. "Informalization at the Core: Hispanic Women, Homework, and the Advanced Capitalist State", in Alejandro Portes , Manuel Castells , and Lauren A. Benton (eds.), *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press: 247–64, 1989.

⁹² Juan Pablo Perez Sainz. "Labor Exclusion in Latin America: Old and New Tendencies", in N. Kudva and L. Beneria (eds.), *Rethinking Informalization*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 2005.

private entrepreneurs. The regulation covers the encouragement of export-oriented production and tax policies to promote the growth of the private sector. Also, terms of new labour legislation restricted workers' right to unionise till the end of 1981⁹³. Concurrently, State's capacity for law enforcement. Both factors led to emerging of private-sector businesses. However, it also emerged the operation of a business through informal means⁹⁴.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Turkey's industrial production was within the framework of import-substituting. The State was the leading industrial development. The 1970s were active years of labour union movements in the country. With the 24th January decision, Turkey shifted towards neoliberal policies. During the period between the 1960s to 1980s, the import-substituting economy was heavily regulated and dominated by State led enterprises. The private sector had limited operations. The import-substituting model was given up through the neoliberal policies, and export-oriented policies were adopted. This led to an increment in the private sector till the 2000s; concurrently, during these 20 years, informal labour also increased⁹⁵. The neoliberal reforms brought informalization of the economy.

In this study, the political-economic perspective was adopted to understand the informalization of the economy. In the Turkish case, informalization was linked to the State's shift to neoliberal policies after the 1980s. The policies were able to new regulations that are deregulatory and aimed to promote the growth of the private sector and export-oriented activities. At the same time, it empowered the State in the production and social welfare policies that caused the empowerment of labour rights. Therefore, capital investment in private industries and informal economic practices increased. This thesis elaborated on the informalization perspective from two

⁹³ Önder, N. "*The Political Economy of the State and Social Forces: Changing Forms of State–Labour Relations in Turkey*". PhD thesis, York University, York (Canada), 2000.

⁹⁴ Başak Kus. Neoliberal Reforms, Regulatory Change, and the Informal Economy. In *Securing Livelihoods* (pp. 254–273). Oxford University Press, 2013.

⁹⁵ Başak Kus, *The Informal Road to Markets*.

standpoints. A top-down approach to informality believes that the shift to the neoliberal era caused outsourcing, subcontracting and coping strategies of the welfare state, both of which include dynamic forces of informalization in economies and labour market. The approach is valid, but also there is a response to these implementations through a community perspective. The response is a bottom-up approach formed by marginalised actors who share common conditions and lack access to legal status; they develop survival strategies to cope with their precarious position and contribute to a reproduction of informalization.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

In chapter two I will focus on the literature on the urbanisation of the Ege Neighbourhood and İzmir. I will offer meta-analysis of outcomes from the 1900s, the Ottoman period of the city by drawing on the socio-spatial and socio-economic structure of the city till 1923 republican era. Drawing from the city's structure of İzmir, my main aim is to focus on Ege Neighbourhood starting from 1923. The area was an agricultural land till 1900s and starting from that time, the area emerged as newly established urban setting. Departing from a general and broader urban history of the İzmir and the area, chapter 2 approaches one of the first Roma community of the city.

In chapter three, I will present the development of the neighbourhood through meta-analysis of maps, aerial photos and interviews of inhabitants who witnessed this period of the district. Since the in-depth interviews steer this research's primary focus to the labour and space in a liminal space, I will employ the concept of labour space and everyday practices. **Labour generates the history of the space** and labour type produced the space through everyday life practices. This period focuses on emerging working-class neighbourhoods in the liminal Roma community. As a working-class community, it provides a cheap formal labour force for the state-owned factories. The formal labour force is related to everyday life practices and the development of the neighbourhood, which could be analysed through social housing

construction and the emergence of population increase. I will discuss the concept of “labour” and “urban development” departing from Dorsey (1968), Barca (2014) and Harvey, Smith.

In chapter four, will discuss the shift from informal to the formal economy through the built social housing, municipality minutes and interviews. To understand the period, three interviews were conducted, one with Tekel Factories Manager and two with inhabitants who witnessed the period. Through the Tekel Factory and social housing, the chapter focuses on shifting to a formal economy with the consent of authorities and capital. The shift also encouraged urban development for the area. I will question how the urban land has altered, how capital invested in the land and for what purposes.

In chapter five, I will focus on another shift from formal to informal economy and in the urban area, it will focus on the accumulation by dispossession phase. In contrast to the previous period, the capital moved to other geographies as a result of the neo-policies of the country. The chapter will discuss how the economic shift and socio-economic structure change affected the urban area through interviews, new planning decisions, and meta-analysis.

Chapter six concludes this research by summarising the key findings of the research. The semi-structured interviews and my observations are used to re-elaborate the transformation of urban space and labour and conceptualise the urbanisation of capital within the local and global context. The chapter indicates the limitation of the study and highlights the original contribution to knowledge.

CHAPTER 2

A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF EGE NEIGHBOURHOOD: SOCIAL AND SPATIAL MAPPING- 1800-1950

This chapter covers the analysis of the historical background of Izmir in two-phase. The first one starts from the early 18th century and continued until the republican era. Due to the lack of documentation, this period draws on scholars' work, focusing on urban development and the socio-economic conditions of İzmir. The second period covered the time frame between the early republican era to the 1950s and was examined through urban change by focusing on the neighbourhood. The analyses also concentrated on the hinterland area to understand the circumstances in the neighbourhood. The transformation in the hinterland directly affects the socio-economic structure of the district.

2.1 Emerging of a port city: 1800-1900

Understanding socio-economic conditions in İzmir during the mid-eighteenth century is crucial to consider the changes and developments in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Although the political events of the period are essential factors in the city's story, the critical factor is the integration of the Ottoman into the world economy. The integration process and the merchant's comfort give us a clue about why the city sprawled rapidly.

Izmir city centre was concentrated in more or less the same area from the Hellenistic period that is located to the skirts of Kadifekale, until the 20th century. The city has developed in layers by constructing the top of each layer. The transition between these layers was sometimes voluntary and planned; sometimes, it was sharp and sudden due to disasters such as earthquakes or fire. Thus, the overlapping layers

replaced each other; the underlying layers were not always destroyed. In this process, some of the past traces have survived till the present day.

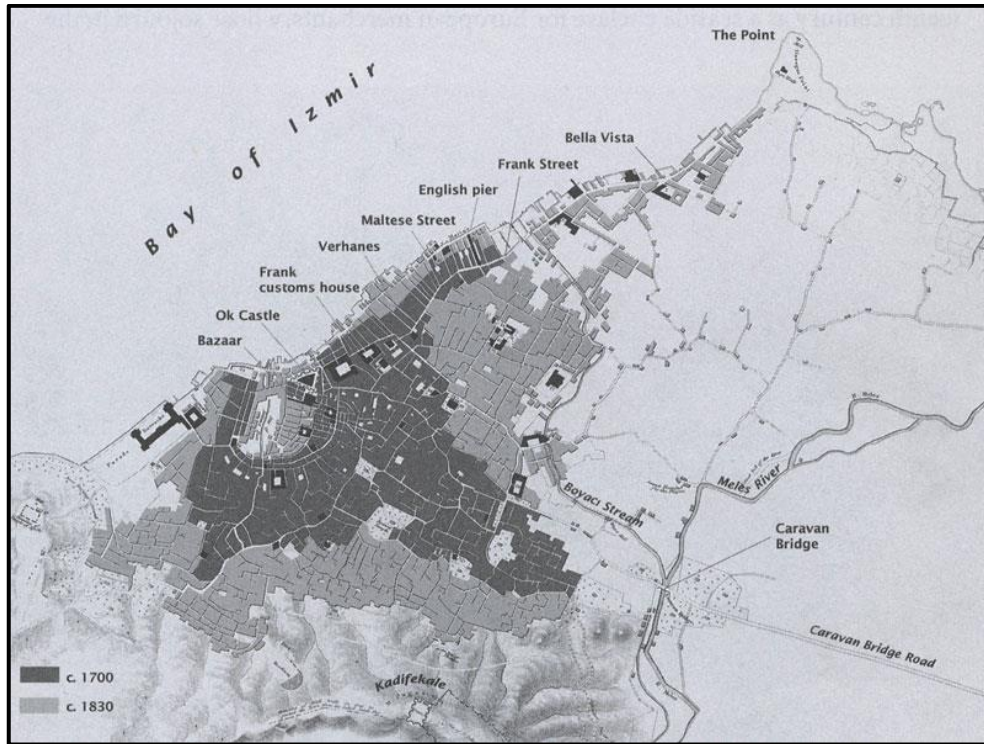


Figure 2.1 Lieutenant Thomas Graves' Map (1836/37)

In 1836-37 Lieutenant Thomas Graves prepared the map of İzmir (see figure 2.1). The map gives initial ideas about the urban sprawl from 1700 to 1830. In 1700, the city was located around the Konak, which is the centre of Ottoman military and local authorities. Till the 1830s city developed through Alsancak and the skirts of Kadifekale. Also, Alsancak coastline expanded with the English and French communities who constructed English Pier and French Custom. The other map was published in 1857 and was prepared between 1854-56 by the Italian engineer Luigi Storari (see figure 2.2).

This map shows that the city has developed further on the axis of Alsancak, Kadifekale. The urban area stretch parallel to the sea. Also, It indicates churches and cemeteries in detail, giving us an idea of where communities live. Turkish cemeteries and settlements are visible on the skirts of Kadifakale; there are Armenian churches

and cemeteries below. According to two maps from Saad and Storari, the Caravan bridge is the main line to enter the city and for trade routes.

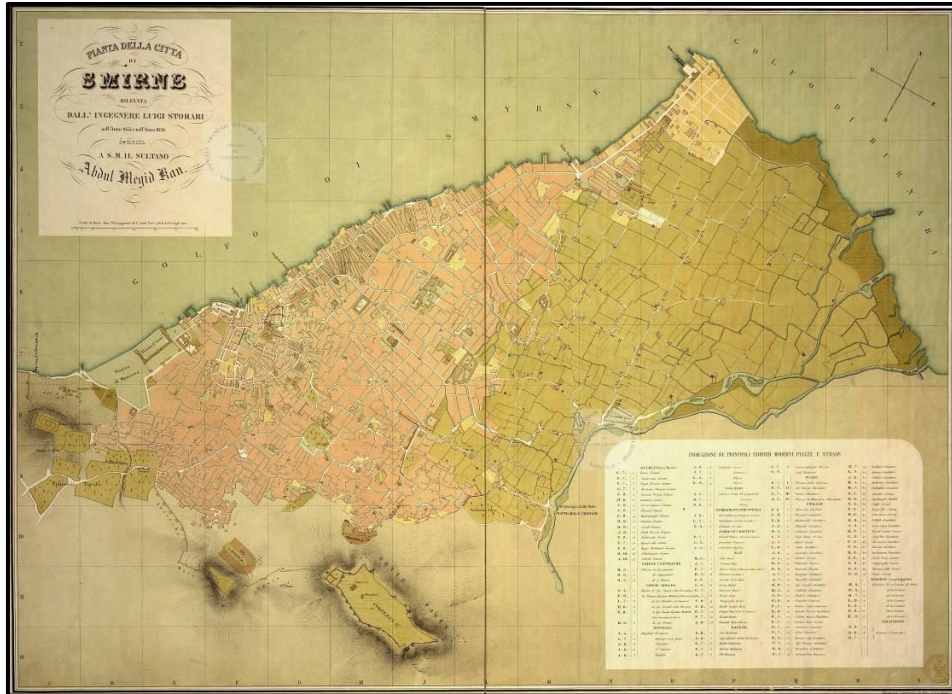


Figure 2.2 Drawn by Italian Engineer Luigi Storari's Map (1854-56)⁹⁶

Custom house construction was one reason for the urban sprawl, which started in the 18th century. Izmir had already been perceived as an advantageous trade centre by the Europeans. The Custom house construction⁹⁷ was completed in 1876, one of the critical breaks in the shaping process of the city's coastline. The arrangement of the coastline with a quay has been on the city's agenda since the beginning of the 18th century. Since this date, many travellers and writers have mentioned that the quay will beautify the town and provide commercial conveniences. On the 27th of November, 1867, three British merchants were given the privilege to build a dock at least 4 kilometres long and 28.75 meters wide in front of the city; however, in time, a French company called Dussaud and Brothers seized the concession and completed

⁹⁶ Storari also worked on the post-fire arrangement of the Armenian Quarter.

⁹⁷ Today it is know as Konak Pier.

the pier in 1876⁹⁸ (see figure 2.3). After the construction of the customs house, all ships entering the port of İzmir loaded or unloaded their goods at the custom-house. The European merchants opposed this to keep their previous advantageous position⁹⁹. Another reason for the Western merchants to relocate their commercial activities to the city was that the Europeans in the town had more comfortable circumstances than in other ports of the empire. According to Mansel, foreigners could not own property in the Ottoman Empire. However, in İzmir, they had private houses in *Buca* and *Bornova* in the 17th century. While foreign merchants in Aleppo lived in *hans*, they were able to own houses in İzmir¹⁰⁰.

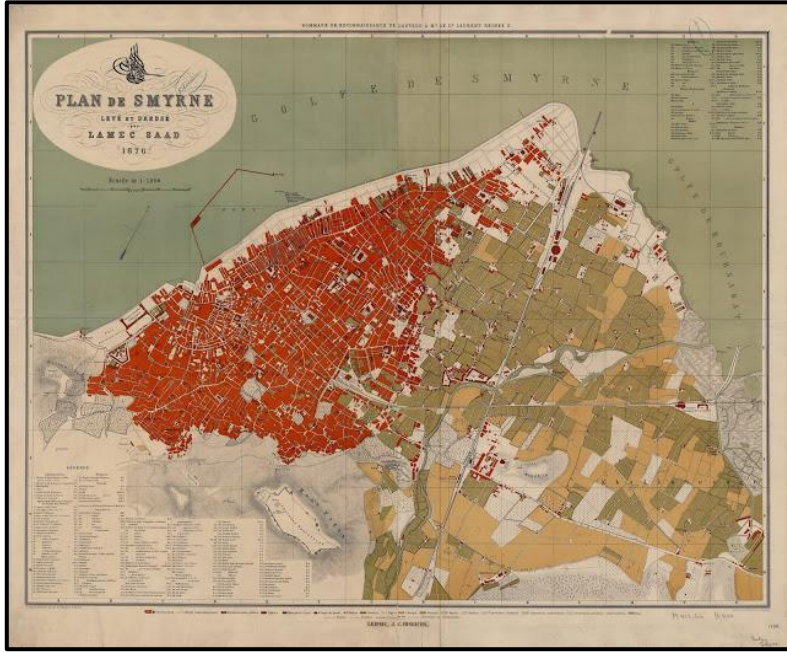


Figure 2.3 Lamec Saad's Map 1877-1878¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Rauf Beyru. *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, Literatür Yayınları: İstanbul p.348-355, 2011.

⁹⁹ Necmi Ülker. *17. yy ve 18. yy İzmir Şehri Tarih*, Akademi Kitabevi, 1994. p. 36.

¹⁰⁰ Philip Mansel. *Levant: Splendor and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean*, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011. p.29-30.

¹⁰¹ Saad worked as an engineer in the Ottoman Empire between 1873-75. During this period, he had the opportunity to make a 1: 5000 scale İzmir Plan and published this plan together with its notes in the German Geography Journal "Mittheilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde-Leipzig, 1877-78 Yearbook".

A further reason foreign merchants relocated their business in the city was the differences in economic policies between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The monetary policy of Europe was mercantilism, and these mercantilist states gave importance to industries and manufacturers to achieve wealth under the capitalist system¹⁰². However, Ottoman Empire pursued provisionist policy¹⁰³, which was the main obstacle for commercial growth. The difference between the Ottoman Empire and Europe in terms of economic policies is one of the main reasons behind the economic incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world economy as a periphery. Because of this provisionist economic policy, the state's main concern was to provide surplus for the market without considering other issues, such as the balance of payments or the protection of industrial production. Therefore, the Ottoman government found the imports, capitulations and trade concessions beneficial for the empire¹⁰⁴. Non-Muslim foreigners who acquired capitulation from the Ottoman Empire were allowed to settle in specific ports such as İzmir, Aleppo and Galata. They had substantial freedom of movement in those port cities. The capitulations and construction of İzmir Port rapidly increased the non-Muslim population in the city. This population boom was also a consequence of the Ottoman-Iranian conflict in the 17th and 18th centuries, which damaged the commercial fortunes of Aleppo considerably. Thus, İzmir became the most suitable trade centre for the Europeans¹⁰⁵, with a mediator role between Eastern raw materials and Western luxury goods¹⁰⁶.

Lamec Saad's map provides essential information that allows comparison with Storari's plan, in the context of before and after the custom house construction (see

¹⁰² İnalçık, Halil. "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600." in *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, Cambridge University Press, 1997. p. 45.

¹⁰³ The state concerned with maintaining supply of goods and services with a cheap price and in good quality. Provisionist policy aims to respond basic needs of the population.

¹⁰⁴ İnalçık, *The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600*.

¹⁰⁵ Ülker, *17. yy ve 18. yy İzmir Şehri Tarih*, p.210.

¹⁰⁶ Frangakis-Syrett, Elena. "The Ottoman Port of İzmir in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, 1695 -1820", *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Mediterranee* 39.1, 149-162, 1985. p.150.

figure 2.2&2.3). Moreover, the map of Saad indicated the newly constructed railways routes to the city. The first route was the construction of the Aydın-İzmir Railway Line, the concession was given in 1856, and this line was completed in 1866¹⁰⁷. The aim of constructing the railway was based on the British's desire to reach the region's raw material resources and put the finished products on the market. 1061 British merchants were dealing with the import and export business in İzmir before the railway construction¹⁰⁸. These traders know that İzmir's hinterland's access will contribute to the region's commercial development. Similarly, to access the city's hinterland, the second railway line was constructed between İzmir - Kasaba¹⁰⁹ and completed in 1866¹¹⁰ (see figure 2.4).

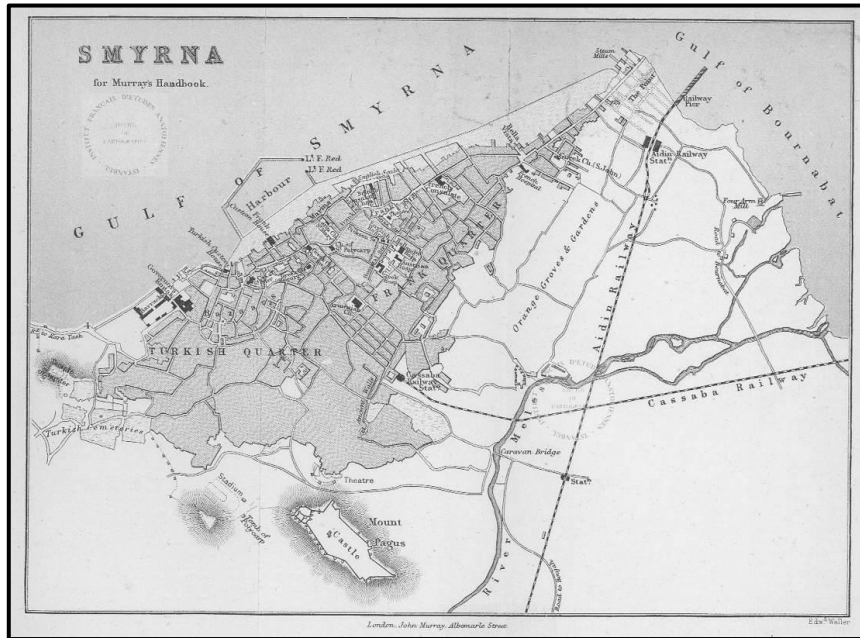


Figure 2.4 Map of John Murray (1878) Constructed railways

¹⁰⁷ Vahdettin Engin. *Rumeli Demiryolları*, İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1993. p.39.

¹⁰⁸ Behset Karaca. Extensions of İzmir-Aydın Railway Line After Dinar (Project, Concession and Construction Phase), *SDU Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Science*, V:53, 25-49, 2021 p. 27.

¹⁰⁹ Currently, the town Cassaba was named as Turgutlu and remains within the borders of Manisa.

¹¹⁰ Arif Kolay. Anadolu'da İşletmeye Açılan İlk Demiryolu Hattı: İzmir-Kasaba (Turgutlu) Demiryolu, *Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, V. 54, 89-106, 2017. p.92.

The construction of Railways and Custom House, increase the population and commercial activities in the city; therefore, large industrial enterprises such as gas and water factories have been opened in İzmir. In 1857, Andre Marchais applied to the Ottoman Empire to establish a coal gas factory in Izmir on behalf of the Paris Gas Company. However, after the death of Marchais, in 1859, Edwards applied and received a 40-year privilege of the Coal Gas Factory that is started to operate as Smyrna Gas Company¹¹¹. The gas production plant was constructed in 1862 by the Glasgow centred "Lanloux and Sons" company¹¹². Achieving high efficiency indoor and street lighting with the gas caused widespread use of gas plants. In the 19th century, gas was used for the lightening of streets and houses, lanterns burning with gas were used in the streets, and lamps burning with gas were used in the houses¹¹³. The gas network was first extended to Levantine and minority living areas, then to Bornova and Karşıyaka, and finally to Turkish neighbourhoods¹¹⁴. Since the use of electricity became widespread in the early 1900s, since the lighting of İzmir was turned into electricity in 1904, and the use of gas was limited to kitchens. Until the beginning of World War I, lightening continued with both gas and electricity, but then lightening with gas was abandoned. Since the privileges of foreign companies were not extended in the Republican era, Smyrna Gas Company was nationalized by purchasing in 1936. Gas continued to be used in kitchens for a long time¹¹⁵. The factory remained open until 1994 with various modernization works and functional changes¹¹⁶¹¹⁷.

¹¹¹ Emel Kayın and Eylem Şimşek, İzmir Havagazı Fabrikası Endüstri Kompleksi Üzerine Yeniden Düşünmek, *Ege Mimarlık*, no: 3, 14-19, 2009. p.15.

¹¹² İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. Tarihi Havagazı Fabrikası [Accessed 13 November 2022. Available from <https://www.izmir.bel.tr/tr/Projeler/tarihi-havagazi-fabrikasi-kultur-merkezi/1382/4>.)

¹¹³ Nusret Alperöz, "İstanbul Elektrik İşletmesinin Tarihçesi", *Elektrik Mühendisliği Dergisi* 15:179, Kasım, 1971, p.23.

¹¹⁴ Sadık Kurt. İzmir'de Kamu Hizmeti Gören Kuruluşlar, PhD Thesis, Dokuz Eylül University. p.111-117, 1995.

¹¹⁵ Nusret Alperöz, "İstanbul Elektrik İşletmesinin Tarihçesi".

¹¹⁶ Emel Kayın and Eylem Şimşek, *İzmir Havagazı Fabrikası Endüstri Kompleksi Üzerine Yeniden Düşünmek*, p.15.

¹¹⁷ Restoration of Gas Factory was completed in 2008 and opened as a culture and arts centre.

Construction of railway lines, custom house and the Gas Factory emerged rapid development of the city. According to Frangakis-Syrett, another critical factor in the rise of İzmir was establishing European consulates in the port¹¹⁸. In 1582 English and in 1619 French consulates were established in İzmir. Consuls had specific duties, such as having good relations with local authorities and preventing interruptions in trade¹¹⁹. After launching the consulates of the Western nations, İzmir's custom revenues began to increase¹²⁰.

Table 2.1 Population of İzmir in 17th Century¹²¹

Port	3 May 1604 – 3 May 1605	3 May 1605 – 3 May 1606	3 May 1606 – 3 May 1607
Chios/Çeşme	1,064,025	859,005	600,192
Izmir	981,854	1,171,958	1,332,733
Urla	112,523	105,500	103,423
Kuşadası	33,402	55,458	48,012
Balat	6,000	5,200	6,000
Foça	135,434	155,378	158,434
Sigacık/Seferihisar	34,575	33,300	9,102
Sant	12,500	17,500	17,500
Mirdoğan	4,000	4,000	4,000
Ipsara	35,000	30,000	60,000
Musabey	102	102	102
Koyun	1,200	1,200	1,200
Kösedere	4,000	4,000	4,000
Haydarlı	cancelled	cancelled	cancelled
Total	2,424,615	2,442,601	2,344,698

The rise of İzmir should be explained in two distinct phases. In the first phase, İzmir gained importance in the second half of the sixteenth century due to its role as a transit point for commercial goods gathered from distant areas. However, during the

¹¹⁸ Elena Frangakis-Syrett. *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century, (1700-1820)*, Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992. p.24.

¹¹⁹ Ülker, *17. yy ve 18. yy İzmir Şehri Tarih*, p.194.

¹²⁰ Daniel Goffman Stephan. *Izmir As A Commercial Center: The Impact Of Western Trade On An Ottoman Port, 1570-1650*: The University of Chicago, 1985. p.143-144.

¹²¹ Ibid.

second phase, in the nineteenth century, agricultural products produced in its close hinterland played an essential role in the city's commercial growth¹²².

Increasing commercial facilities affected the population of the city immensely. Throughout the fifteenth century and most of the sixteenth Century, İzmir remained a small town¹²³. At the beginning of the sixteenth Century, İzmir was composed of only five districts. Four districts, Faik Paşa, Pazar, Han Beğ, Mescid-i Selatin-zade, Limon (Liman), were Muslim districts, and the remaining one was the non-Muslim district. Goffman claims that İzmir was composed of only six districts with 206 houses in 1528-29¹²⁴.

Table 2.2 The population of İzmir according to the 1528-29 Tahrir Survey

Quarter (mahalle)	Hane	Neferan
Faikpaşa	45	70
Mescid-i Selatinzade	38	61
Han-Bey (Pazar)	27	39
Liman-i İzmir	17	33
Boynuzsekisi	50	61
Cemaat-i Gebran	29	43
Total	206	307

Throughout the sixteenth century, the city developed, and more districts were established. In register books (*Tahrir Defterleri*), there is no information about other non-Muslim communities besides the Greek community in the sixteenth century. Between 1528 and 1575, a population boom occurred in the city of İzmir. During this period, there was significant population growth in other parts of the empire,

¹²² Mesut Küçükcalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı, İzmir Gümrüğü, 1818-1839*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007. p. 48.

¹²³ Daniel Goffman, Ayşen Anadol, and Neyyir Kalaycıoğlu. *İzmir ve Levanten dünya, 1550-1650: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları*, 1995.

¹²⁴ Goffman, "İzmir as a Commercial Center: The Impact of Western Trade on an Ottoman Port, 1570-1650", p. 18.

especially in the Mediterranean. The population growth rate of İzmir was tremendous and reached 215 percent. The development of the non-Muslim population was 256 percent¹²⁵.

Table 2.3 Population of İzmir according to Travellers

Source	Year	Population
Tavernier (French traveller) ¹²⁶	1655	90.000
		<i>Turks</i> 60.000
		<i>Greek</i> 15.000
		<i>Armenian</i> 8.000
		<i>Jews</i> 7.000
Spon and Wheler ¹²⁷	1676	80.000
	1739	100.000
Pococke ¹²⁸		<i>Turks</i> 80.000
		<i>Greek</i> 8.000
		<i>Armenian</i> 2.000
		<i>Jews</i> 6.000
Brewer ¹²⁹	1827	150.000
		<i>Turks</i> 90.000
		<i>Greeks</i> 30.000
		<i>Jews</i> 10.000
		<i>Armenians</i> 9.000
		<i>Franks</i> 3.000
Aydın Vilayet Salnamesi (Yearbook) ¹³⁰	1886/1887	479,543
Aydın Vilayet Salnamesi (Yearbook) ¹³¹	1890	496,000

¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 26.

¹²⁶ Jean Baptiste Tavernier. Tavernier Seyahatnamesi. *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 26 (2):639-641, 2006.

¹²⁷ Ülker, *17. yy ve 18. yy İzmir Şehri Tarih*, p. 41-42.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 50.

¹²⁹ Josiah Brewer. *A Residence at Constantinople, in the Year 1827: With Notes to the Present Time*: Durrie and Peck, 1830. p.54.

¹³⁰ Abdullah Martal. *Değişim Sürecinde İzmir'de Sanayileşme: 19. Yüzyıl*. İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1999. p. 50.

¹³¹ Ibid.

Besides the Greek community, which had existed earlier, Armenian and Jewish communities appeared in the seventeenth century¹³². The crisis in the textile industry of Salonica in the early seventeenth century caused incensement in the population of Jewish settlements in İzmir. This incensement in the non-Muslim population can be found in the traveller's Predictions (see Table 2.3).

Based on these predictions, the city's and non-Muslim populations increased rapidly despite the disasters that hit the city. The increasing number of foreign settlements in İzmir, especially from the eighteenth century onwards, shows intense commercial activity in the city. The expanding population was also visible through the establishment process of the İzmir municipality.

The city was part of Aydın Province, composed of three *sancaks* in the Eighteenth Century; Saruhan, Aydın and Suğla. İzmir was a *kaza* of Suğla *sancak*¹³³. Due to Tanzimat reforms and incensement in commercial activity and population, İzmir became the centre of Aydın Province in 1841¹³⁴. Then, the city became a separate province in 1866, and the Municipality was established in 1868¹³⁵.

2.1.1 Urban fires, Earthquakes and plagues disasters in Izmir

The population increased in the urban texture and shaped it through some disasters such as earthquakes, fires and plagues. In the 19th century, disasters that led to a population decline and construction regulations alteration reshaped the urban environment. The difference in construction regulations showed itself as regulated wider streets or urban sprawl due to the relocation of graveyards.

¹³² Kütükoğlu, Mübahat S. *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisadi Yapısı*, İzmir: İzmir Kent Kitaplığı, 2000. p. 22-24.

¹³³ Feryal Tansuğ. "*Communal Relations in Smyrna/İzmir, 1826-1864: As Seen Through the Prism of Greek-Turkish Relations*" PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2012. p. 42.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p.37.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.25.

Richard Burges describes the earthquake and the following plague in 1834 as;

*On the 3d of June, one of those destructive fires, which are so common in Oriental towns, broke out about mid-day, in the alley called Chiotica Khan: it consumed twelve or fifteen large dwellings in Frank Street..... No sooner had this subsided, than the plague appeared in the Jewish and the Turkish quarters, which, ever since, has kept the Franks in dread. I found the shops of the bazaar, for the most part, closed: the houses of the Greeks and other Europeans in quarantine; The Turks, on the other hand, were reckless, and give themselves up to their destiny; they avoid not communication even with the infected and the dead;*¹³⁶

Records indicated that the city faced plagues, fires and earthquakes during the 18th century. Despite their destructive results, these disasters facilitated a chance to renovate the city and to shape its planning. According to Ottoman rules, non-Muslims were prevented from constructing new buildings. However, earthquakes and fires granted construction permission to non-Muslim urban elites. Therefore, after the fire in 1845, the Armenian quarter and the commercial streets next to it were rearranged and widened.

Consequently, these developments contributed to the city's commercial development¹³⁷. The fire led to a critical moment to introduce new forms and dimensions to streets. Before this fire, people constructed buildings with the same regulation; however, the government merged new post-fire development guidelines. Accordingly, "streets two to five pics wide (5–12,5 feet) be enlarged to a minimum width of six to eight pics (15–20 feet), balconies and overhangs conform to specific sizes, and firewalls are erected between every three to four houses"¹³⁸. This new

¹³⁶ Richard Burgess. *Greece and the Levant, or, diary of a summer's excursion in 1834*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, 1835. p. 75-76.

¹³⁷ Zandi-Sayek, Sibel. *Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880*, University of Minnesota Press, 2012. p.79.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

regulation opened the ground for new houses, which became the attention of citizens. The Armenian quarter was reconstructed according to the new code that became a model for other citizens. Therefore, after a fire in 1860, the inhabitants tried constructing their quarters similar to the Armenian (see figure 2.5).



Figure 2.5 Armenian quarter before the fire and after the fire¹³⁹.

Another planning decision was made after the Cholera epidemic in 1865. This led to sanitary measures. It affected the built environment in more permanent ways. The government forbid graveyards within urban areas. Until then, each society buried their relatives next to religious buildings (churches, synagogues, mosques) or in small cemeteries. The new measurement of internment resulted in the formation of new cemeteries out of the city (see figure 2.6). For the first time, the Ege neighbourhood is visible on maps, surrounded by new cemeteries. It indicates that in 1865s, it was a new neighbourhood with only one building and was located outside of the city.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p 82.



Figure 2.6 Relocation of Cemeteries¹⁴⁰

2.2 Emerge of Ege Neighbourhood: 1900 to till 1923

The city expanded its borders by constructing a Coal Gas Factory, Custom House and railway lines until 1900. These developments improved the trade activities and connected the city with its hinterland. Along with that, the population increased, and therefore new neighbourhoods were established. Also, existing graveyards were moved out of city borders due to the plague's effect and related regulations. These graveyards were accompanied with prayer places in accordance with the religion of a society. Till 1900, The Ege neighbourhood was not subjected to any development or construction; it was vacant land. Various maps of Izmir were drawn during this time; however, till the 1850s, the neighbourhood was depicted as an agricultural area. Firstly, the map of 1885 shows that the neighbourhood had some trees, which indicated the relocation of the graveyards after the plague in 1865. The neighbourhood was home to a cemetery. The map of 1913 shows the neighbourhoods in the city before the great fire and the Ege neighbourhood was depicted with one building, a Greek orthodox church st. John Malaria-healer was constructed in

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. p 86.

1910¹⁴¹. It is also known as *Agios Ioannis sten Alygaria Paraxysmou Church*¹⁴² or "Agios Ioannis sten in Alygaria (today's Tenekeli quarter - officially known as Ege Mahallesi). It is located east of the Smyrna-Aidin (Izmir-Aydin) railway tracks, south of Darağaç, close to Mortakia (former name of Kahramanlar District), Izmir, outside the 1922 fire zone"¹⁴³ (see figure 2.7). This address exactly matches with the church in the neighbourhood. According to the same source, the church was built in 1910 and was constructed with "a certain green stone (serpentine from Soma, Manisa)"¹⁴⁴.

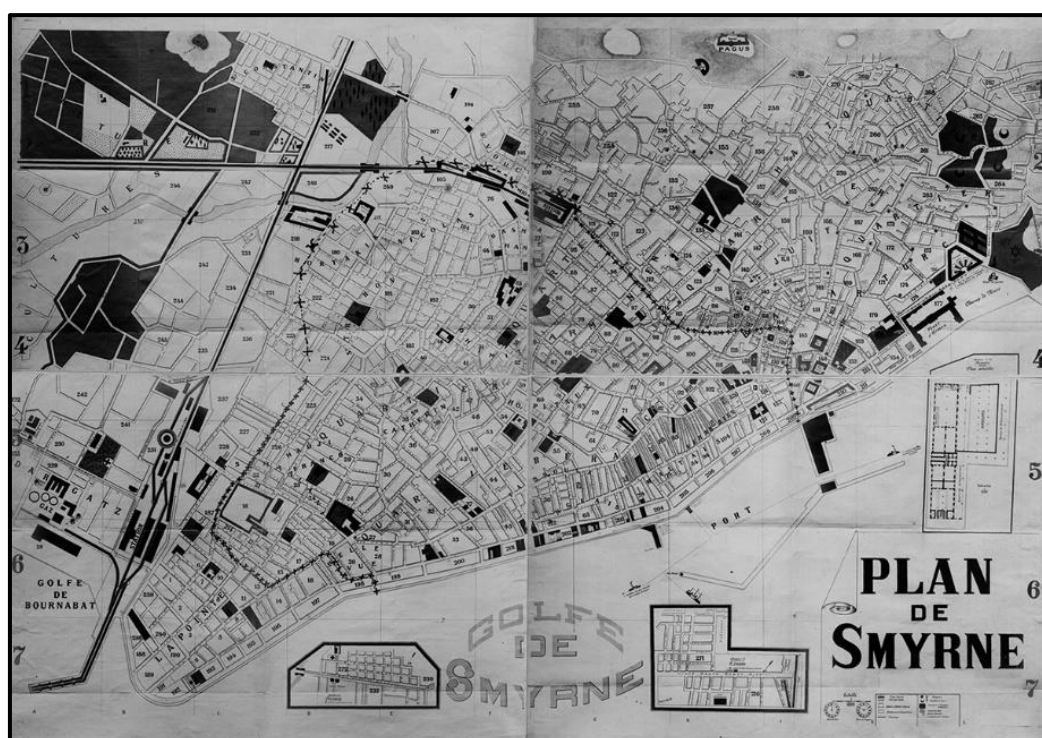


Figure 2.7 Plan of İzmir by Ernest Bon-Indicates the Great Fire zone

¹⁴¹ In 1910 St. John of Alygaria was built in the quarter of the same name, just beside the Smyrna-Aydin railway line; Simes, Andrew. *Former Smyrna churches listing*, Levantine Heritage. 2010 [Accessed 7 November 2022. Available from <http://www.levantineheritage.com/data10.htm>.

¹⁴² Andrew Simes. *Agios Ioannis sten Alygaria Paraxysmou*, Levantine Heritage. 2010 [Accessed 7 November 2022. Available from <http://www.levantineheritage.com/data10.htm>

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism website names the church *Aya Yani Ligaria* as "Orthodox Greek Church built at the beginning of the century"¹⁴⁵. However, according to the map from 1922, the neighbourhood was called *Alygaria* (next to mortakia (Kahramanlar neighbourhood)). The website provided information about the area's history: the district is a Rum settlement that developed south of the Greek cemetery with Greek migrations in the 19th century, currently known as Kuruçay-Ege Mahallesi¹⁴⁶. In line with the website of The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, an interactive map¹⁴⁷ web before the great fire in 1922 depicted the neighbourhood with only one building that is "*Orthodox Church of Aya Ioannis (Aligaria)*". These maps show that the neighbourhood was a new settlement and constructed on cemeteries and its establishment was not older than the 19th century. As shown in figure 2.7, although the city was exposed to fire in 1922, the church remained because of being outside the fire zone. However, in current conditions, only the church's walls stand (see figure 2.8). Abdülkadir Hazman published an article about a pilot Zeki Bey who died during the first anniversary celebrations of the liberation of Izmir¹⁴⁸. He mentioned that "the pilot died when the warplane crashed into the Agios Ioannis Sten Alygaria Church"¹⁴⁹. Probably after that occasion, only the church's walls survived.

¹⁴⁵ İzmir İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü. *İzmir'in Büyük Yangında Kaybedilen Kiliseleri*. T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı 2022 [Accessed 8 November 2022. Available from <https://izmir.ktb.gov.tr/TR-210621/izmir39in-buyuk-yanginda-kaybedilen-kiliseleri.html>].

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Association of Asia Minor Skala Loutra Lesvos. *İzmir Interactive Map of 1922*, 2022 [Accessed 9 November 2022. Available from https://www.delfini1922.gr/interaction_new.html].

¹⁴⁸ Abdülkadir Hazman. İzmir'in Kartalları. Medyaage 14.05.2020 [Accessed 5 November 2022. Available from <https://www.medyaage.com.tr/izmirin-kartallari-142192h.htm>].

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.



Figure 2.8 St. John Malaria-Healer Church / Aya Ioannis¹⁵⁰

In 1922, the neighbourhood was not affected by the great fire and remained with only one church building and some cemeteries around the land. The inhabitants also confirmed the development of a district on cemeteries case and is hidden in their language.

The settlement is called "murtake" or "mortake" or "mortakya" by its inhabitants. Especially while people were talking with other Roma neighbourhoods or tin-can neighbourhoods, inhabitants identified themselves as coming from "mortakia". In parallel with this, youth share their photos through social media applications referring to their location as "mortakia". Therefore it is essential to find the origin of the name and why people were using it. Inhabitants don't know about the word and learned it from previous generations. The reason for calling them as *mortake* could be related to three cases. Firstly, as Berent mentioned, the word comes from a Greek word called "mortakia" (meaning the country of the dead), and it is the old name of the neighbourhood¹⁵¹. Another map from 1913¹⁵² shows Alsancak part of the railway lines referred to as "TMIMA MORTAKION" (Mortakia district) and "MORTAKIA

¹⁵⁰ *Former Smyrna churches listing*, Levantine Heritage. 2010 [Accessed 7 November 2022]. Available from <http://www.levantineheritage.com/data10.htm>.

¹⁵¹ Orhan Berent. *Ölüler Ülkesinde Kentsel Dönüşüm*, Agos, 2014.

¹⁵² *Giaour Smyrna map* by S. Christidis, which appeared in the 1930s in the "Athinaika Nea" newspaper and was itself based on Ernest Bon's 1913 map

ELLINON” (the area of Mortakia inhabited by Greeks) (see figure 2.7). However, the pre-fire map shows that "mortakia" is an adjusted neighbourhood to Alygaria (Currently Ege Mahallesi) (see figure 2.9). The ministry website, maps and interviews confirm the area is close to the Greek cemetery. It might be possible that the place was developed on a graveyard. Also, its closure to Mortakia, called by that name and inhabitants keeps using this name. In addition, the neighbourhood was officially called “Murtakya” till 1927. After the change of neighbourhood names by İzmir Municipality, It started to call “Kahramanlar”. In 1937 Kahramanlar neighbourhood was divided into two parts, and the area was named “2. Kahramanlar”¹⁵³. In City council meetings during the 1960s, the area was referred to as the “tin-can neighbourhood behind the Kahramanlar”; then, it was separated from the Kahramanlar neighbourhood and named “Ege Neighbourhood”.



Figure 2.9 Smyrna map by S. Christidis- 1913

¹⁵³ Erkan Serçe. İzmir’de Muhtarlık Teşkilatının Kurulması ve İzmir Mahalleleri, *Kebikeç- İnsan Bilimleri İçin Kaynak Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no:7-8, 155-170, 1999. p. 167.

Referring to the area as Murtakya has a historical background, but on the other hand origin of the word provides essential information about the sociological background. In figure 2.9, the area is next to the railway line, named “TMIMA MORTAKION” and the map from 1922 indicated the land as vacant. If the word “mortakion” comes from Italian or Latin word “Mort”, it means “death”. Probably, a neighbourhood where they were burring sick people from the plague. Secondly, the word could have been related to Rebetiko because the Greek origin of the word mortaki/mortis means "mangas" which is connected to “rebetiko culture”¹⁵⁴. In Rebetiko, Mangas is a slang word that describes a male persona of specific behavior, ideology and dress code. They are pictured as dashing, tough, fierce and sometimes antisocial men who can defy social rules and restrictions¹⁵⁵. The synonym for mangas is mortis, bessalis and a woman with the same anti-conformist characteristics is called *mangissa* or *mortissa*.

Thirdly, the neighbourhood's name could be related to epidemics in İzmir. According to Poulimenos, plague, cholera and smallpox visited the city. The plague occurred in different years, from 1678 to 1839. For instance, in 1813, half of the population died from the plague, while in 1837, 4800 people died in a population of 130,000. A few cases also occurred in the summer of 1922. Strict measures were then taken, and a general compulsory vaccination was ordered, quickly suppressing the disease¹⁵⁶¹⁵⁷.

Cholera broke out in different years between 1831 to 1913, mainly affecting people over 50. During the epidemic of 1831, the first in the Ottoman Empire, with a

¹⁵⁴ Rebetiko is a mixture of traditional Greek and oriental music that emerged from the amalgamation of Greek and Turkish culture during the Ottoman Rule. Generally, it is associated with the lower classes of Greek urban society and although there have been several different definitions, most researchers define it as ‘urban folk song’. The word Rebetiko derives from the word rebetis which translates as ‘a working-class man of the social margin with unconventional life.

¹⁵⁵ Antonia Voulgar. Rebetiko as Cultural Expression: From Asia Minor to Greece. Asfar International NGO 2021 [Accessed 6 November 2022. Available from <https://asfar.org.uk/rebetiko-as-cultural-expression-from-asia-minor-to-greece/>.

¹⁵⁶ Hikmet Özdemir. 2005. *Salgın Hastalıklardan Ölümler 1914-1918*, TTK, Ankara, p. 21.

¹⁵⁷ George Poulimenos. 28.03.2020. Epidemics in Smyrna, retrieved from <http://gpoulimenos.info/en/works/other-works/smyrnaean-paraleipomena>.

population of 80,000 inhabitants, were 7,000 dead. The plague preceded the disease during the same year. On the next visit of cholera, in 1848, there were 2000 deaths in a population of 100,000 inhabitants¹⁵⁸.

In 1841 recorded disease was smallpox, which despite systematic vaccination, was decimating the population, especially young children; returned in 1871 and re-occurred in various years till 1913, the last time in parallel with the cholera epidemic¹⁵⁹.

In both three epidemics, the patients were transported to special infirmaries (that is called *Mortakia*) by the “mortis”. Linguistic and lexicographers have been searching for the origin of the word “mortis”, which came to mean the man of the street, the one who lives in suspicious or dishonest ways, the rascal. However, it is also what they called those who had been affected by the plague and had managed to survive and become immune¹⁶⁰. *Mortis* were working in those infirmaries, which began to be erected at the city limits from 1840 onwards, and each ethnic community had at least one of the infirmaries. During the epidemics, residents were confined in their houses or hurried to leave the city, resorting to the surrounding mountains and suburbs. In epidemics, *mortis* became the city's ruler, and they were the only ones walking the streets. They served as guardians of those afflicted with the dreaded disease, went to the patient's homes, and took them to the infirmaries. Also, they were taking care of patients in the hospital and were commissioned with room's disinfection. Also, they were responsible for the disinfection of dead people in large pits with lime before being buried in cemeteries. The place where *mortis* work and where they bring patients was named *Mortakia*. According to the map, most of these

¹⁵⁸ Daniel Panzac. 1997. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Veba (1700-1850)*, Çev. Serap Yılmaz, Tarih Vakfı yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1997, p.14-15.

¹⁵⁹ George Poulimenos. 28.03.2020. Epidemics in Smyrna, Retrieved from <http://gpoulimenos.info/en/works/other-works/smyrnaean-paraleipomena>.

¹⁶⁰ Eleftherios Skiadas. Who were they called *Mortides* and where was the *Mortakia* district. What did they have to do with Smyrna and the plague epidemic? *Mixani tou Xronou* 2022 [Accessed 7 November 2022. Available from <http://www.mixanitouxronou.gr/poioi-itan-oi-alithinoi-mortides-kai-ti-itan-ta-mortakia-ti-sxesi-eixan-me-tin-smyrni-kai-tis-epidimies-panolis/>.

facilities were located next to the railways, but there were some exceptions. Jewish *Mortakia*¹⁶¹ was situated in the Jewish quarter, near the historical agora¹⁶². Therefore, rather than being a place for the burials, the historical name of the neighbourhood may arrive from special infirmaries (*mortakia*) that operated in the area.

Historically, the word *Mortakya* may have been named after facilities of epidemics. Alternatively, it may have derived from the behaviour of the Greek working class who lived there, as referred to in *Rebetiko* culture. Because at the end of the 19th century, the area was populated with 2500 residents and depicted as a run-down district where people lived in deprivation and were surrounded by swamps. Residences were fishermen, workers and petty traders who ran their dirty little shops which found a corner to set up a small mobile shop with a collection of face bracelets and various trinkets or a corner to sell pyramids of melons and grapes or onions¹⁶³. It shows that before the great fire, the area was used as a healing area for those affected by the epidemic, and then it turned into a newly developing area. Therefore it might be a place for people who recently arrived in the city and are working class and dealing with the transportation of goods.

To reach the initial buildings in the Ege neighbourhood, documents from the building registration system of İzmir metropolitan municipality indicate valid information. The system provides the construction year of the buildings, but the limitation points only to the surviving buildings. According to this data, five buildings were constructed before 1910; however, the system does not show any data for the church (see figure 2.11). These buildings are remaining; during the site visit, I have seen

¹⁶¹ Özgür Yılmaz. İzmir'in Salgın Hastalıklar Tarihine Bir Katkı: Avrupalı Hekimlerin Gözüyle 1865 Kolera Salgını. *Tarih ve Günce*. (8): 85-128, 2021. p.102.

¹⁶² George Poulimenos. *Eski mekanların, günümüz İzmir haritasındaki yeri*, 2022 [Accessed 9 November 2022. Available from <http://gpoulimenos.info/tr/kaynaklar/etkilesimli-harita>.

¹⁶³ Eleftherios Skiadas, *Who were they called Mortides and where was the Mortakia district. What did they have to do with Smyrna and the plague epidemic?*

them. The five buildings have a plan for being residential units. The time of construction they were constructed for residential purposes.

Additionally, the building registration system indicates eight more constructions between 1911 and 1920 and 13 more between 1921 and 1930. As depicted by maps, the system approves that it was a newly developing Greek settlement before the population exchange and great fire. Also, the construction of the Greek Orthodox Church in the area reinforces this idea.



Figure 2.10 1922 map of Izmir¹⁶⁴ (left) and construction year of buildings¹⁶⁵ (right)

Lack of sources between 1910 and 1938 emerged challenge to show the conditions of the neighbourhood and understand how the area grew. Especially, it is hard to

¹⁶⁴ Mainly based on the “Giaour Smyrna” map by S. Christidis, which appeared in the 1930s in the “Athinaika Nea” newspaper and was itself based on Ernest Bon's 1913 map.

George Poulimenos. *First Smyrna map-1930*, 2009 [Accessed 8 November 2022. Available from <http://gpoulimenos.info/en/works/other-works/first-smyrna-map>.

¹⁶⁵ Map indicates constructed buildings before 1910, between 1911-1920 and 1921-1930, according to the building registration system of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality.

Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Archive, mapping by author.

understand development of the area between 1914-1920 due to period of wars (First World War and Independence War). For residential units, there is only one map that survived from 1925. For industrial facilities, information can obtain through Ottoman's published statics about industrial facilities for 1913 and 1915¹⁶⁶. However, it represents housing areas as a mass block. Therefore, it is impossible to get information about the number of houses (see figure 2.10). The street representations and size of the neighbourhood indicate that the district expanded from its border in 1910.

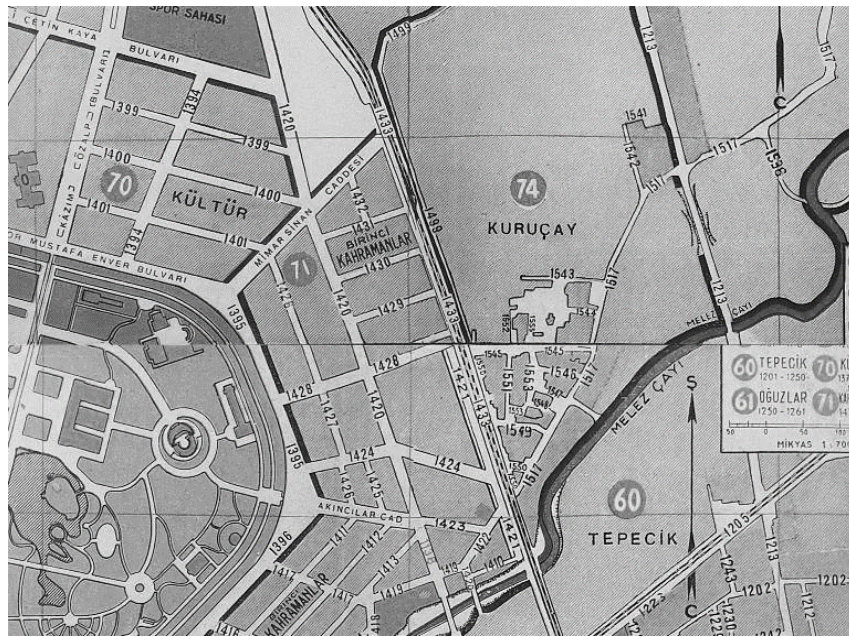


Figure 2.11 Map of İzmir from 1925¹⁶⁷

Till the 1923, hinterland of the harbour started to become an industrial area. During the late Ottoman time, in 1913 and 1915, the state was published statical information about the industrial facilities. The report shows that most of the industrial facilities in the state was operating in İstanbul, İzmir and 53 of them was located In İzmir¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁶ Gündüz Ökçün. *Osmanlı Sanayii 1913-1915 Sanayi İstatistikleri*, Hil Publishing, İstanbul, 1984.

¹⁶⁷ Prof. Çınar Atay's Archive, Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (APIKAM).

¹⁶⁸ Ökçün. *Osmanlı Sanayii 1913-1915 Sanayi İstatistiki*, p.48.

These factories were operating in the field of food and weaving. most of the facilities were located in Darağaç district, for instance the city had 9 mills and 6 of them were operating there¹⁶⁹. In terms of manufacturing of the weaving sector, there was three factories that are Antibi Moiz and Avram Flannel Factory (mainly produces on wool and cotton shawls, undershirts, socks, knitted children's dresses), Şark Carpet Factory¹⁷⁰¹⁷¹ [*The Oriental Carpet Manufacture*] (produces carpet yarn), Taban Corci Anton, Flannel Factory (produces wool flannel), Ottoman Cloth Company (Osmanlı Aba Şirketi), Cotton Manufacturing Ottoman Company and Şark Sanayi (Industrial Company of Levant)¹⁷². Among these factories, Şark Carpet was located in Mortakya and Şark Sanayi was located in Darağacı.

¹⁶⁹ Darağaç located mills can list as;
- *Stefanidis and P. Milakopidis Mill*
- *Stimatyadi Kastaki and Yakovos Mill*
- *Çinçini Mill*
- *Tuzcuoglu Yovanaki Mill*
- *Karmanyola Mill*
- *Magnificu Alfons Mill*

In addition, there was also the *Faypees Mill*, but it burned down in early 1915.

¹⁷⁰ The Oriental Carpet Manufacturers, known as the OCM, which they registered in İzmir on 1908 and continued its production till 1920. The company has adopted two production style; that are the home-employment system and production activities in workshops. Many craftsmen or workers doing the same or similar jobs are employed by the same capitalist, capitalist, at the same time and place. In this mode of production, each of the craftsmen and workers – perhaps with their apprentices and assistants – would create the whole of the commodity. OCM had carpet production workshops in five different regions, in 1909, one year after it started production, in Isparta, Burdur, Sivas, Kırkağaç and İzmir Mortakya. The dye house established in Mortakya, İzmir at the end of 1907. OCM made it compulsory for all agencies and workshops in Anatolian geography to use the woolen yarns that it had produced in the dye house of Mortakya. . In order to meet the rapidly increasing carpet demand, OCM purchased a 12.000 m² land right next to the facility in Mortakya in 1909. It expanded its dye house and carpet workshop in Mortakya.

¹⁷¹ Emrah Yılmaz. Once Upon a Time Carpet – Making in Anatolia: The Oriental Carpet Manufacturers Limited [Şark Halı Kumpanyası] and its importance in the Ottoman Carpet – Making [1907 – 1914], *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 21(2), 291-333, 2020. Elena Frangakis-Syrett. Modernity from below: The amalgamated oriental carpet manufacturers, Ltd. of İzmir, 1907-1922. *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, 14(4), 413-429, 2015.

¹⁷² Emrah Yılmaz. *The Oriental Carpet Manufacturers Limited [Şark Hali Kumpanyası] and its place and importance in the Ottoman carpet - making*. PhD Thesis, Anadolu University, 2020.

2.3 Conditions in the Harbour Area and Ege Neighbourhood at the Early Republican Era: 1923 to 1950

After the liberation of Izmir, the fire, which started on the 13th of September, 1922, spread gradually with the effect of the wind, and the flames engulfed the Armenian Districts and the Frenk District. The fire destroyed an area of 300 hectares¹⁷³ (see figure 2.12). After the proclamation of the Republic, the first planning studies in İzmir were for the reconstruction of the fire area. For the first time in 1924, the need to prepare a plan for the fire area came to the fore. In 1924, an agreement was signed with the French urbanists René Danger and Raymond Danger, and Henri Prost took part as a consultant urbanist. This partial plan covers a large part of the Alsancak region, including the fire-affected area. The Municipality revised the project in 1926, and with the change made in 1934 the Kulturpark area was prepared¹⁷⁴. What is expected from the plan in İzmir is to provide the functional and spatial organization for revitalizing the economy of the city, as well as zoning the fire areas. In line with these objectives, the Danger-Prost plan moved the port north of Alsancak, arranged the industrial zone in relation to this, and proposed a new central station connecting both railway lines. This plan, consisting of a grid plan system and diagonal roads and solving the nodal points with round squares, exhibits a typical French urbanism understanding.

¹⁷³ Yaşar Aksoy. *Bir Kent, Bir İnsan – İzmir'in Son Yüzyılı*, S. Ferit Eczacıbaşı'nın Yaşamı ve Anıları, Dr.Nejat F.Eczacıbaşı Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1986. p. 188.

¹⁷⁴ Hülya Koç. *1940-1960 Döneminde İzmir-Alsancak'ta Konut Yapı Kooperatifleri ve Konut Sunumu*, Ege Mimarlık 98(1-2), 20-23, 2018. p.20.



Figure 2.12 Fire area- 1925¹⁷⁵

In line with this plan, which the İzmir Municipality approved in 1925, the ground was thoroughly surveyed, and departed owners' properties were sold off in auctions after the new alignment plan was applied. The Municipality assured financial sources by auctions to the streets and public spaces as well as the erection of public buildings¹⁷⁶. The plan created a new ownership pattern by mixing old properties, and the parcels were put up for sale by auction by the Municipality¹⁷⁷. The new parcels offered for sale in İzmir were purchased mainly through financial institutions. The construction activity, which had accelerated in İzmir between 1925-1928, came to a standstill with the 1929 world economic crisis, and the implementation of the plan became unsustainable with the drop of sales of the lands. In the new planning, the

¹⁷⁵ A map from 1925 indicates the fire zone area, later designed as İzmir Kültür Park. The red buildings are the surviving buildings from the great fire.

Atay, Çınar. 1925. *İzmir, Mersinli, Işıklar, Bornova, Karşıyaka ve Papas*, Müdafaa-i Milliye Vekaleti

¹⁷⁶ Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis. Urban aesthetics and national identity: the refashioning of Eastern Mediterranean cities between 1900 and 1940, *Planning Perspectives*, 26:2, 153-182, 2011. p.173

¹⁷⁷ Memduh Say. *Yangın Yeri ihzari Komisyonu Raporu, Hijyen bakımında İzmir Şehri*, Bilgi Matbaası: İzmir, 1941. p.62-63.

residential areas were decided on the slopes in accordance with the "garden-city" model. Southeast of Eşrefpaşa and northwest of Mount Pagos (Kadifekale) were selected as the settlement area. In addition to these two designated areas, garden-city model housing areas have been proposed to the east of the port and industrial areas.

In 1931, With Behçet Uz became the Mayor of İzmir. With the municipalities law that came into force in 1930, municipalities are obliged to have an urban planning plan. Therefore the Izmir municipality meets with Jansen, who is also planning the capital city. Jansen expressed a negative opinion about the current plan and stated that the boulevards and streets were too wide. In this direction, the Municipality revised the plan by reducing the width of the streets and boulevards¹⁷⁸. As a result of the revision, the port, which the Prost-Danger Plan considered, was thought to be moved to Alsancak, and larger settlement areas were not transferred to the new plan¹⁷⁹.

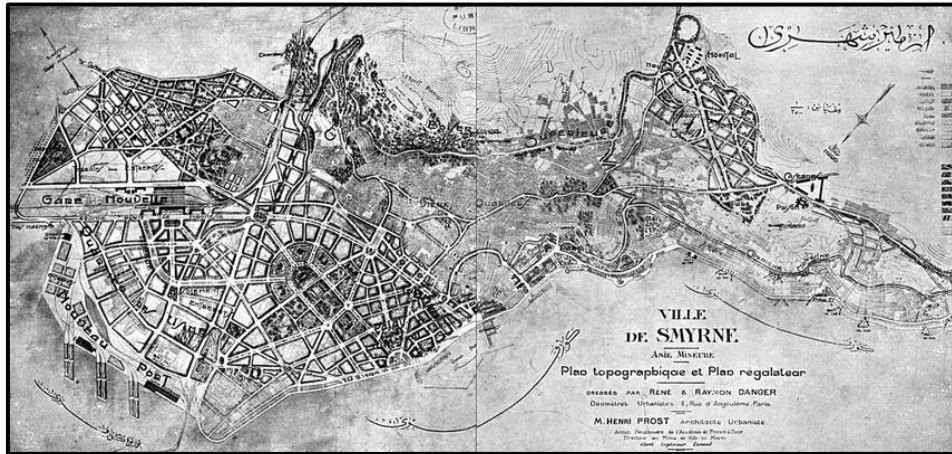


Figure 2.13 Danger-Prost Plan¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Sıdika İçci Çetin. *Evaluation Of The Changes And Transformation In The Fire Region Of İzmir Emerged During 1922-1965 Within The Context Of Dwelling*, PhD Thesis, Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir, 2004.

¹⁷⁹ İZMİMOD. *İzmir Kenti Planlama Tarihi*. TMMOB Chamber of Architects İzmir Branch, 2016:63-69.

¹⁸⁰ Meltem Gürel. Modernization and the Role of Foreign Experts: WM Dudok's Projects for İzmir, Turkey. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 77 (2):204-222, 2018.

In terms of residential settlements, the Kltrpark and İzmir International Fair project accelerated the area's development. Accommodations for high-income groups are planned on the newly opened boulevards and streets from the park's surroundings to Alsancak. These settlements were based on two-three storey houses with a garden. A remarkable application is the workers' quarter created in Kahramanlar with the initiative of Behçet Uz. The Municipality provided land to the workers in this area and stimulated opportunities for cheap housing. The east part of Kltrpark is planned as a "workers' quarter", and the west and northwest as "houses with gardens"¹⁸¹. Thus, with land sharing based on income level, a settlement area was constructed for lower-income groups in Kahramanlar and for high-income groups, a settlement was created in Alsancak. To achieve these low-cost and to ensure healthy, liveable accommodations for workers, lands were sold cheaply in the Kahramanlar district. Correspondingly, 400 houses were planned to complete in 3-4 years on Şehitler street (which is currently called Darağaç Neighbourhood). They were completed on October 1933¹⁸². The Municipalities Magazine published in those years to promote these houses under the name of 'Cheap and healthy accommodation for workers'¹⁸³.

In 1938, Behçet Uz mentioned that “(Prost’s) ideas for İzmir are in some cases unfeasible Under the plan we have created for İzmir, we are proceeding with the comfort of future generations in mind” he was planning to focus on a new plan for the extensions, especially permitting interventions in the historic quarters¹⁸⁴. The desire was to be assigned to a new municipal body, a planning office headed by a European planner. Therefore, the Municipality consulted planners with international experiences, such as Prost, Jansen etc. They contacted Le Corbusier in 1939. The

¹⁸¹ Cana Bilsel. İzmir’de Cumhuriyet Dnemi Planlaması (1923-1965): 20. Yzyıl Kentsel Mirası, *Ege Mimarlık* 71, 12-17, 2009. p.13

¹⁸² Erkan Serçe, Fikret Yılmaz, and Sabri Yetkin. *Kllerinden Doğan Şehir*. İzmir Bykşehir Belediyesi Kltr Publishing, İzmir, 2003.

¹⁸³ Hlya Koç. *Cumhuriyet Dneminde İzmir’de Sosyal Konut Ve Toplu Konut Uygulamaları*. Dokuz Eyll University, Architecture Faculty Publishing: İzmir, 2001.

¹⁸⁴ Bilsel, “*Ideology and Urbanism*”, p.21.

World War II period suspended the plan. Although the contract was signed, he was able to come to İzmir in October 1948, after a short stay, he submitted a report and the master plan scheme to the Municipality at the beginning of 1949¹⁸⁵. The plan projected the city's development in the next 50 years based on the radiant city model¹⁸⁶. The predicted population of the plan was 400,000 residences, however, in 1948 existing population was 230,000. The project was not implemented since it was not found applicable by the Municipality¹⁸⁷. The plan's inapplicability was the planner's tabula rasa approach to the city's historic neighbourhoods and his negation of the landownership to provide free movement of the pedestrians.

Since Le Corbusier's project was unsuitable for the city, so the need for a new plan arose. Therefore, an international planning competition was initiated in 1951¹⁸⁸. The plan of Aru was selected as the winning project because of being the most applicable project among the submissions. The plan was zoning the urban functions; as the most critical aspect, it respects the conservation of the historic area¹⁸⁹. The project had similarities with Le Corbusier's plan in proposing a green industrial zone for the port area and locating the industrial site at the same place. In terms of low-income groups or worker settlements, the plan proposed the Tepecik area due to its closure to the port and industrial sites. However, neither the plan of Aru, Municipality nor the jury members who evaluated the projects have emphasized the reality of *gecekondu* settlements¹⁹⁰. Although the first squatter housing was started in the 1940s, this issue

¹⁸⁵ Hastaoglou-Martinidis, Vilma. *Urban aesthetics and national identity: the refashioning of Eastern Mediterranean cities between 1900 and 1940*.

¹⁸⁶ Cânâ Bilsel. "Le Corbusier in Turkey: From the Voyage d'Orient to the Master Plan Proposal for İzmir on the Theme of a Green City," Ayşe Öztürk, Atilla Yücel (Eds.), *A Swiss in the Mediterranean: Le Corbusier Symposium*, 2015. p. 50

¹⁸⁷ Laruche, Didier, Maeso, Jean-Luc Ziegler, Volker (trans. Erkan Ataçay). *Le Corbusier Türkiye'de - İzmir Nâzım Planı (1939-1949)*. İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi, 2020.

¹⁸⁸ Cânâ Bilsel. "Two Initiatives for the Planning of İzmir in the Mid-Twentieth Century: Le Corbusier's Proposal for a Green City (1948) and the International Planning Competition of 1951". (In IPHS 2018, unpublished conference proceedings, 2018).

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Nuran Zeren Gülersoy & Turgay Kerem Koramaz. *Kemal Ahmet Aru: Urban Planning and Design*, İTÜ Vakfı Publishing: İstanbul, 2016. p.204

was not included in the competition process. Likewise, *gecekondu* developments were ignored in the zoning plan prepared in 1955. In the 1950s, when Izmir's *gecekondu* problem grew, the planning process lagged behind the pace of the city's development¹⁹¹. When the plan preparation was completed, huge squatters were formed within the Municipality's boundaries.

The plans of Danger-Prost (1925) and Aru (1951) indicated the hinterland of the harbour area as a zone reserved for industrial structures. While the housing areas were specified in the 1925's plan, the 1951's plan was incomplete or insufficient to respond the *gecekondu* problem that was formed after the 1940s. In this respect, Danger-Prost's plan provides more clues into housing the area. According to this plan, the Kahramanlar region, which includes the current Darağaç Neighbourhood¹⁹², was designated as an area to provide affordable housing to the workers. Likewise, Darağaç neighbourhood was designed for the workers inside the industrial area. The Main purpose of these houses is to meet the industrial buildings' labour needs. Ege neighbourhood is located between the worker's quarters that were Kahramanlar and Darağacı neighbourhoods. However, the Municipality was not

¹⁹¹ Ibid. 205

¹⁹² Contemporay debates of Darağaç focus on the art collective's productions and its relation with urban space; Kıvanç Kılınç, Burkey Pasin and Güzden Varinlioğlu. "Becoming One with the Neighborhood: Collaborative Art, Space-Making and Urban Change in Izmir Darağaç," *Space and Culture*, 1-20, 2021;

Burkey Pasin, Güzden Varinlioğlu and Kıvanç Kılınç. "Alternatif Bir Kentsel Tamirat Pratiği olarak Darağaç," *Ege Mimarlık*, 108(4), 78-85, 2020;

Ece Güleç & Gökçeçişek Savaşır. "Kentsel Kamusal Mekânda Yaratıcı Aktivizm: İzmir Darağaç Kolektifi'nin Sanat Üretim Pratikleri." *Yedi*, İzmir Özel Sayısı, 81-97, 2022;

Simay Sarı and Onur Mengi. "The Role of Creative Placemaking: Re-visiting Darağaç Art District." *M/C Journal*, 25(3), 2022.

Throughout the production of the Darağacı collective the neighbourhood was integrated with the city. The collective's productions were not only located the in the neighbourhood but also in the İzmir Kulturpark. The collective contributes to the transformation of urban space by displaying various modes of artistic performances for public;

Cansu Demir Türközü and Olgu Çalışkan. "Mural as public art in urban fabric: An attempt to link configurational approach to perceptual morphology." *Journal of Design for Resilience in Architecture and Planning*, 2(Special Issue: Space Syntax), 147-170, 2021.

Cansu Demir Türközü and Olgu Çalışkan. "Kentsel Dokuda Kamusal Sanat Olarak Mural: Yeldeğirmeni İstanbul Örneği." *Türkiye Kentsel Morfoloji Ağı*, (III. Kentsel Morfoloji Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı, Ankara), 603-624. 2022.

needed to build a house here until 1968. The situation may arise since the neighbourhood consisted of temporary structures called tin-cans rather than a workers' quarter, and the people here worked in daily jobs, not as workers. When the period between 1923 to 1950 was considered, the activities behind the industry grew with the investments of the Electric Factory, Sümerbank Factory and Şark Sanayi. The need for workers' new housing may trigger the municipality's housing construction in the Ege neighbourhood. On the other side, In this period, the Izmir Fair, which is a green area in the city and then a working space in the Roma community, was planned and constructed.

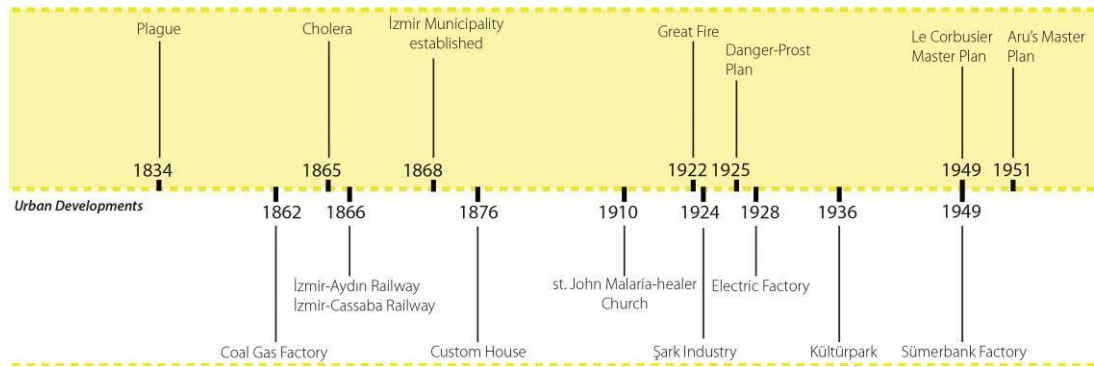


Figure 2.14 Timeline of important urban developments and epidemics¹⁹³

2.3.1 İzmir Electric Factory

Ottoman Empire had an economy based on land and agricultural production. Therefore, the provinces of Istanbul and Izmir were better in terms of quality of life than the others. Electricity, gas, tram, and water network, considered public services and used concession methods in their operations, entered the Ottoman State in the early 20th century. These services were only available in Istanbul and Izmir¹⁹⁴.

¹⁹³ The timetable indicates the construction years of important buildings, urban development planning decisions and the time of epidemics in the city.

¹⁹⁴ Nusret Alperöz. İstanbul Elektrik İşletmesinin Tarihçesi, *Journal of Electrical Engineering*, 15:179, 1971. p.23.

Izmir-Göztepe Tramways Company was established in 1885. In 1911, Izmir electricity and tram privileges were given to this Belgian company for 50 years¹⁹⁵. After the Republic was established, two more agreements were signed between the government and the company on 17.03.1925 and 13.07.1931 for tramway and electric privileges¹⁹⁶.

Belgians established İzmir Electric Factory in 1928 in Darağaç district of Alsancak, İzmir. In the Early Republican Period, electricity plants were generally built with water turbines or diesel engines; until 1932, only two thermal power plants were built¹⁹⁷. These are Silahtarağa Electric Factory and İzmir Electric Factory. Electricity from the factory was used to light homes and streets to facilitate electric trams for transportation, and it provided the revival of the small industry by meeting energy needs¹⁹⁸. In the 1940s, “İzmir Tram and Electric Company” was transferred to the İzmir Municipality. With this agreement, all the privileges, rights, and interests of the company and the central factory in Darağaç were purchased and transferred to Municipality’s entity (ESHOT¹⁹⁹)²⁰⁰. In the 1960s, it met 30% of the city's electricity needs. Turkish Electricity Authority expropriated the power plant in 1971²⁰¹. However, in 1989, it ended production. On January 8, 1998, İzmir No.1 Cultural and

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 70.

¹⁹⁶ Emine Erol. *Türkiye’de Elektrik Enerjisinin Tarihi Gelişimi 1902-2000*, PhD Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 2007.

¹⁹⁷ Hasan Hale Işıkpınar. *L’IndustrieElectrique et le Ressource Motrice de la Turquie*; Tsitouris Frères, İstanbul, 1932.

¹⁹⁸ Hasan Topal. Cumhuriyetin Tanığı Olan Bir Endüstri Mirasının Kısa Öyküsü: İzmir Alsancak Elektrik Fabrikası. *Ege Mimarlık*. 103, 60-63, 2009.

¹⁹⁹ It was established in 1943 as a subsidiary of İzmir Municipality. It stands for Electric Water Gas Bus and Trolleybus.

²⁰⁰ Naziye Özdemir. *Türkiye’de Elektiriğin Tarihsel Gelişimi:1900-1938*, Master Thesis, Ankara University: Ankara, 2011. p.40-70.

²⁰¹ Gülden Köktürk, Hümeyra Akkurt, Ayça Tokuç. Yenilenebilir Enerji Alanında Sosyal Bilincin Artırılması; İSEM: İzmir Yenilenebilir EnerjiMüzesi; *Dokuz Eylül University Science and Engineering Journal*, 17(3)-51, p.191-200, 2015.

Natural Heritage Conservation Board registered it as "Cultural Heritage to Be Protected"²⁰².

The factory is located at the critical place where the railway lines and the port area intersect. It is located behind the harbour, where many factories established in the Late Ottoman, Early Republican Era. In this respect, the region reflects the modernization process that İzmir went through with the industrial revolution. While the gas and flour factories are the last examples of the pre-mechanisation period, the electricity factory symbolizes the modernization period of the city with mechanization²⁰³. The Sümerbank Factory and Tariş Alcohol Factory, established in the Republican period when large industrial complexes began to spread, reveal the transformation of individual factory structures into industrial complexes over the years.

2.3.2 Ege Neighbourhood

In the early days of the republican era, due to the Turkish-Greek conflict, the neighbourhood became a ghosted area full of vacant buildings. These housing units' new residents were people from population exchange. As mentioned above, with the Danger-Prost plans and interventions of The Mayor Behçet Uz, the area was located between two worker quarters that were Kahramanlar and Darğaç. Aerial photos proceed to guide the research starting from 1938. It provided information for expanding commercial areas and residential units to analyse economic conditions and urban growth in the neighbourhood and hinterland area. In terms of hinterland, the resources show that the region consists of two districts in terms of residential areas, which are Darağacı and Ege. In 1938 show that the hinterland region had

²⁰² Yaren Şekerci, Hilal Tuğba Örmecioğlu. Yakın Tarihin Önemli Bir Endüstri Mirası Olarak İzmir Tarihi Elektrik Fabrikası, *Ege Mimarlık*, 106. 38-43, 2019.

²⁰³ Ibid.

industrial buildings, that were Electric Factory, Coal Gas Factory and Şark Industry²⁰⁴ (see figure 2.16).



Figure 2.15 Aerial photo of Ege Neighbourhood from 1938²⁰⁵

In ten years period between 1930 to 1940, few more residential units were constructed in the neighbourhood, which indicates that people started to move in the

²⁰⁴ The Şark Sanayi Kumpanyası was a Belgian company founded in 1893 in Brussels under the name 'Industrielle du Levant Societe Anonyme'. The Verbeke family moved the company's headquarters to Izmir and changed the name to Şark Sanayi Kumpanyası in 1925, and it was located in the Darağacı. The factory campus initially operated as a flour factory named 'Couzinery-Pittaco' in 1892, then was converted into a yarn company by Couzinery in 1893. However, it only produced yarn for two years. It was bought by the Verbeke family in 1895 and turned into a textile factory.

Although Şark Sanayi made significant contributions to the Turkish economy in the 1950s, the inability to compete with the increasing number of textile companies put the factory in a difficult position. Therefore, Şark Sanayi maintained commercial relations with Germany by renewing its spinning facilities, however, it could not adapt to technology and decided to liquidate by selling the equipment in the factory in 1976. The campus, sold to the Koru family in the same year, was not operated and remained idle. Even though it survived a fire disaster, only water tank structure and landscape have survived to the present day.

Oya Sipahioğlu. İzmir Şark Sanayi Kumpanyasi Tekstil Fabrikasının 1924 Yilinda Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde Yaptirdiği "Pamuk İpliği Pazarı" Research Report, *Dokuz Eylül University Art Journal*, 2, 92-106, 2012.

²⁰⁵ The map from 1938 on the left shows the neighbourhood's location with the constructed industrial facilities and the Darağaç neighbourhood. The map on the right indicates the neighbourhood's density in 1938—maps prepared by the author on the 1938 map of the General Directorate of Mapping Archive.

area and increased the population (see figure 2.15). In parallel with that, the Kültürpark area was emerged to develop and around that region started the shape with worker's housing units²⁰⁶.

From 1938 to 1951, in the hinterland area, industrial facilities increased. The critical point in that period was the establishment of Sümerbank Textile Factory (see figure 16). The factory was essential for Ege Neighbourhood's inhabitants due to being a workplace for many of them. Sümerbank Textile Factory has vital importance to understanding up and downs of the economic and social structure in Turkey and in Ege neighbourhood.



Figure 2.16 Industrial Buildings and Neighbourhoods 1957²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ Koç, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde İzmir'de Sosyal Konut Ve Toplu Konut Uygulamaları*.

²⁰⁷ The aerial photo from 1957 shows on neighbourhood and constructed industrial facilities in the port area. The coloured parts indicate the area of Ege and Darağaç neighbourhood, Sümerbank Textile

İzmir Sümerbank Textile Factory, an example of the development of the Republican Era modernization efforts in the field of industry, is an industrial complex that includes production, socialization, accommodation, education and recreation areas²⁰⁸. In 1933, Sümerbank was established and its era can mention as the establishment and development periods between 1933-1950, expansion and the fully functioning period between 1950-1972, after 1972 was a period of searching for a new identity²⁰⁹. Turkey's change in economic policies and privatization practices since the early 1980s affected the factory, and after 1987 it continued its operations with another name till its privatization, stopping its production and closing its last store²¹⁰.

In 1947, during the second world war, the factory production in Nazilli was interrupted due to the labour force shortage. Consequently, some looms in the plant were left unattended, therefore, those looms were planned to be transferred to İzmir so the production would continue. In 1947, the new campus was started to build and put into operation in 1949. Initially, it was connected to the Nazilli²¹¹. Till 1953 the campus was expanded with the aid of İzmir Municipality²¹².

In 1953, with the encouragement of the private sector for industrial investments and the Marshall plan, production structures were included in the İzmir Sümerbank Textile Factory. In 1953 it became a self-governed institution, detached from Nazilli. The weaving facility was opened in 1953, and the printed-cloth was opened in 1955.

Factory, Gas Factory, Electric Factory and Şark Industry—maps prepared by the author on the 1957's aerial photo of the General Directorate of Mapping Archive.

²⁰⁸ Erdal Uzunoğlu, "The Constitution of Power Relation in Spaces of Industrial Production: The Case of Four Sümerbank Campuses in the Aegean Region." The Department of Architecture, PhD Thesis, İzmir Institute of Technology, 2008.

²⁰⁹ Zafer Toprak, *Sümerbank*, Creative Yayıncılık, 1988.

²¹⁰ Mehmet Gökhan Polatoğlu. Türkiye'nin Kalkınmasında Sümerbank ve Etkinliği (1933-1987). *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 261–306, 2021.

²¹¹ Uzunoğlu, *The Constitution of Power Relation in Spaces of Industrial Production: The Case of Four Sümerbank Campuses in the Aegean Region*.

²¹² İzmir Municipality, 1950 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 6th Meeting, 17.2.1950), p.135-136. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi.

In 1972, residences, social facilities and a clothing factory were completed on the campus²¹³. The privatized İzmir Sümerbank Factory continued its production until the early 2000s, after which it was converted into an education campus.

The factory was referred to as campus, acquired an essential place in the social and economic structure of the city. It played an important role in responding to employment and labour turnover problems by satisfying the workers' basic needs and ensuring the workers' attachment to their work. Therefore, the campus includes social facilities, kindergartens, schools, and lodgings. Thus, the factory was not only producing goods in Darğacı but also providing economic and social improvement for its surrounding environment.

In line with these developments in hinterland area, the residential areas were also expanded, and the density increased in the period of 1923-1950. According to map of 1938, housing units rapidly increased in Ege Neighbourhood. It can be related with investment in industrial facilities and plan of Kültürpark emerged the need for worker housing, therefore Darağacı and Ege district were responded this need.

²¹³ Uzunoğlu, *The Constitution of Power Relation in Spaces of Industrial Production: The Case of Four Sümerbank Campuses in the Aegean Region*.

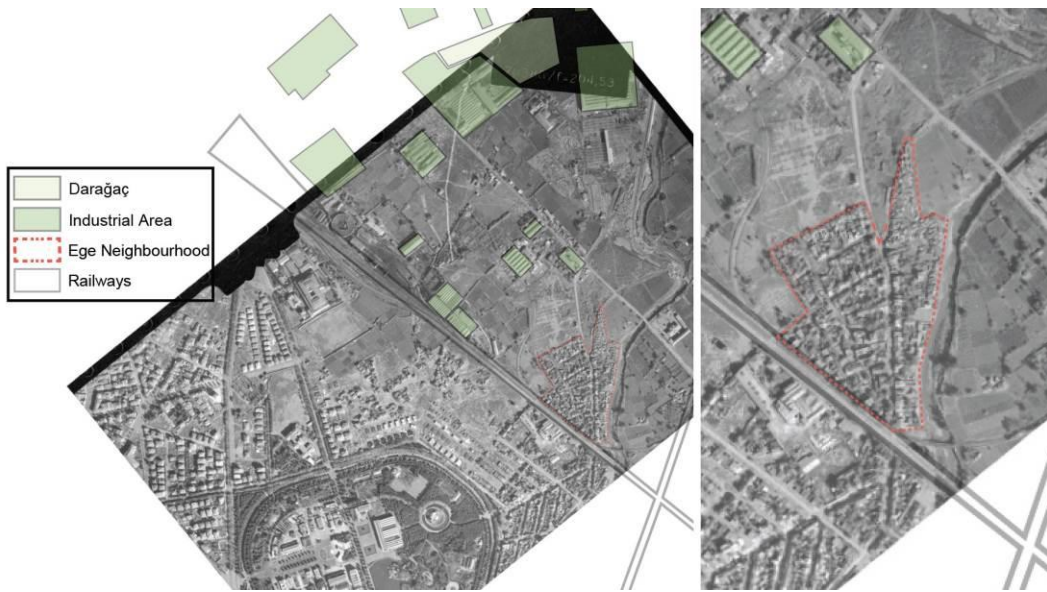


Figure 2.17 Aerial photo of Ege Neighbourhood from 1951²¹⁴

Although the aerial photo from 1951 indicated rapid incensement, that is also discussed in the council meetings. Since the Kahramanlar planned neighbourhood, the rise in the number of residences caused difficulties for muhtar, thus, the neighbourhood was divided into two such as; *1.Kahramanlar* and *2. Kahramanlar*²¹⁵. However, in building registration system's data did not show the same information (see figure 2.18). The coincidence between the two data indicates the gecekondu housing in the Ege neighbourhood. Emerging from the 1940s, the need for the residential unit was increased as a post-effect of industrial development with Marshall's aid. Since the Kahramanlar district was planned as a low-income group's housing with cooperatives and Darağacı area was already designated for

²¹⁴ The map from 1951 on the left shows the neighbourhood's location with the constructed industrial facilities and the Darağaç neighbourhood. Industrial facilities started to increase. The map on the right indicates the neighbourhood's density in 1951. The area's density increased and new houses were constructed—maps prepared by the author on the 1951's aerial photo of the General Directorate of Mapping Archive.

²¹⁵ Izmir Municipality, 1952 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 6th Meeting, 1.2.1952), p.7. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi.

affordable worker housings, Ege neighbourhood became suitable for tin-can constructions.

In these years, the existence of the tin-can neighbourhood was mentioned in the council meetings, and the council argued about garbage collection in 1953. Garbage was collecting during the night time. However, council member Mehmet Balkan mentioned that “*garbage should collect during the day time, because, some people spill the garbage on the street and steal the tin garbage bins. Thus we have a tin-can neighbourhood. They construct houses with these tins*”²¹⁶. The tin garbage bins narrate how the neighbourhood was facilitated and the socio-economic conditions in the community. According to the council meeting, Tin-can houses also lacked a toilet, and the area was the sole residential area where the municipality constructed a public toilet in 1956²¹⁷. Also, stables have accompanied these houses that give a clue about their labour. As members of the city council discussed, the neighbourhood had 25 *gecekodu* and stables, and inhabitants were dealing with informal labour with the horses, such as carriage with a coach or with cows dealing animal husbandry²¹⁸. The general condition of the area was not different; streets were based on dirt roads, thus, in 1956 the municipality enhanced the road conditions²¹⁹.

²¹⁶ Izmir Municipality, 1953 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 15th Meeting, 22.2.1953), p.3. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi.

²¹⁷ Izmir Municipality, 1956 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 1st Meeting, 1.10.1956), p.40. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi.

²¹⁸ Izmir Municipality, 1953 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 8th Meeting, 10.06.1953), p.16. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi.

²¹⁹ Izmir Municipality, 1956 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 1st Meeting, 1.10.1956), p.41. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi.

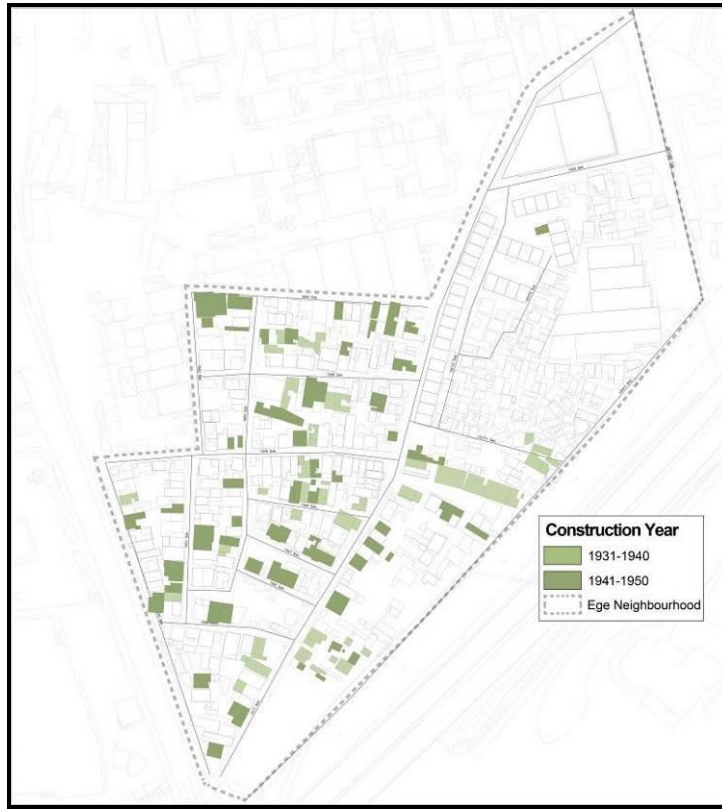


Figure 2.18 Construction year of buildings from 1930 to 1950²²⁰

In the period between 1938 to 1951, the neighbourhood expanded towards the northeast direction. However, the registration system indicates that there was not any construction between 1930 to 1950 in the northeast part of the area (see figure 2.18). The data reveals that the northeast part of the area might be reconstructed/regenerated in further years, concordantly, as mentioned at the council meetings, 25 *gecekondu* might construct this part of the neighbourhood.

²²⁰ Map indicates constructed buildings, between 1931-1940 and 1941-1950, according to the building registration system of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. the data from the building recording system and the aerial photography from 1951 do not indicate the exact conditions. Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Archive, mapping by author.

CHAPTER 3

TIN-CAN NEIGHBOURHOOD TO WORKING CLASS SETTING: 1950-1980

The 1950s was a milestone for the urban development of the country. The newly elected government emerged an industrialisation movement for the country with investment in state-financed factories in cities. Recently establishing factories needed a labour force, even a cheap labour force. The deficit in the labour force encouraged migration to big cities, which caused urban development in the towns through the construction of squatter houses (*gecekondu*). These houses are the primary experience of Turkish cities' growth and have been constructed without proper permission. The main aim of the houses was to find solutions to the accommodation needs of migrated worker population who came to cities. On the other hand, it can name as a rapid solution to the cheap labour force's accommodation needs.

From the perspective of Marxist urban development, cities expanded through capitalist investment. The main dynamics behind the cities' development is the expansion of industrial investment. These expansions can be seen in Hausmannization plans in Paris²²¹. Also, Neil Smith as the Marxist geographer, explains how cities are shaped through the needs of capital;

“Only with the development and expansion of industrial capital did the centralisation of productive activity come to supersede the market function as the determinant of urban development. If the urban scale as such is the necessary expression of the centralisation of productive capital, the

²²¹ Harvey, *Rebel cities*, p.48

geographical limits to the urban scale are primarily determined by the local labour market."²²²

There is a systematic relation between the development of a city and industrialisation. As Harvey explained, with circuits of capital, industrialisation needs a labour force and accommodation; therefore, industrialisation stimulates needs for the place of work and place of residence. With another saying, the nexus between cities and industries relies on the relationship between the space of production (workplace) and the space of reproduction (place of residence). Since the space of production produces surplus value through the labour force, the space of reproduction refers to where the labour or society re-created itself mentally and socially.

The extension in cities is independent of inhabitants' social relations and labour. In Marxist philosophy, labour and nature are intertwined; nature is transformed when labour is materialised²²³. In this critical relationship, Marx and Engels considered labour as part of nature and workers as natural beings who exercise their physical and mental abilities on nature. Thus labour and nature constitute dialectical and metabolic relationships²²⁴. Humans' alienation from labour was integral to their alienation from nature, a product of dispossession (the so-called primitive accumulation) within the capitalist system. Marx's critique consists of capitalism organising the exploitation of nature through the exploitation of human work²²⁵. When Raymond Williams looked at the enlightenment and industrial eras as asserting separation between humans from the non-human world, he argued that the

²²² Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space*, Verso, 2010, p182.

²²³ Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*, p.180.

²²⁴ Paul Burkett, *Marx and Nature: A Red and Green Perspective*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 25–56, 1999.

John Bellamy Foster, *Marx's Ecology. Materialism and Nature*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 141–78, 2000.

²²⁵ Foster, John B, and Reiner Grundmann. Marx's ecology. Materialism & nature. *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 26 (4):670, 2001.

labour process as an inextricable link between these two worlds²²⁶. He noted that even “natural landscape... is the product of human design and human labour...it matters very much whether we suppress that fact of labour or acknowledge it”²²⁷. The literature’s critical perspective in labour and nature points to our labour’s mediator role.

Similarly, Stefania Barca highlighted that labour has a crucial dimension of material and cultural interchange between human and non-human nature²²⁸. Barca particularly focuses on workers and their socio-spatial production relations in the contested environment. She locates workers as part and parcel of the production and reproduction processes; they are active actors through their labour in production activities. While selling their labour force for production activities, they also have to deal with the destruction of their homes or facing employment/unemployment conditions in the district where they live. Even though they are active agents and mediators between the human and non-human world, they are not seen as their environment’s main agents and decision-makers. Debates on the transformation of workers’ contested environment lack the necessity of their work, because the contested environment is also an outcome of their own labour. Therefore, the relationship between workers and their territory is broken through their labour force²²⁹.

Debates on land and labour depart from Marx and Engels’ conceptualisation of labour. In Marxian philosophy, labour is human effort and a physical and mental process that shapes life, society and nature. Nature is produced and reproduced through the process. Similarly, Arendt refers that labour has an anatomical

²²⁶ Raymond Williams, “Ideas of Nature” in *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays*, ed. Williams, London: Verso, 67–85, 1980.

²²⁷ Williams, “Ideas of Nature,” p.78.

²²⁸ Stefania Barca. "Ecologies of labour: An environmental humanities approach." In *Through the Working Class: Ecology and Society Investigated Through the Lens of Labour*, edited by Silvio Cristiano, 25-34. Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing: 2018. p.26.

²²⁹ Stefania Barca. "Laboring the Earth: Transnational Reflections on the Environmental History of Work," *Environmental History*, 19, 2014. p.3–27.

relationship with space and time. Labour produces the anatomy –bodies- and its surroundings in the production process as life²³⁰. It is both biological, material and socio-spatial activity of humans. Labouring practice produces the material surrounding and reproduces the bodies as individuals that are the main compound of the society; therefore, labouring produces the space as a concrete world and society as socio-spatial relations. Departing from labouring practice where they live becomes the space of reproduction, and the place where they sell their physical activity becomes a space of production.

What has been discussed through the lenses of the Marxist understanding on the term labour provides a valid surface on the Turkish case debates of worker's neighbourhood or *gecekondu* issue. As Raymond discussed, a contested environment is a product of inhabitants and the outcome of their labour. So, people who live in the environment are the main actors of its cultural and material change. From that point, labour has a strong link with land; therefore, the history of the land is the history of labour. This point is vital to analyse the relation between history of urbanisation and the history of labour through a worker neighbourhood or the reproduction space. The nexus between urbanisation and labour sustain fruitful ground for analysis. Because, the labour produces a surplus value that is transferred to the built environment as fixed capital. Thus urban environment expands and generates more reproduction space, which is the place for producing a new labour force. Through the process between labour and the urban environment, the place turns into a space not only with an intervention of capital but also with an intervention of labour activities.

In the case of the Ege neighbourhood, it includes space for reproduction, and its surrounding landscape also provides space for production. With Turkey's story of industrialisation, factories were constructed in the district. These factories that are the space of production were Şark Sanayi (1924), İzmir Pamuklu Mensucat (1932),

²³⁰ Hannah Arendt. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. p. 6-8.

Kula Mensucat (1933), İzmir Yün Mensucat (1935), Sümerbank Textile factory (1953), TEKEL warehouse (1964), Ford service (1964) and Tariş (1967). The residential part of the neighbourhood is the space of reproduction. Emerging from the early 1950s, both contested spaces transformed and will transform through various actors as an outcome of capital and urban relations.

Since the 1970s, the urban governance of cities has changed, urban and local economics have become increasingly more tied to global developments. City governments reacted to that change by taking a more proactive stance towards local economic growth. Since urban governance refers to a broad spectrum of social actors, it is just a part²³¹. Actors that shape the urban environment are civil society organisations, different groups of capital owners, the urban population, the labour force and city governance. In the Ege neighbourhood, labour is vital for the transformation but not the only one to decide on transformation. However, the transformation of space by workers and unions is “a potent form of social power and that power flows through spatial structures, just as it flows through social structures – indeed, that the social and the spatial are inseparable”²³². This power allows them to challenge capital and labour dynamics. Starting from the 1950s, the neighbourhood’s transformation is linked with local/central authorities’ perspective, capital owners and most importantly, inhabitants’ labour power.

From a broader perspective, labour is not the sole case for environmental transformation. Labour geography is also another issue. Economic geographers²³³ developed a body of literature that defines class struggle within the economic

²³¹ David Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford : Blackwell, 1989. p.6.

²³² Andrew Herod. *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998. p.5.

²³³ David Harvey. *Limits to Capital*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 2018;
Doreen Massey. *Spatial Divisions of Labour*. London, Macmillan Press, 1995;
Doreen Massey. *For Space*. London, Sage, 2005;
Jamie Peck. Making Space for Labour. In Featherstone, D. and Painter, J. (eds) *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey*. West Sussex, Wiley-Blackwell, 2013. p. 99-114.

landscape and stimulated important consideration of working-class politics. The geography of class relations is not just a map of social classes; “just as the geography of the economy should be a map of economic relations stretched over space, and not just, for instance, a map of different types of jobs. Generally, ‘the spatial’ is constituted by the interlocking of ‘stretched-out’ social relations”²³⁴. The neighbourhood also relates to the city and neighbouring environment and is another actor in the area’s transformation through history.

This chapter focussed on the 30 years of the land through the lenses of actors and mainly with the worker’s labour force in the neighbourhood. As a tin-can neighbourhood, the Ege district could name as *gecekondu*, and their labouring practice has importance to analyse the case. The research on *gecekondu* stressed labour and labouring activities as biological and socio-spatial activities. Mainly mentioned as cheap labour or stock labour; however, it is a landscape of labour relations and nonmarket or alternative ways of labouring²³⁵. From an economic perspective, it can also be called formal or informal labour that actively affects space production in these landscapes. Inhabitants of *gecekondu*, practice informal and communal ways of production and formulate collective labour relations to survive in the city. These landscapes are communally organised settlements, and constructing a building is a communal practice that occurs by helping the neighbour in the construction phase. Communal construction practices can exemplify repairing each other’s houses and helping each other to build the roof in one night. Turkish *gecekondu* literature claim that 1970s and 1980s communities in these landscapes keep their rural production knowledge and ways of living through these communal

²³⁴ Doreen Massey. "Introduction to Part I: Space and social relations." *In Space, Place, and Gender*, edited by Doreen Massey. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 19-24, 2013. p.22.

²³⁵ Kemal Karpat. *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976;

Önder Şenyapılı. *Kentlileşen Köylüler*. İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1978;

Tansı Şenyapılı. *Gecekondu: ‘Çevre’ İşçilerin Mekânı*, Ankara: Middle East Technical University Publications, 1981.

practices in construction and gardening²³⁶. Rather than collective practice, labour relations are another essential practice for the *gecekondu*. Inhabitants not only help each other in communal construction but also find a labouring activity or work in communal production as paid labouring practice with families or a group composed of inhabitants. As mentioned in Marxist literature, labouring activities take place in social space; therefore, the reproduction of labour relations is bio-political and socio-spatial. One side it is related with administration and society on the other side it is also related with society and built environment. Thus the space and administration is also related with each other. As Şenyapılı²³⁷ said gecekondu functioning as apparatus for the reproduction of cheap labour and exploitation of labour by providing a stock of cheap labour. In terms of land labour relations, cheap labour is the exploitation of human effort in labour relations and has been accumulating capital. Therefore, their existence is power for capitalist production and, most importantly, capitalist accumulation.

3.1 Socio-spatial reading of the Ege Neighbourhood

As mentioned in chapter 2, the Ege neighbourhood was a newly developing settlement in the city of İzmir before the republican era. Then, after the city's great fire, the land turned into an untouched area and as mentioned by Kemal²³⁸: "newcomers" of Turkish-Greek population exchange settled in that area. The new inhabitants of the land were Roma community, who arrived from mainly mainland of Greece. Kolukırık also claims it for the Roma community in İzmir²³⁹. Population information about the period also shows that they were not crowded, and few houses were constructed till 1938, according to the aerial photo taken that year. However,

²³⁶ Kemal H. Karpat. *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization*.

²³⁷ Tansı Şenyapılı. *Bütünleşmemiş Kentli Sorunu*, Ankara: Middle East Technical University Publications, 1978.

²³⁸ Interview with Kemal on 10 April 2021

²³⁹ Suat Kolukırık. *Dünden Bugüne Çingeneler*, İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2009, p.52.

after 1951 population and housing units rapidly increased. Housing information about this period can be justified with aerial photographs from 1938 and 1951. These photos claim that the land's density is increased more than the neighbouring areas. Information about the housing construction year shows that in parallel with new industries, housing construction increased in the neighbourhood between the 1950s to 1970s according to 1923 to 1950s. However, the primary acceleration occurred after the 1970s. Also, between the 1970s and 1980s, housing units were more unplanned than residential units constructed between the 50s to 70s. Due to incensement in industrialisation, people started to migrate to cities after the 1950s. The aerial photos from 1964 show a valid improvement in residential stock in Alsancak (see figure 3.1). However, the same momentum was not visible in the Ege neighbourhood. The density in the area remains equal to the 1951 condition; constructed buildings' list approves it (see figure 3.1).

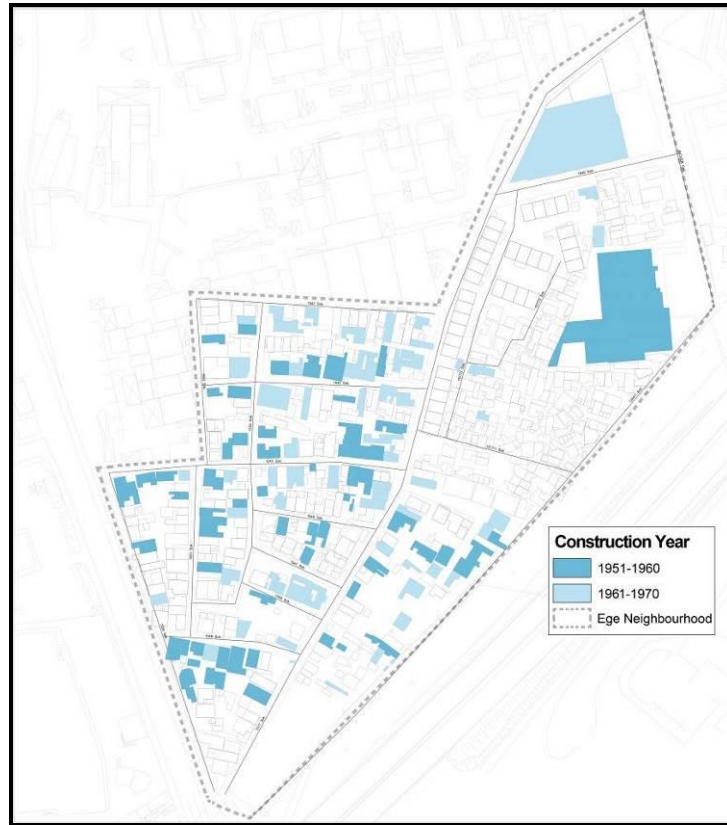


Figure 3.1 Construction years of buildings from 1950 to 1960 and 1960 to 1970²⁴⁰

The twenty years between 50s to 70s is narrated as a steady time of the neighbourhood according to further years. Expansion in the housing stock is related to the need for cheap labour forces in the factories. Also, in terms of housing quality, there were unregistered squatter housing. Interviewee Ahmet²⁴¹ mentioned that housing units were constructed with the help of the neighbours to each other according to the needs of the inhabitants. It is a kind of constructed own house with the help of neighbours.

²⁴⁰ Map indicates constructed buildings, between 1951-1960 and 1961-1970, according to the building registration system of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality.

Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Archive, mapping by author.

²⁴¹ In order to protect interviewee's personal information, nicknames were used to provide anonymity. Ahmet was a young person between 50s to 70s who born in the neighbourhood and mentioned that his families came to the area after population exchange.

Moreover, the interviewee mentioned that practising construction together improved solidarity between the neighbours; even though newcomers were not a foreigner to the neighbourhood, they were relatives of existing inhabitants. The communal construction practice could be related to *gecekondu* practice, but it is also associated with being part of the same Roma community's identity. The identity also affects not only communal practices but also their labouring practices.



Figure 3.2 Aerial photo of Ege Neighbourhood from 1964²⁴²

3.1.1 Roma Identity and labouring in the Ege Neighbourhood

Roma community prefer to live together in İzmir or living within their community. This is due to their need to maintain relations of solidarity but also related to insufficient economic and social opportunities. On the other hand, living in separate

²⁴² The map from 1964 on the left shows the neighbourhood's location with the constructed industrial facilities and the Darağaç neighbourhood. Industrial facilities increased, and TARIŞ completed its factory. The map on the right indicates the neighbourhood's density in 1964. The area's density increased, and new houses were constructed towards the north part of the area, near the industrial facilities—maps prepared by the author on the 1964's aerial photo of the General Directorate of Mapping Archive.

and defined “Roma neighbourhoods” generally keeps them out of the system, compels them to do informal marginal jobs or invisible works, leaves them out of the education system or they receive inadequate education in separate schools, which deprives them of the means of producing political and cultural discourse deepening their state of poverty²⁴³.

As the historical framework shows, the Roma community lived in the neighbourhood for a long time. Sometimes foreigners migrated to the area however, they could not stand long. For instance, during the interviews, inhabitants and Muhtar mentioned that some Syrian refugees arrived in the neighbourhood in 2013 and also, in the 1980s, some families migrating from eastern part of Turkey settled in. However, they could not manage to live in the area. As an outsider or as a *gaco*²⁴⁴, it is hard to become part of the community due to social practices. These practices can broadly be communal living and working practices in the neighbourhood.

Roma community has specific wedding, funeral or entertainment practices. Seyfi²⁴⁵, head of a NGO, emphasises the neighbourhood’s culture based on solidarity and sharing sad and happy moments. Funerals, weddings and celebrations of important dates are important event for the citizens to gather, commemorate, or share their happiness or grief. Therefore, the solidarity shows it self-trough the occasions such as weddings and funerals. Seyfi mentioned that “if someone dies, people stop celebrating or playing music and attend a funeral or bring food to the community. The same solidarity and commune culture can be seen in weddings. All inhabitants attend weddings, and the entertainment continues until morning.”

Another residence²⁴⁶ who runs a coffee house (*Kıraathane*) in the neighbourhood mentioned that he used to live in the community, but he chose to move out of the

²⁴³ Alper Yağlıdere, *İzmir Romanları; Yaşam-Kültür-Alışkanlıklar*, Ozan Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2011, s. 40-41.

²⁴⁴ The Word *goca* used by roma community to refer who are not roman.

²⁴⁵ Interview with Seyfi on 10 April 2021

²⁴⁶ Interview with Kazım on 5 April 2021

neighbourhood due to these kinds ceremonies because they created a source of anxiety, noise pollutions. This shows that the area is not easy place to live in or adapt for outsiders. They have traditions/ceremonies till late at night, it is part of Roma community. Seyfi further adds that “even people want to hire a hall for a ceremony, they are usually outside the district, places have limited guest capacity, and these places allow the ceremony to be held between 8 pm to 12 am”. Therefore, having a ceremony outside the neighbourhood or renting a venue for their events is not feasible for inhabitants due to the limited number of guests and they would not be allowed to enjoy the ceremonial celebrations till morning. Also, ceremonies in the neighbourhood could not be explained only by cultural practices, it also related to economic reasons. The interviewee mentioned that renting a wedding hall for the ceremony is unaffordable for many inhabitants. Economic considerations are also on the table when they intend to plan a ceremony that has vital importance for Roma communities to keep their solidarities socially and economically.

Regarding the economic perspective, Roma communities have a wide range of historical backgrounds for labour activities. In the Ottoman Empire, Romans were employed in occupations not desired by the majority, such as execution and prostitution²⁴⁷. Those who served in the army were working in shipyards as blacksmiths²⁴⁸. Romanies, who lived as nomads and made a living as craftsmen for many years, gradually lost their traditional professions due to the changes in means of production²⁴⁹. The transition of the population from nomadic to settled life caused them to operate in limited occupations, such as shoe shiners, sewer cleaners, leather workers, florists, garbage collectors, and paper collectors²⁵⁰. Based on these occupations, the labour of gypsy society is based on three features; firstly, there must

²⁴⁷ Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Çingeneler*, Homer Kitapevi, İstanbul 2006.

²⁴⁸ Eyal Ginio, Neither Muslims nor Zimmis: the Gypsies (Roma) in the Ottoman State.” *Romani Studies*, 14: 2, p.117-144, 2004.

²⁴⁹ Koptekin, *Biz Romanlar Siz Gacolar: Çingene/Roman Çocuklarının Kimlik İnşası*, p.88.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.89.

be a product or service such as a basket or tinned goods. Secondly, the product and service must be sold out of the society members such as citizens. Thirdly, the profession should be carried out by most members of the Gypsy community, and the craft is the main occupation of the community²⁵¹. These are not no longer the case for the Roma community who live in Tepecik Neighbourhood and Ege Neighbourhood, İzmir. Historically, their craftsmanship was their primary labour, and they were nomadic craftspeople; however, industrialisation and modernisation affected their work. For instance, basket making is no longer an important occupation due to automation, or circumciser was one of their professions, but now it is being carried out by modern medicine. Therefore, most of the population still work in the entertainment sector and engage in casual jobs such as playing an instrument/music or being a belly dancer. However, they also work as coachmen, garbage collectors, paper collectors and cleaners. Roma people in Izmir have started to work daily due to the disappearance of their traditional business and professional occupations in the job and labour market and not providing their old income level. Today, they work undesirable jobs and are excluded from critical economic positions in the labour market and public institutions.

Also, in their life practices, the neighbourhood and the İzmir Fair Area²⁵² have importance due to being a place for their leisure activities. The Fair area works as an extension of the neighbourhood for entertaining purposes, and it was a place to go with their families. Even till the 2000s, the area was a place to celebrate *hidirellez*²⁵³. The Fair Area was not only a place for leisure activity, but it was also a place for labouring activities too between the 1950s to 1970s. The area used to have many nightclubs (*gazino*) where people go out, drink and listen to music. Ahmet²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ Ali Mezarcıoğlu, Kaybettiklerimiz Meslekler, 22.06.2007, <https://cingeneyizame.blogspot.com/2013/12/kaybettiklerimiz-1-meslekler-2262007.html> accessed date: 16.08.2022

²⁵² Today it is called as “İzmir Kültür Park”.

²⁵³ Spring Festival

²⁵⁴ Interview with Ahmet on 25 May 2021.

mentioned that these clubs were employment sites for inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and they worked as doorman, dishwashers, waiters or cleaners. Fair Area's club was also mentioned by Koptekin²⁵⁵, who came across many Roman people working there when he was also employed in one of the clubs.

Roma community's occupations were in labour intensive sectors based on products or entertainment sectors (music or dance related). Through the industrialisation movement of the country, product base labour started to diminish due to changes in means of production. In the Turkish case, they focussed on the entertainment sector such as *devriye houses*²⁵⁶ in Sulukule İstanbul or the music sector in different Roma neighbourhoods in İzmir²⁵⁷. However, the Ege neighbourhood was unrelated to cases like Sulukule or Tepecik. As interviewee Ahmet mentioned in the 1950s, inhabitants were dealing with daily jobs, working as a cleaner, and being waiters at Izmir Fair. In line with this information, aerial photos from 1938 and 1951 show that the neighbourhood's density was higher than its surrounding. Also, the factories were not operating during those years, so inhabitants were more likely to work at The Fair Area, doing daily jobs in houses or in the informal sector. Ahmet added to his comments, "in the late 1960s, people started to work as seasonal workers in factories"²⁵⁸. The opening of the factories stimulated work opportunities for inhabitants.

²⁵⁵ Koptekin, *Biz Romanlar Siz Gacolar: Çingene/Roman Çocuklarının Kimlik İnşası*, p.13.

²⁵⁶ Hacer Foggo, The Sulukule Affiar: Roma against Expropriation, *Roma Rights Quarterly*, volume 4, p.41-47, 2007.

²⁵⁷ Tepecik and Mersinli neighbourhood is famous with their roman musicians. For instance, the song called "bonzai" was written one of these neighbourhoods, it became popular.

²⁵⁸ Interview with Ahmet on 25 May 2021.

3.2 Horses On the Balconies²⁵⁹

As mentioned by interviewees, inhabitants were labouring in the informal sector, and the land became stock for a cheap labour force. In line with that, the area's housing stock grew between the 1950s to 1970s. The expansion started to take the attention of the local authorities and became news in local newspapers. On June 9, 1965, during the city council meeting, Osman Kibar, who is the mayor of the city, made a statement on a written proposal that advocates the removal of the Ege neighbourhood in Kahramanlar District and the relocation of its residents to another district²⁶⁰ where "dwellings would at least be habitable"²⁶¹. Statements continue with the construction of social housing in new locations and 47-meter square houses planned for inhabitants who will pay the debt in 20 years. The incentives given to the residents are a new residential area and payment plan, all of which were also offered to displace the Roma people in the urban regeneration plan in Sulukule, Istanbul, where the Roma community used to live²⁶². As understood from the city council minutes²⁶³, inhabitants opposed the relocation plan of the neighbourhood²⁶⁴. Even though members of the City Council thought having land in the Ege neighbourhood

²⁵⁹ I tried to find drawings of the ENSHP at the İzmir Konak Municipality archive. A young archival officer could not find the files despite the recorded document number. After a long search, an older archival officer tried to help and asked what we were searching for. Then, after my official description of the blocks and showing a picture, he summarized the buildings as "*apartment blocks with horses on their balconies*". This was the informal name for the social housing project.

²⁶⁰ Kıvanç Kılınc, and Mehmet Melih Cin. "Housing the People Who "Lived Free": Inhabiting Social Housing in the Tin-Can Neighborhood." In *Architecture and the Housing Question*, 151-172. London: Routledge, London/New York, 2022

²⁶¹ İzmir Municipality, 1965 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 4th Meeting, 9.6.1965), 18. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (Ahmet Piriştina City Archive and Museum).

²⁶² An urban regeneration Project occurred in Sulukule in 2010s with same justifications and payment table.

²⁶³ İzmir Municipality, 1965 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 4th Meeting, 9.6.1965), p.18. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (Ahmet Piriştina City Archive and Museum).

²⁶⁴ The most recent development about the neighbourhood is the current urban transformation project, which will replace the vast majority of the existing building stock with high- and mid-rise residential units (including luxury housing) as well as offices and cultural facilities. While the municipality affirms that with the on-site transformation model adopted at this project, which is based on a public-private partnership, local communities will not be forcibly displaced, higher rents and increased running costs are likely to prove otherwise.

for social housing was expensive, inhabitants resisted and refused to move out on the basis that they have a set of customs and traditions. As mentioned in the council minutes, the neighbourhood is defined as a place for the Roma community.

Another critical point is the area referred to as “*tenekeli mahalle* (tin-can neighbourhood)” in the document. The name derived from the conditions of the houses at that time and also discrimination about the area that is not new. As mentioned in chapter one, most of the citizens of İzmir, still refer the neighbourhood as a “tin-can neighbourhood” even though there is no longer any housing constructed with tin-can materials. However, as appealing in the next council meetings²⁶⁵, members characterise another area (Boğaz içi neighbourhood) as a tin-can neighbourhood too; the definition or characterisation of a neighbourhood is not related to being a Roma community, instead, it is related to squatter housing. In terms of the Ege neighbourhood, council meetings in 1965 defined the area as “a bleeding misery wound”²⁶⁶. Therefore, the council argued construction of social housing on the land should be improved to eliminate “the bleeding misery wound”.

In another city council meeting on 21.6.1968, there was a discussion on the construction of houses on land inside the neighbourhood. The meeting minutes in 1965, 1966 and 1968 state that the area is named “the tin-can neighbourhood behind the Kahramanlar district on the street 1517”²⁶⁷. Then, after the Council meeting minutes in 1969²⁶⁸, the area was named Ege neighbourhood. That meeting focused on the construction area of the social housing units. In the planning decision, the selected site for social housing is an industry site. Members of the council objected

²⁶⁵ İzmir Municipality, 1968 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 4th Meeting, 21.06.1968), p.3. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (APIKAM).

²⁶⁶ İzmir Municipality, 1965 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 4th Meeting, 9.6.1965), p.18. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (Ahmet Piriştina City Archive and Museum).

²⁶⁷ İzmir Municipality, 1968 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 4th Meeting, 21.06.1968), p.3. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (APIKAM).

²⁶⁸ İzmir Municipality, 1969 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 6th Meeting, 11.06.1969), p.6. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (APIKAM).

a question on the construction of residential units in an industrial area²⁶⁹. Mayor Osman Kibar also mentioned that “Tariş Factory is also located next to the site; members of the council don’t want to build on the industry land; however, they want to build the social housing inside the neighbourhood, to protect their cultural and traditional rituals”²⁷⁰. Some members not only objected to the construction of the housings on one the most valuable industrial sites but also defined that attitude as defeat of the state’s authority against the inhabitants.

The municipality expropriated the land and developed the architectural projects for the Ege Neighbourhood Social Housing Project (ENSHP). The project was awarded the contract and responsibility of the surveying of construction until completion belongs to the municipality²⁷¹. However, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing was responsible for financing through Real Estate and Credit Bank loans²⁷². Municipal officials estimated that a single unit in each housing block with a floor space of forty-seven square meters would cost about 17,000 Turkish lira. The owners would pay this amount with 3,000 lira in interest over twenty years²⁷³. The project is based on two types of housing blocks. Residential units have the same plan in both types, but each contains different numbers of units. The first type was located on the main street, numbered 1517 and constructed as three blocks. These blocks include six shops on the ground and eighteen residential units on upper floors. Another feature of the projects is providing job opportunities for the inhabitants. The second type contained sixteen units without shops and was located behind the main street. Initially, all blocks were planned as three-story buildings; however, the proposal of

²⁶⁹ Izmir Municipality, 1968 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 4th Meeting, 21.06.1968), p.6. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (APİKAM).

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ 01.01.1969, Tenekeli Mahalle’de Apartman Yapılıyor, *Ege Ekspres*, n. 6828.

²⁷² Izmir Municipality, 1969 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 6th Meeting, 11.6.1969), 42. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi; the amount of credit acquired from the Bank was 3,000,000 Turkish lira.

²⁷³ Izmir Municipality, 1968 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 4th Meeting, 21.6.1968), 2–3. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi. After the completion of the project, the payments reduced to ten years.

The Mayor in the City Council for an amendment to the development plan was approved and the height of these buildings increased from 9.8 meters to 12.8 meters²⁷⁴. In doing so, three-story buildings turn into four stories and more inhabitants' housing needs are met.

The municipality of Izmir planned twelve social housing blocks in the neighbourhood to accommodate 200 families, but only seven of them were completed. In June 1969, the prime minister held an opening ceremony to complete these buildings²⁷⁵. Until then, only seven of them were completed, and according to the interviewee²⁷⁶, six of them were completed, and the owners of them were determined by lottery. 7th block remained unfinished (without having finishing materials) and waited for a few years to be completed by authorities. Then, inhabitants occupied the seventh block, completed the construction, and started accommodating the building. The ownership process for the uncompleted 7th block was completed informally; a person who finished the residence unit in the 7th block occupied those housing units. The rest of the five-block have never been constructed.

²⁷⁴ Izmir Municipality, 1969 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 4th Meeting, 6.6.1969), 10. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi.

²⁷⁵ 27.06.1969, Demirel'in İzmir'de Açacağı Eserlerden Bazıları, *Ege Ekspres*, n. 6975.

²⁷⁶ Interview with Seyfi on 10 April 2021



Figure 3.3 Aerial photo of Ege Neighbourhood from 1964 and 1969²⁷⁷



Figure 3.4 Aerial photo of Ege Neighbourhood from 1972 and 1976²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ The map from 1964 on the left shows the neighbourhood's newly constructed squatters towards the north part of the area, near the industrial facilities. The right map from 1969, squatters were demolished, and four blocks of ENSHP were constructed—maps prepared by the author on the 1964 and 1969 aerial photos of the General Directorate of Mapping Archive.

²⁷⁸ The map from 1972 on the left shows six constructed blocks of ENSHP with red colours. The map from 1976 on the right indicates seven constructed blocks of ENSHP—maps prepared by the author on the 1972 and 1976 aerial photos of the General Directorate of Mapping Archive.

ENSHP provides several important features that suit the community's needs and daily life. Blocks share a semi-open circulation system adjacent to the façade. Since the circulation consists of stairwells and open corridors, it visually connects with the street and is also used as balconies where inhabitants can gather²⁷⁹ (see figure 3.4). Inhabitants like to sit in front of their houses and use that space as an extension of their housing units and also, these doorsteps serve as small squares. This practice was common in single-floor tin-can dwellings; however, semi-open circulation provided them with the same routine at upper floors. A newspaper from 1969 expressed the ENSHP as “the people say goodbye to joy and zest”²⁸⁰. In practice, the joy and zest move to the upper floors.

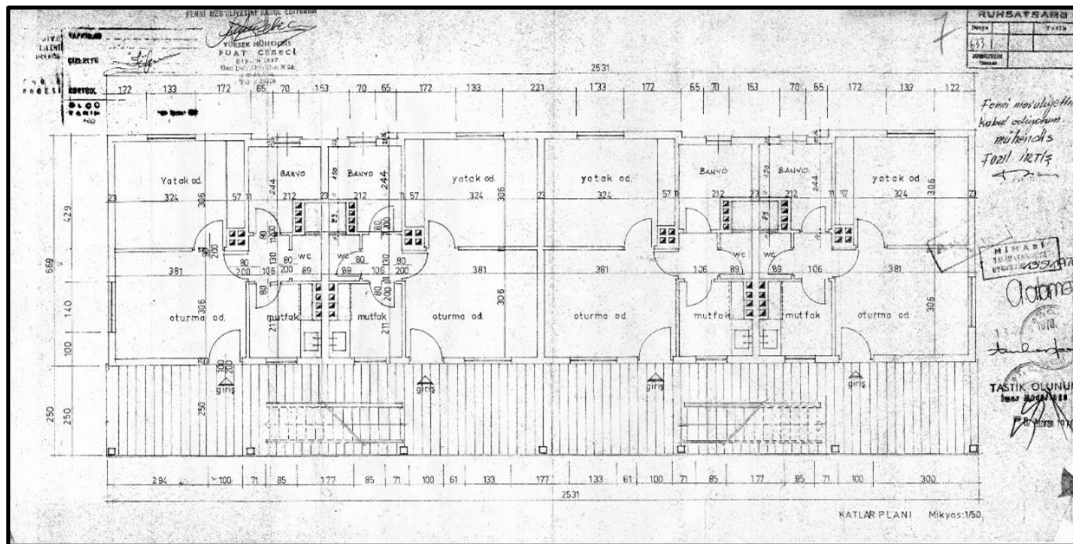


Figure 3.5 ENSHP floor plans of the housing blocks with 16 units²⁸¹

Furthermore, shops under these units increased mobility and extended the length of the neighbourhood's main street (1517 street) in the 1970s. The main street is where

²⁷⁹ With the increased number of inhabitants over the years and additions made towards the balconies, it seems that the use of these common areas for spending time during the day is a less preferred practice today, as placing tables or beds would make it more difficult for the neighbours to move around and reach their homes.

²⁸⁰ 04.06.1969, Mahalle Halkı İster İstemez neş'e ve Çümbüşe Veda Ediyor, *Ege Ekspres*, n. 6952.

²⁸¹ Izmir Konak Municipality Archive.

street vendors are more frequently encountered, and outdoor spaces are more actively used. Since the shops and coffeehouses are located on the main street and “act as the community centre”²⁸², the ENSHP improved the social practices in the neighbourhood. Instead of stopping “the joy and zest”, the project provided more spaces for entertainment with leftover places between the blocks. Specific forms of entertainment, such as three-day weddings and colourful Spring Festivals (Hıdırellez) are essential to the community. These entertainments stimulate continual interaction between families and extroverted use of houses; therefore, it forms a sense of solidarity and preservation of collective living culture among inhabitants. The space between the blocks became suitable for these entertainments that at least 500 people can attend. Unlike regular celebration halls in the city, this space offers late-night or continuation of entertainment until early morning.



Figure 3.6 One of the ENSHP block²⁸³

²⁸² Erdal Diktaş and İpek Sönmez. Integration Of The Formal And The Informal: The Case Of Izmir Ege Neighbourhood And Alsancak District, 3. *Contemporary Urban Issues Conference, Dakam*, 2015. p.43.

²⁸³ Personal Archive of author

According to the city council's minutes, deputies argued about the neighbourhood and demanded the need for housing in the area²⁸⁴. In council, the site is referred to as a squatter area and named a tin-can neighbourhood (*tenekeli mahalle*). After three years of discussions, the local government decided to construct social housing to prevent squatter housing in the area—the project stimulated as part of the Squatter Prevention Zone.

3.3 Epilogue

Izmir was one of Turkey's first cities to use American aid (Marshall Aids), and numerous state-run factories were constructed from 1950s to 1970s²⁸⁵. The Aegean Region Chamber of Industry (Ege Bölgesi Sanayi Odası, EBSO, 1954) was the first regional chamber in Turkey and the second one on the national scale. In line with that Sümerbank Textile factory (1953), Tekel Warehouse (1964), Ford Service (1964) and Tariş Factory (1967) were constructed in the hinterland of the harbour and next to the neighbourhood²⁸⁶.

²⁸⁴ Izmir Municipality, 1966 City Council Meeting (Minutes of the 4th Meeting, 21.6.1966), p.2-3. Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (APIKAM).

²⁸⁵ Kenan Mortan, Osman Arolat, "İzmir Üstüne Düşünmek", *İktisat ve Toplum* 35 (2013): 5–14.

²⁸⁶ In 2008, the artist Birol Üzmez opened a photo exhibition on the Ege neighbourhood. He mentioned that He is familiar with Ege, when he was working at TARIŞ, many of his colleagues were Roman. They were living in the neighbourhood.

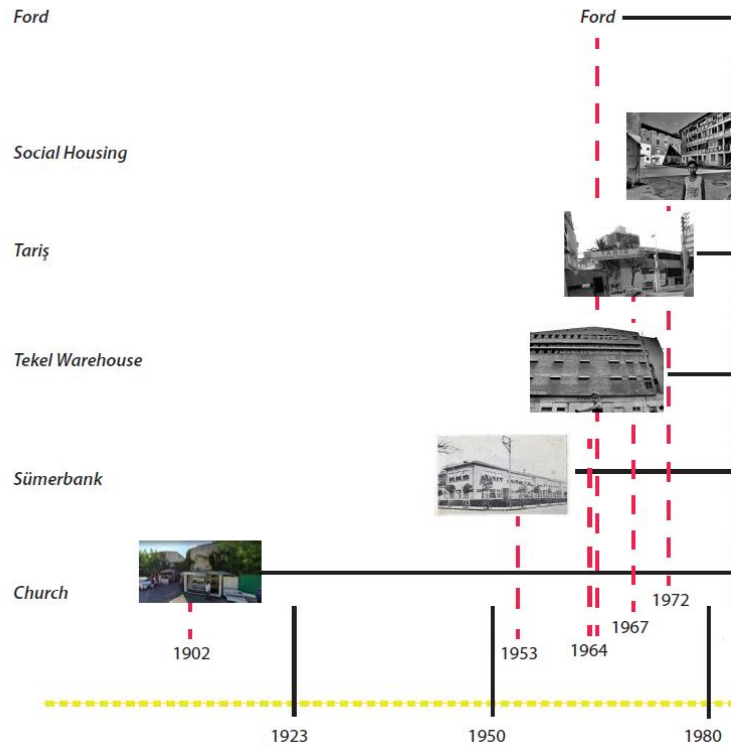


Figure 3.7 Construction of industrial and residential place²⁸⁷

1950s, foreign city planning specialists were invited to Turkey through the US-sponsored Marshall Plan (formally the European Recovery Program, 1948–1951), prepared reports for low-cost housing developments, and UN European Economic Commission Housing Committee were invited to İzmir to prepare reports for housing developments²⁸⁸. In these reports, informal housing is defined as an opportunity rather than a problem to solve the housing issue in an affordable way in a developing

²⁸⁷ Mapping by author.

²⁸⁸ 09.06.1966, Yabancılar “Burada İnsanlar Mı Yaşıyor?” Demekten Kendilerini Alamadılar, *Demokrat İzmir*, n. 6935

Reports related with Marshall Aid includes; Frederick Bath, “Report on Housing in Turkey,” U.N. Technical Assistant Administration (Ankara, March 1960);

Bernard Wagner, “Housing in Turkey,” U.S. International Cooperation Administration, Ankara:1956; Donald Monson, “Türkiye’de İşçi Evleri Hakkında Rapor”, Ankara, 1953.

country like Turkey. Therefore, they suggested that the gecekondu could be adopted as a practical model for lower-cost housing through the “aided self-help method”²⁸⁹. The method is based on financial, technical support and infrastructure provision, and homeowners could build or repair their own homes. This informal housing becomes a viable solution to respond shortage of affordable housing. Therefore, this attitude was applied in the Ege neighbourhood, and local authorities were not involved in the informal tin-can housing. Firstly, authorities did not need to provide housing units for the growing population; secondly, they were cheap labour force stock for the city. Inhabitants were dealing with the informal sector through daily jobs (porter, cleaning in houses, cracking bones), coachmen or various works in İzmir Fair Area. Since the area is located between the harbour, city centre and the fair area, it has been in view. When the neighbourhood started to grow and exceeded its limit towards industrial regions, the council’s eye focused on the land through the law of “squatter prevention zone”²⁹⁰. Therefore, local authorities wanted to improve the housing condition on the land to provide more habitable conditions for the cheap labour force. Primarily intention was to relocate the inhabitants, but due to the resistance and preservation of Roma communities daily rituals of the Roma Community, the relocating idea abounded. An industrial site in the neighbourhood was selected as land for a social housing project. Through this attitude, the İzmir city council contributed preservation of the Roma Community. Since the Ege Neighbourhood was stuck between two former worker neighbourhoods, it was a space for cheap labour for informal work; they maintained the status quo. From the historical approach, starting from the 1940s the city faced gecekondu cases. As discussed by Işık and Pınarcıklıoğlu²⁹¹, Gecekondu could define as a building informally that refers to the formal institutions did not provide land or housing for the residents who are the new

²⁸⁹ Cevat Geray. The Application Of The Aided Self-Help Housing Method In Turkey. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 28 (01), 1972.

²⁹⁰ In Izmir, as in other large cities in Turkey, certain areas were designated as squatter settlement prevention zones with 775 numbered law that is published on 20.07.1966

²⁹¹ Oğuz Işık and Melih Pınarcıoğlu. *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk Sultanbeyli Örneği*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018.

arrivals of the city due to industrialisation. Thus gecekondu communities developed their networks to work and construct houses. They became active agents in changing political and urban conditions. Thus, land issues of the gecekondu more frequently became the subject of politics between 1950-1980. In that period, some gecekondu residents could get land titles and infrastructural improvements through their association with hegemonic power and communities. For instance, İzmir's Mayor between 1964 and 1973, Osman Kibar is known as "Asphalt Osman" due to his infrastructure improvements to gecekondu as a political manoeuvre. Additionally, Kibar was helped the formalization process of gecekondu. The Ege neighbourhood case could not be discussed in the borders of gecekondu. Firstly, housings were not permanent buildings and inhabitants did not arrive during industrialization. As mentioned in the city council meetings, the houses constructed with tins, are called tin-can neighbourhoods. Also, they became active actors for their homes but with their resistance to hegemonic power; thus, they had the privilege of having ENSHP in the area's border. Most importantly, the area was not composed of different cultural practices, it is the practice of being a member of the Roma community. Their informality was arriving form their labouring practice. Even though the area was located near a developing industrial zone and worker neighbourhoods, the community dealt with informal labour activities till the 1970s or till ENSHP.

Developing factories, which are spaces of production, need a labour force. Inhabitants labouring activities could be a suitable candidate for these factories. Therefore, in the period between the 1950s to 1970s, inhabitants mainly dealt with informal labouring practices, construction of social housing stimulated the change of an era for them. The building provided an acknowledgement by the authorities, and their location and identity became visible by the city council. Also, it shifted open the way for alteration in labouring practice. However, instead of preventing their daily rituals, it conveyed their daily practices by forming new neighbourhood spaces.

CHAPTER 4

FROM INFORMAL TO FORMAL ECONOMIES: THE NEW EMERGING WORKING CLASS- 1980-2004

By the end of the 1960s, liberalism began to break down, both internationally and within domestic economies. A crisis of capital accumulation in the 1970s affected everyone through unemployment and accelerating inflation²⁹². The discontent of people led to the urban social movements. Flowingly, the second half of the 1970s gave birth to a new era for rights and political thoughts. States started the implementation of reforms to protect the working class whereas economic elites and the ruling class had felt threatened because of legislations such as environmental regulations, consumer protections, occupational safety and health²⁹³. Thus, labour became too strong in 1970²⁹⁴. However, till the 1990s, labour was disempowered through neoliberal policies. One of the initiatives of the process was the oil crisis in 1973, which brought radical changes in the economic agenda of the World. Developed western countries took critical initiatives in economic structure due to the oil embargo to reduce dependency on oil. They switched from an industry-based economy model to a technology and informatics-based economic model. As a result, cities in developed countries were affected by change in production processes and deindustrialisation. The oil crisis in this period raised the costs and caused the economic turmoil, pushing the capitalist class to reduce production costs²⁹⁵.

Advancing in transportation and communication technologies provided the capitalist class with an opportunity in the industrialised countries: as a result of the

²⁹² Harvey David, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2005, pp.14.

²⁹³ Harvey David, *The Anti-Capitalist Chronicles*, London: Pluto Press, 2020.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post Industrial Society; *The Educational Forum* 40 (4):574-579, 1976.

developments, the scale of production expanded and spread geographically; the mode of production in the cities has changed completely. The production process was previously handled at the factory scale; it turned to a global scale and was no longer within the remits of national boundaries²⁹⁶. Thus, it brought to geographic dispersal of economic activities. It is the complete integration of the world economy with each other and with international markets²⁹⁷. The developments in these areas have eliminated the obligatory dependence on the economic production model based on the production line, which is built in a production space called Fordism. The radical transformation in the mode of production also made structural transformations within the capitalist World, and the sectoral distribution of the economy radically differed. As a result of rapid shifts in patterning of uneven development “between sectors and geographical regions, giving rise, to entirely new industrial ensembles in underdeveloped regions”²⁹⁸. It means an integrated economy where goods, factors of production and financial assets will be perfect substitutes wherever they are located²⁹⁹. Employment rates in the industrial sector gradually decreased, and the share of the service sector in the developed urban economies gradually increased in parallel with deindustrialisation³⁰⁰.

The spread of production over broad geographical areas weakened the organisation of the labour sector. The flexible production model brought flexible working conditions, and the organisation of the labour sector concentrated in a limited geography. This situation has emerged as a natural consequence of the limitation of the capacity of the labour to use the space against the capital that chooses the most advantageous places in terms of global production relations and raw material and

²⁹⁶ Saskia Sassen. *The Global City: New York London Tokyo*. Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 2013.

²⁹⁷ Korkut Boratav., Erineç Yeldan, & Ahmet Köse. 2001. Turkey: Globalization, Distribution and Social Policy, 1980–1998. In *External Liberalization, Economic Performance and Social Policy*, Oxford University Press:New York, p. 317–364.

²⁹⁸ David Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of Cultural Change*, Wiley Blackwell. 1989. p.147

²⁹⁹ Boratav et al, Turkey: Globalization, Distribution and Social Policy, 1980–1998.

³⁰⁰ Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of Cultural Change*, p.147.

labour costs. Compared to the Fordist period, the working class lost its power, which included difficulties in its movement and organisation processes. The neoliberal understanding provided greater flexibility into the labour market and a move towards privatisation of state-owned sectors elsewhere³⁰¹. While labour was losing its power, capital accelerated its circulation and accumulation. This situation also speeded up the capital accumulation which needed new areas to invest in; otherwise, the system could go into crisis. the urban environment was the most viable source to invests in in order to overcome the capital accumulation problem.

In parallel to these developments, an increase in oil prices in 1973 caused incensement in production costs and triggered the foreign exchange gap; thus, the industry almost suspended its activities. Nonetheless, also in Turkey, new rights and political thoughts were accompanied by the economic and political crisis in the late 1970s. Thus, the transition to neoliberal policies accelerated through the decision of 24th January 1980. It launched the long integration process with the World and financial market. However, the government of the 1980s could not find the political support to implement these decisions and in 1980, Turkey faced radical political change with the coup, which took control of the government on 12th September 1980 and initiated the implementation of the decisions.

The economic restructuring aimed to establish a functioning neoliberal economy by shifting from inward to outward-oriented industrialisation. The State's role was redefined as a rollback in production, and it abandoned the introspective development strategy based on import substitution. The export-based development strategies were taken as Turkey switched to a free market economy. This meant the State preferred to stay as a mediator between the market and capital³⁰². The new program predicted investment in infrastructures, liberalisation of the import sector,

³⁰¹ Harvey, *A brief history of neoliberalism*, p.87.

³⁰² Castells, *"The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process."*, p.75.

encouraging foreign capital, leaving agricultural production to free market conditions, retreating the public sector from industrial investments and privatising public sector production investments³⁰³.

Boratav characterises the neo-liberalisation process till the 2000s in two phases: between 1981 to 1988 and between 1989 to 1998³⁰⁴. The first phase is mainly based on commodity trade liberalisation through structural adjustments on export promotion and control of capital inflows. In terms of labour perspective, wages and salaries for workers were cut³⁰⁵. For instance, labour wages were 35 per cent of the national income between 1976-78; it dropped to 20 per cent in 1983-86³⁰⁶. Suppression of wage incomes did not receive any objection by the working class due to the ban on labour unions and hostile measures against organised labour³⁰⁷. In 1983, the military rule ended with elections the newly Elected Özal's government continued the liberalisation process. Özal's political discourse was predominantly inspired by his contemporaries, Regan and Thatcher, who were seen as representatives of the new ideology of neoliberalism³⁰⁸. However, the mode of surplus creation with totalitarianism under the coup's implementations reached its economic limits by 1988. Also, income distribution became unequal and economic discrimination against workers became more visible through wage regulation and increased unemployment rate due to State's withdrawal from the economy³⁰⁹.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Korkut Boratav & Erinç Yeldan. "Turkey, 1980–2000: Financial Liberalization, Macroeconomic, In Stability, and Patterns of Distribution. In *External Liberalization in Asia, Post-Socialist Europe, and Brazil*, Oxford University Press New York, p. 417–455, 2006.

³⁰⁵ Roger Owen & Şevket Pamuk. *A History of Middle East Economies in 20. Century*. London: Tauris, 1998, p.118.

³⁰⁶ Çağlar Keyder. *State & Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*. London: Verso, 1987. p.225.

³⁰⁷ Boratav et al, Turkey: Globalization, Distribution and Social Policy, 1980–1998.

³⁰⁸ Kayahan Delibaş. "The Collapse of the Turkish Party System and its Effects on Citizenship and the Legitimacy of Governance" in Italo Pardo and Giuliana Prato eds. *Citizenship and the Legitimacy of Governance Anthropology in the Mediterranean Region*. London: Routledge, 2006.

³⁰⁹ Arıcanlı, T. & Rodrik, D. (1990). *An Overview of Turkey's Experience with Economic Liberalization and Structural Adjustment*. World Development. 18 (10), p1343-1350

In the second phase, organised labour achieved significant wage increases, and public expenditures shifted towards more socially desirable ventures³¹⁰. The State invested in infrastructure to advance industrialisation and financed the system by taxing the bourgeoisie—the role of the State in this phase was to regulate the creation and absorption of the economic surplus. Also, the convertibility declaration of the Turkish lira in 1989 opened the country to global financial competition³¹¹.

The State was insufficient in advancing capitalist accumulation for the bourgeoisie in the 1970s³¹² and also inadequate against the increasing neoliberal trend in the World. The military ruling provided valid ground for radical transformations. In light of the decisions on 24th January, export-oriented industries increased, and inward-oriented industries decreased. Neoliberal understanding does not need shrinking authority economically and politically. Thus, the coup prevented organised labours and established a powerful economic and political authority in favour of capitalist accumulation. Labour organisations were limited through the implementation of related laws, and depoliticised workers provided a cheap and disciplined labour force for the market³¹³. Also, the cheap labour process was managed by promoting internal migration to transfer labour from the rural to the urban environment³¹⁴, pushing a new era in the urbanisation process³¹⁵ and causing spatial changes. Thus State formed a more profitable, new market and urban environment for accumulation.

In summary, the 24th January decision eliminated the introspective development strategy based on import-substituting and encouraged an export-oriented development strategy. In line with the shifting to the neoliberal economy, a free

³¹⁰ Boratav et al, Turkey: Globalization, Distribution and Social Policy, 1980–1998.

³¹¹ Boratav and Yeldan, “Turkey, 1980–2000: Financial Liberalization, Macroeconomic”.

³¹² Şevket Pamuk. *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2012, p.235-275.

³¹³ Şevket Pamuk. Economic Change in Twentieth-Century Turkey: Is The Glass More Than Half Full? In: Kasaba, R. *The Cambridge History of Turkey*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

³¹⁴ Boratav and Yeldan, “Turkey, 1980–2000: Financial Liberalization, Macroeconomic”

³¹⁵ Tarık Şengül. *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçlerinin Eleştirisi*. İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009.

market economic system was established and therefore following transitions took place; liberalisation of import, encouragement of capital entry, leaving the agricultural economy in the hands of the free market, development of infra-structure to improve the export, retreating of the public sector from industrial investments and implementation of privatisation programs.

In the urban context, before the neoliberal tendencies, resources were directed to production, so industrialisation was an initial concern of the capital in Turkey. After 1980, the decline in the industry caused the concentration of the production of consumer goods and directed the investments out of the industry that is built environment³¹⁶. The capital accumulation circuit was redefined, and urban investments became the resource for capital³¹⁷. Thus, in Turkey's globalisation period, the capital flowed into the urban environment through speculative activities, urban rent, and infrastructural investments such as bridges and airports. Also, urban interventions continued with the construction of *gecekondu*, which gained legal status later. After 1988, Özal's government had mass support from gecekondu owners. The government was confronting the labour unions and organised class-based wage claims; at the same time, low-income groups or urban poor were satisfied with developing urban rent through construction permits for gecekondu³¹⁸. In other words, cheap labour forces in *gecekondu* were affected by the re-distribution of income and their economic condition was compensated with the distribution of urban rent through *gecekondu*.

Policies of the country after the 1980s, from the circuit of capital perspective, indicate the shift from the first circuit of capital to the second circuit through the deindustrialisation process and investment in the urban environment. However, both

³¹⁶ İpek Özbek Sönmez. Concentrated Urban Poverty: The Case of Izmir Inner Area, Turkey. *European Planning Studies*, 15(3), 319–338, 2007.

³¹⁷ Şengül, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçlerinin Eleştirisi*, p.138.

³¹⁸ Korkut Boratav. *1980li yıllarda Türkiyede sosyal sınıflar ve bölüşüm*. İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1991.

circuits of the capital occurred concurrently. In İzmir context, the city has a long history that backs to import-substituted industrialisation of 1940s. Despite the shifts in the country's economic policies, factories continued their operations in the post-1980s period. Thus, deindustrialisation was not shaping the city and local economy. Indeed, the industry was not growing.

However, the newly growing sectors are linked to the economic structure through tourism, commerce and construction. They formed the main factor behind the urban developments between the 1980s to 2000s³¹⁹. In 20 years, the industrial sector entered a stagnation period, meaning the sector was not experiencing growth or degrowth. Stagnation was not related to deindustrialisation since export-oriented industrial activities continued. At the same time, the increase in the city's income indicates that it is related to the growth in the commerce, service, tourism and construction sectors³²⁰. The increase in the number of houses between 1983 and 1988 indicates the construction sector's growth³²¹. Migration to the city and the increase in the population continued until 1980s. Apparently, stagnation in industrial facilities caused a decline in migration to the city after the 1980s. The local economy, including industry, agriculture, commerce and services, did not provide adequate employment opportunities for migrants³²².

Moreover, opportunities to construct *gecekondu* slowly diminished due to the lack of available public lands, which also decreased migration to the city. The continuation of industrial activities shows that the first circuit of capital continued to produce accumulation. Concurrently, growth in the construction, service and tourism sectors as the second circuit of capital indicates capital investments and growth of

³¹⁹ Mehmet Penpecioğlu. *The Political Construction of Urban Development Projects, The Case of İzmir*, PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2012. pp. 150.

³²⁰ Ibid, p.157.

³²¹ Osman Balaban. The negative effects of construction boom on urban planning and environment in Turkey: Unraveling the role of the public sector. *Habitat International* 2012. 36(1) 26-35.

³²² Mehmet Penpecioğlu. Urban Development Projects And The Construction Of Neo-Liberal Urban Hegemony: The Case Of İzmir, *Metu Journal Of The Faculty Of Architecture*, 30(01), 2013.

the second circuit of the capital. In Izmir case, both circuits of the capital occurred at the same time³²³. A rise in the secondary circuit of capital could be independent of the rising or falling trends in primary circuits³²⁴. Shifting the neoliberal policies and capital investments to the second circuit became more dominant after 2003 for the city, which will be analysed in chapter 5.

4.1 Ege Neighbourhood

The neighbourhood's labour activity and the economy were highly linked with the Alsancak Port area. As mentioned in chapter 3, The ENSHP was completed in 1971 and, in following years, both the population and the new housing units in the neighbourhood increased. The port area's industrial activities and the government's infrastructure investments continued to increase until the 1980s. The stability in industrial activities also prevented the growth of the building environment and population in the area. Even though shifting the neoliberal policies started to change built environment, primary effect of socio-economic conditions became visible only after 20 years, in the 2000s.

During the period between the 1970s to 1980s, in parallel with the speed up in industrial activities, the population and the residential units increased rapidly, it is the fastest incensement in the neighbourhood's history (see figure 4.1). The ENSHP was completed in 1971; it aimed to prevent squatters in the area, but it was unsuccessful. The project could not meet the needed number of housing units. Moreover, the central authority could not complete five blocks due to financial problems. Therefore, the site of the unconstructed five blocks of the ENSHP was

³²³ Harvey, *A brief history of neoliberalism*, p.78.

³²⁴ Balaban, *The negative effects of construction boom on urban planning and environment in Turkey: Unraveling the role of the public sector*, p.34.

covered with *gecekondus*. Since the industry needed more cheap labour force, the radical increase in the number of residential units was related to industrial activity.

In parallel with the growth of industrial activities, the aerial photo from 1976 shows that the hinterland area reached its limits in industrial areas (see figure 4.1). Therefore, a new road passing through the coastline has been constructed to cope with the increment in industrial activity. Incensement in the number of factories increased the area's population.



Figure 4.1 Aerial photo of Ege Neighbourhood from 1976³²⁵ and construction year of buildings from 1970 to 1990³²⁶

In the 1980s to 2000s, in line with investment in infrastructure, the government started to invest in the hinterland. Investments were related to industrial production. Also, as a second circuit of the capital, central authority prioritised infrastructure improvements. Thus, TCDD started to fill the sea for the construction/expansion of

³²⁵ The map from 1976 on the left shows the neighbourhood's location with the constructed industrial facilities and the Darağaç neighbourhood—maps prepared by the author on the 1976's aerial photo of the General Directorate of Mapping Archive.

³²⁶ The map on the right indicates constructed buildings between 1971-1980 and 1981-1990. New squatters were constructed next to the ENSHP. Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Archive, mapping by author.

Izmir port which provided more exportation of produced industrial products as one of the initiatives stipulated in the 24th January decisions. Similarly, State Hydraulic Works (DSİ)³²⁷ changed the riverbed of the Meles stream due to risking the operations of Alsancak port³²⁸. The stream passed next to the city's industrial facilities and squatter housing, carrying industrial refuse and garbage from the residential area. Therefore, the rehabilitation project aimed to protect the gulf by preventing the garbage from reaching the sea³²⁹. One part of the Meles stream was located on the neighbourhood's east side. The direction of streambed was changed by constructing concrete canal.

Another investment along with the infrastructure was the construction of the highway (Yeşildere street), which aimed to connect improving the motorway of the port. Then, it was planned as a belt highway to provide access to the port of goods coming out of the city. The road is located in the east of the neighbourhood next to the Meles stream. Both investments formed physical borders for the area's eastern part, where the Hilal neighbourhood is located. Hilal and Ege neighbourhood were connected to İşçiler street. It was one of the main axes for worker neighbourhoods access to the industrial area and provided car traffic to the zone. However, the construction of the concrete stream bed and highway blocked the axis and only allowed pedestrian circulation on it. Thus, the Ege neighbourhood's connection with the city was limited to passage over the railway lines, and the area became a cell inside the industrial area. Losing its tie with the eastern part did not affect the inhabitants' conditions in this period. However, it paved the route to isolation which continued after the 2000s.

³²⁷ DSİ, "Meles Çayı İslah Projesi Raporu". İzmir, DSİ 2. Bölge Müdürlüğü, 1961.

³²⁸ Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, Literatür Yayınevi, 2011.

³²⁹ Çiğdem Kiliçaslan, Bülent Özkan, Geçmişten Günümüze Meles Deltası, *ZKÜ Bartın Orman Fakültesi Dergisi*, 8 (9), 2006, p.51.

4.1.1 Formal labour activities

Despite the neoliberal policies and deindustrialisation decisions, between 1980 to 2000s, the dominant labour activity for inhabitants was to work in the factories. However, there has always been informal economic activities since the 1960s. Emerging industrial area and its expansion provided job opportunities for them. During the neoliberalisation process, the need for workers did not increase; instead inhabitants were able to protect their work opportunities.

To analyse the labour activities, I interviewed elderly residents of the area. One of them was Sedat, a former worker in the TARİŞ factory who mentioned that he started working in the factory in 1975 and retired from there. He narrated his working years as the best era of the neighbourhood.

“One of my neighbours helped me find a job in the factory. Then, many of us were working in these factories. I was working full-time but also we had the opportunity to work as a seasonal worker to make extra income. Some of my friends preferred to work only as a seasonal worker.”³³⁰

Similarly, Zühtü, who worked in Sümerbank, mentioned that he was able to find a job in formal sector despite being a Roman:

“We easily found a job in these factories, they employed us regardless of our background (referring to his Roma identity). However, after resigning from the factory, I had difficulty in finding a job. When they understood that I was living in Ege neighbourhood or a Roman, I faced discrimination and could not secure a job.”³³¹

Regarding the conditions of the 2000s, inhabitants emphasised their easy access to factory job opportunities. Also, being part of the Roma community was not a

³³⁰ Interview with Sedat on 9 November 2021

³³¹ Interview with Zühtü on 10 April 2021

problem during those years. I have also interviewed Yavuz, who was a manager of the TEKEL factory between 1985 to 1995. I wanted to understand the perspective of an outsider to inhabitants. TEKEL factory was located next to the Alsancak Train Station, but it had a Tobacco storage in the neighbourhood. He also confirmed that many inhabitants were working in the factory.

“Even my janitor was living in the neighbourhood and is a Roman. I have a close relationship with him. Also, a person was working in the factory’s tea house. He was also from that area.”³³²

Factories provided economic activity and formal labour practices for the area, increasing increased the circulation into the neighbourhood. Thus, some shops started to open inside the neighbourhood to respond the needs of the factory workers. Yavuz narrated that;

“Before the railways’ barriers, there was a bazaar once a week next to the railway lines. I bought my first TV from there. Also, because of my duty, I went to tobacco storage once a week. When I was going to the storage, I used to walk through the neighbourhood to drink tea or eat something.”³³³

Formal labour practices were becoming dominant; however, concurrently, informal practices continued to operate. An interview with Nurten, a nurse in Alsancak between 1988-1990, who was responsible from Hilal and Ege neighbourhood, mentioned that she was responsible for vaccination of kids in these areas; therefore, she was going to people’s homes to vaccinate kids. In the interview, she highlighted that she would sometimes find the kids alone at home because mothers would go to other houses for cleaning jobs, and men would be working at the factories or operating small businesses in the neighbourhood. This shows that the labour depends on the formal sector and is also linked with informal labour practices. Moreover, the

³³² Interview with Yavuz on 13 May 2021

³³³ Interview with Yavuz on 13 May 2021

nurse was often scared of drug traffic in the area, which she witnessed a few times. However, she could not say if it was common then in the area. Similarly, Yavuz classified the TEKEL storage in the neighbourhood as the most problematic issue in terms of employment ethicst;

“Since the storage building have many workers from the Roma community, they frequently came to work late. They could not wake up early because of working undertaking informal hobs at night or sometimes they would not appear in work due to their unwillingness to work.”³³⁴

Even though a person works in the formal sector, they continue their informal labour. This could be related to cultural practices since the neighbourhood has lively life during the night, inhabitants could stay up late until morning due to some wedding ceremonies or casual gatherings. As a result, it indicates that linking with the formal sector did not end the informal labour practices in the area; they both existed in tandem with each other. Thus there is a smooth link between formal and informal labouring.

Regarding the spatial conditions, a nurse said she did not fear entering the area because 1517 street was quite busy during the day. It had many shops open and pedestrian and car traffic on the street made the area lively during the day³³⁵. Similarly, Yavuz also stressed the dynamic character of the street during the daytime³³⁶. This characteristic of the street is also visible in the photo of the street from 1980 (see figure 4.2). The photograph captured the 1517 street and looked towards to industrial area of TARIŞ. At the end of the street, some banners of workers were located. The photo below seems to have been taken during the protest of TARIŞ workers³³⁷. The building on the right side of the photo is ENSHP.

³³⁴ Interview with Yavuz on 13 May 2021

³³⁵ Interview with Nurten on 17 June 2021

³³⁶ Interview with Yavuz on 13 May 2021

³³⁷ On January 18, 1980, incidents broke out in the TARIS Factory in Ege Neighbourhood. A group of workers protested the people who were hired two days ago and stopped production during the

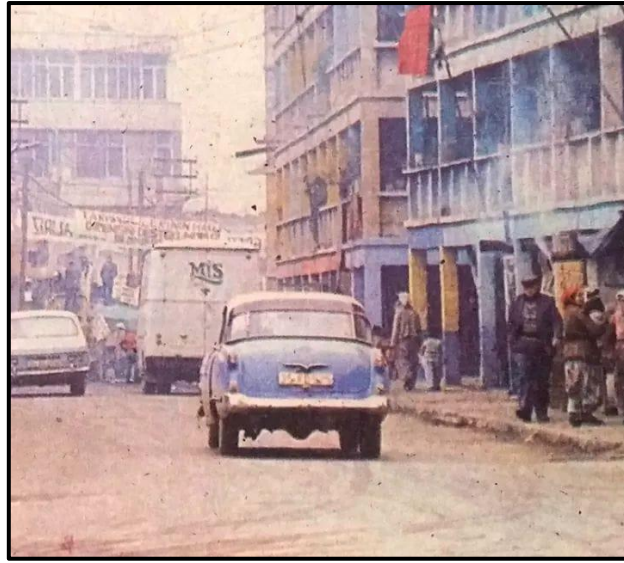


Figure 4.2 A photo of 1517 street from 1980³³⁸

At the beginning of the 1980s, Concrete Meles streambed and the highway were constructed, forming physical borders. However, it was possible to reach the area by passing through the railway lines then. Therefore, the neighbourhood was still lively and conserved this character till the 2000s. At the end of the 1990s, the neighbourhood's density reached its peak point; the area was covered with residential units. Also, the hinterland is covered with factories (see figure 4.3). Also,

morning shift. They did not allow those who wanted to work and occupied the factory. The General Manager of TARIS came to the area with about 100 right-wing workers, and the left wing workers in the factory heard that news. Then they set up barricades and caused incidents. Police tried to intervene the factory. As a result, fire opened from inside the factory, three workers and one police officer were injured. Upon the rumours that leftist organizations carried out collective actions in the factories affiliated to the TARIS and the slowdown of work, it was decided to conduct a search in all TARIS enterprises as per the order of the Ministry of Interior. On January 22, 1980, it launched operations on all enterprises at the same time. Approximately two thousand police and soldiers participated in these operations. During the operation, no incidents were experienced in the TARIS factories in the port area however, Incidents broke out in Çiğli Yarn Factory. The events in TARİŞ became a national news. Furthermore, to support the workers, meetings were organized in different cities including İzmir.

For more information: Uğur Pınar. *12 Eylül Askeri Darbesi Geçiş Sürecinde İzmir Şehri*. Master Thesis. Manisa Celal Bayar University, Manisa, 2020.

³³⁸ Murtake Haberleri. "Ege Mahallesi." *Facebook*, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=781243268909841&set=ecnf.100068622622432>. Accessed 9 December 2022.

these conditions started to change at the beginning of the 2000s. Firstly the local government emerged the New City Centre Project which includes the hinterland area. According to that plan, factories have a chance to turn into office blocks or tourism facilities. The profit opportunity for factories caused the closure of factories. The first one was TARİŞ, which is located next to the neighbourhood. Another one was Sümerbank Textile Factory which has been operating since 1953 and was closed in 2001. Also, other factories started to take the same decision. Therefore, in 2019, the hinterland area became a vacant land for the new construction industry. Also, the New City Centre Project affected the Ege neighbourhood, which indicates the area as an urban regeneration area.



Figure 4.3 Aerial photo of Ege Neighbourhood from 1995³³⁹

³³⁹ The map from 1995 on the left shows the neighbourhood's location with the constructed industrial facilities and the Darağaç neighbourhood. The map on the right indicates the density in the neighbourhood—maps prepared by the author on the 1995's aerial photo of the General Directorate of Mapping Archive.

4.2 Epilogue

Global crises in 1973 conveyed pressure on the work market. The root of this pressure was the rundown of industrial activities, increase in unemployment, diminishing spatial constraints of production, geographical dispersal of production facilities and global division in labour. Therefore, urban regions became a competitor to take more investment from the capital. Central and local governments reduced social consumption and retaliated against employees to attract capital. It gave rise to the entrepreneurial city, which refers to inter-urban competition between urban environments³⁴⁰. The competition sought flexible accumulation that stimulated uneven geographical development patterns. In other words, it was shifting from Fordist production to post-Fordist production. Fordism was based on mass production with unionised labour in spatial constraints. Capital sought to relocate itself to new geographies that are newly industrialising and have less rigidity of enforced union labour contacts³⁴¹. Flexible accumulation strategy used by capital that moves towards less industrialised environments. The strategy was based on flexibility in the labour process and labour market³⁴². Since the primary purpose is to attract capital, needed conditions for profitable investment were prepared by authorities who supported the capital through the undertaking of production cost³⁴³. Infrastructure investments were part of these costs. New investments in the cities created the small businesses and sub-contracting that feed these investments.

Along with that, it directly encourages the informal sector. Through flexible accumulation, the formal one intertwines with the informal one. The rise of informal

³⁴⁰ David Harvey. "Flexible Accumulation through Urbanization Reflections on 'Post-Modernism' in the American City." *Perspecta*, vol. 26, 251–72, 1990. p.255.

³⁴¹ Edwards, R. (1994). Really useful knowledge? Flexible accumulation and open and distance learning. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 16(2), 160–171. doi:10.1080/0158037940160203 p.162

³⁴² David Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Social Change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991. p.147

³⁴³ David Harvey. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism." *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, vol. 71, no. 1, 3–17, 1989. p.12.

production activities was seen as a dynamic growth sector capable of outsourcing its manufacturing with neglecting labour concerns³⁴⁴.

In these two decades, between the 1980 to 2000s, Turkey experienced a shift to neoliberal policies that effect change in policies. There was an alteration of economic decision that was export-oriented industrial development. The change affected labour policies and the urban environment. In line with global changes in capital circulation, urban and political economies transformed radically. It caused the defeat of the working class in terms of labour rights, and thus political-economic transformations were achieved successfully.

In terms of the port area, rather than having more industrial investment, the central authorities focused on de-industrialisation and privatisation, which could achieve after the ruling of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), that period analysed in chapter five. The twenty-year period concentrated on providing more opportunity to the private sector. In doing so, the implementation prioritised urban infrastructure investment and de-regulations.

As mentioned above, the Alsancak port area case affected by the economic shift through the investment to improve industrial services is theoretically part of the second circuit of capital. Along with these investments, social consumption was reduced, and authorities took disciplinary action against employees and wages. The area did not take much investment from private entrepreneurs; however, state-run industrial activities continued steadily. Inhabitants of the Ege neighbourhood worked as a formal labour force in the factories. Along with the as flexible labour practice, informal activities increased, and as mentioned in the interviews, it was part of their income-earning activities. Even the same person could work formally in the factory and informally work out of the factory. Informal labour practices were mainly related to the factory providing food or clothing service to them. In some cases, bone

³⁴⁴ Saskia Sassen. *The Global City*, New York London Tokyo. Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 2013.

breaking became informal labour which provided a commodity to the factory. In another case, informally operated food shops provided service to factory workers, indicating that formal and informal labour changes the urban environment in the Ege neighbourhood.

Theoretically, the categorisation of labour as formal and informal has a deficiency in profoundly understanding the condition of informal. Working outside of the formal sector or unsecured job refers as informal, and similarly, working in a service sector or small manufacturing is also accepted as informal labour in David Harvey's perspective. In the Ege neighbourhood case, there is an absence of people who work in illicit activities that are not included in informal labour practice from a political-economic perspective. In Turkish urbanisation, Şenyapılı's elaboration is located at acritical point. Since the informal-formal labour definition concentrates on the relation of labour with the economy, Şenyapılı defines labour under three categories in the *gecekondu* case of the country; that are central (formal), peripheral and informal work³⁴⁵. The categories existed till the 1980s economic structure of *gecekondu*. In the scheme, the top of the pyramid belonged to union-protected formal Fordist work, the middle class was concentrated with peripheral small-scale manufacturing or service work, and informal workers occupied the bottom³⁴⁶. In this structure, permeability existed for the class in the middle, that is, peripheral work. Small businesses can earn skills and get experience, thus moving to central work or quickly going out of the market due to economic problems and passing to informal workers. Informal labour could easily work in small-scale businesses; therefore, they become peripheral workers. However, Şenyapılı mentioned that permeability is not possible between the top-class and the bottom one³⁴⁷. During the industrialisation period of the Alsancak port area, inhabitants' informal labour in the 1950s turns into

³⁴⁵ Şenyapılı. *Gecekondu: 'Çevre' İşçilerin Mekânı*.

³⁴⁶ Tansı Şenyapılı. Charting the 'Voyage' of Squatter Housing in Urban Spatial 'Quadruped.' *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 1, 2004.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

formal labour in factories. Also, by opening up shops or stores to respond needs of factory workers, some inhabitants turn into peripheral workers. Therefore, the neighbourhood has an exemption. However, till the 1980s, a person could have been affiliated with two work cases according to the pyramid, an inhabitant could have been associated with formal work and peripheral work. As a fourth category, an inhabitant could have related to the illicit sector³⁴⁸ and it stretched alongside the pyramid, establishing relations with its components³⁴⁹.

After the 1980s, the pyramid was redesigned in line with economic tendencies, and the top level was turned to white-collar workers as a separate independent position in the labour market. The peripheral part shrank and narrowed due to the downsizing of government and de-industrialisation³⁵⁰. Therefore, informal labour was grown and restructured, and new entries occurred from the illicit block. In other words, informal market collaboration and interconnection with illicit increased. In the post-1980s, the pyramids permeability decreased between top and peripheral labour; however, the peripheral moved to the informal one. Reorganisation of informal occurred the intertwine character with the illicit block.

Inhabitants of the neighbourhood were not affected by the reorganisation of the pyramid. They continued to work as formal or peripheral workers. However, tendencies to shift informal labour and locking character with the illicit block emerged with the de-industrialisation of the Alsancak port area after the 2000s. The Previous pyramid was valid between the 1980s to 2000s for inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The permeable character between peripheral-formal and peripheral-informal labour provided urban turnover to the neighbourhood. Through the peripheral works, the small-business and shops occurred in the neighbourhood, and

³⁴⁸ Şenyapılı categorizes this block as an illegal/criminal sector. Since the framework was constructed in the 1980s, the meaning of the words changed, and in order to build political correctness, this block is mentioned in the thesis as illicit labour.

³⁴⁹ Tansı Şenyapılı, Altaban Özcan, and İlhan Tekeli. *'Cumhuriyet'in'Ankara'sı: Doç. Dr. Özcan Altaban'a armağan*, Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2005.

³⁵⁰ Şenyapılı, “*Charting the 'Voyage' of Squatter Housing in Urban Spatial 'Quadruped'*”.

the existence of formal labour provided survival of these small businesses. Therefore, the neighbourhood linked with the city and obtained a vivid lively city. Even though the illicit block was not dominant, it occurred and was linked with both types of labour and drug dealing or robbery issues. After the 2000s, de-industrialisation of the area paved the road to incrementing this block and dissolving peripheral and formal labour. The change also affected the urban conditions in another way.

The area reflects the corresponding character of both types of labour and their dependence on each other. From the political-economic perspective, formal and informal labour fed each other. 1517 street became the existence of both labour types, which is part of daily life in the area. It shows a dialectical relationship between labour and the transformation of urban space. Through the existence of formal and informal practices, space became a threshold space between the city and industrial area. After 2000, the implementation of privatisation and de-industrialisation decisions, threshold characters of the space were damaged due to the lack of one type of labour discussed in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

INFORMAL TO FORMAL AND TO INFORMAL BACK AGAIN: RE-EMERGENCE OF GECEKONDU AND PETTY CRIME: 2004-2020

By the 2000s, Turkey started to experience a change in urban land by accommodating neo-liberal policies. The financial, tourism, service sectors and construction services became dominant economic actors rather than production activities. The new economic regime moved production out of city centres, and deindustrialization was the apparatus of globalization³⁵¹. During the restructuring process, urban transformed into consumption spaces instead of production spaces³⁵². Declining agriculture, and industry, concentrating on the built environment, geared the attention of investments towards urban rent through speculative activities because the neo-liberal restructuring concentrated on two main economic issues: export-oriented industrialization instead of an imported substitution approach and redefining the state's role with the free market economy. The new position and structure were strengthened by the privatization of state-run industries.

The capitalist system tends to experience crises, which are essential triggers in determining economic policies³⁵³. To prevent further crises, new policies pushed the capitalist state to encourage entrepreneurialism, which consisted of deindustrialization, profit-driven urban regenerations and gentrifications³⁵⁴. Thus,

³⁵¹ Sassen, *The Global City*, p.57.

³⁵² J. Allen Scott. "Resurgent Metropolis: Economy, Society and Urbanization in an Interconnected World." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32: 548-564, 2008.

³⁵³ David Harvey. *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, Oxford University Press, 2014.

³⁵⁴ Tuna Kuyucu. "Two Crises, Two Trajectories: The Impact of the 2001 and 2008 Economic Crises on Urban Governance in Turkey." In *Neoliberal Turkey and Its Discontents: Economic Policy and the Environment under Erdogan*, ed. Fikret Adaman, 44-74. London – New York: I.B.Taruris & Co.Ltd, 2017.

economic crises were very effective for restructuring the economy but also efficient in changing spatial and social structure in cities.

After the 2001 crisis, changes in cities were different than the changes in 1980s, which were related to Fordist production that pushed production and aimed to increase industrial activities to import goods. Therefore, the state prioritised industrialization with limited capital accumulation, and the urban land was out of the state's interest. Until the 2000s, the accumulated capital was stuck in the industry; then, with the crisis, the post-Fordist paradigm became the dominant system based on deindustrialization and the rise of the service sector. Thus, the circuit of capital was redefined, and urban investments became the subject of the capital³⁵⁵. After the 2008 crisis, the capital speeded urbanization by encouraging deindustrialization through urban regeneration projects, infrastructure investments and mass housing.

Neoliberal policies in the World affected Turkey, and through the deindustrialization process, it reshaped İzmir. The city faced economic, social and spatial change and transformation. As Sassen argued, "the world economy has shaped the life of cities"³⁵⁶. The city has always been paying attention to the capital with industrial investments throughout history. Especially harbour and its hinterland are always subject to capital investments through the private sector or state initiatives. By the 2000s, accumulated capital in industrial moved towards the urban and encircled the urban lands. By deindustrialization, industries were moved out of the city, and the use value of the industrial area at the harbour area diminished against the exchange value of its land. The process also encouraged two essential attempts: privatization of state-run factories in the area and urban regeneration projects in the Ege neighbourhood. Since every development period creates its spatial structure as a layer³⁵⁷, these two attempts shape the new spatial layer into the area. Additionally,

³⁵⁵ Tarık Şengül. *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçlerinin Eleştirisi*. İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2009. p.138-140.

³⁵⁶ Sassen, *The Global City*, p.1 .

³⁵⁷ Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labour : Social Structures and the Geography of Production*, p.145.

these layers cannot be handled independently from the social structure³⁵⁸. In this section deindustrialization of the site and the neighbourhood are analyzed after the 2000s by focusing on the New City Center Plans of İzmir, the Ege Neighbourhood Urban Regeneration Project and the socio-spatial narratives of inhabitants.

5.1 Development of The New City Center Project (NCC)

As mentioned in previous sections, various planning attempts were initiated in the city. Planning is a tool that reflects the socio-economic conditions and cannot be considered separately from the financial restructuring process of the country. The economic paradigm shifts in Turkey affected the planning process of NCC. To understand the New City Center (NCC) Project, there is a need to investigate previous plans that paved the way for the new planning decisions; these are İzmir Metropolitan Area Master Plan (1973) and İzmir Metropolitan Master Plan Revision (1989). Additionally, International Urban Design Competition for Izmir Port Area (2001) affects NCC.

Aru's approved plan in 1955 was prepared according to the estimated population as 400.000 residents until the 2000s. However, the estimated population were reached during the first half of the 1960s. Thus, the plan was not feasible. In the 1960s, the state planning organization was established in relation to planned development policies. For the planning actions that will reflect the development and major investment decisions throughout the country, İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau was established within the Municipal organization in 1965³⁵⁹. The office prepared İzmir Metropolitan Area Master Plan in 1973 and was approved by the Ministry. The plan focused on three regions: metropolitan area, region scale and İzmir Municipality scale. Since the plan foresaw linear development of the city, development towards

³⁵⁸ Şengül, "Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçlerinin Eleştirisi", p.98-101.

³⁵⁹ Bilsel, Cana. 19. yy. İkinci Yarısında İzmirde Büyük Ölçekli Kentsel Projeler ve Kent Mekanının Baskılaşımı. *Ege Mimarlık* , 34-37, 2000.

the west was discouraged. The city's sprawl was planned towards the north by operating a new airport and towards the east by forming a new industrial area. In the scope of this work, even though the plan aimed to invest in harbour development, it proposed a shift in industrial functions to outer city through new planning industrial zones. Revisions were made between 1978 and 1989, the revised version proposed preservation areas for agricultural and green areas. Due to deviations in both acceptance and decisions during the process and unforeseen growth, the plan has lost its validity. Therefore, it was cancelled by the Ministry of Public on 07.05.2003. The plan did not show the expected success due to insufficient foresight. Although the decentralization of the industry in the city centre is not recommended in the year of the plan, the development of the industrial areas in the city centre has been prevented. Therefore, the project has led to the trend of the industrial regions to change their positions in the city centre over time. In addition, the region's industrial, agricultural and storage areas were included in the borders of NCC. Especially hinterland of the port was planned as a storage area.

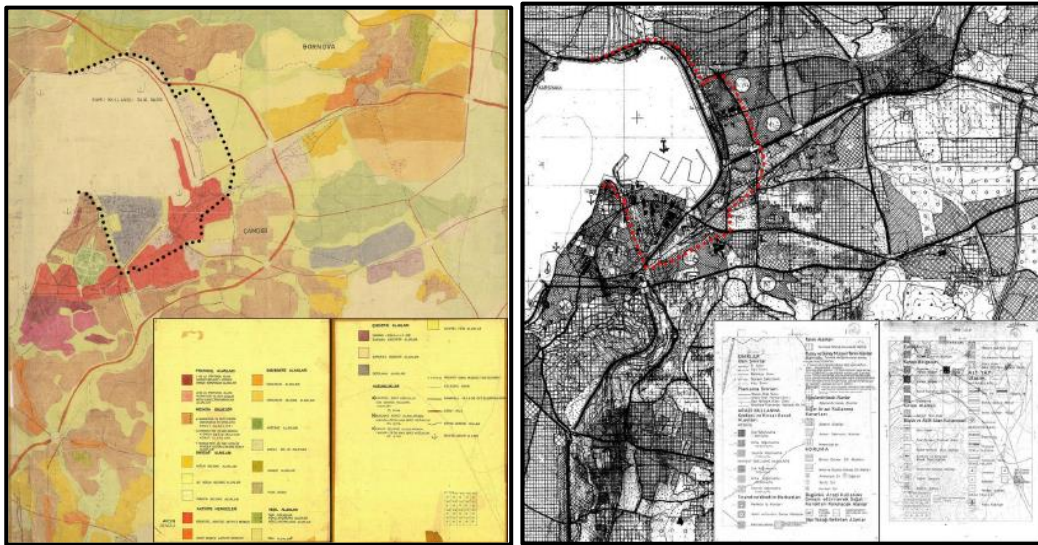


Figure 5.1 İzmir Metropolitan Area Master Plan 1973 and 1989³⁶⁰

³⁶⁰ İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Archive.

İzmir Metropolitan Master Plan Revision(1989) was developed following a previous plan in 1973 by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. The revisions aimed to change the main decisions in the previous plan. In the project, the area within the borders of NCC was designed as urban work and industry. However, the plan was cancelled in 2002 since the metropolitan municipalities had no authority to make a 1/25000 scale plan.

In 2001, the Urban Design International Idea Competition for the Port District of İzmir was set up to evaluate the city's potential and realize its vision of a port city. The competition brief stated that "...considering the area as a business, commercial, administrative, cultural and recreational area; residential settlements should be limited with two areas..."³⁶¹. Indeed, the brief had neoliberal tendencies that perceived the area for generating a profit and encouraging deindustrialization. Additionally, it highlighted the public use and limited the residential zones, which did not end up in this way. The competition area was composed of smaller districts such as Turan³⁶², Salhane³⁶³ and Alsancak Port districts.

³⁶¹ Cengiz Türksoy. İzmir Liman Gerisi Uluslararası Kentsel Tasarım Fikir Yarışması Üzerine, Planlama, 1, 73-76, 2011.

³⁶² Located in the northern part of the area that is encircled with the railroads and Altinyol. In 2001, Henkel/Turyağ and Oil storage plant of Petrol Ofisi was located in that area. Both companies announced their intention of moving the factories to other locations.

³⁶³ Salhane located between Bayraklı Archaeological site on the North and Meles river on the South. Development plan of 2003 defines the area as the major junction point of transformation networks.

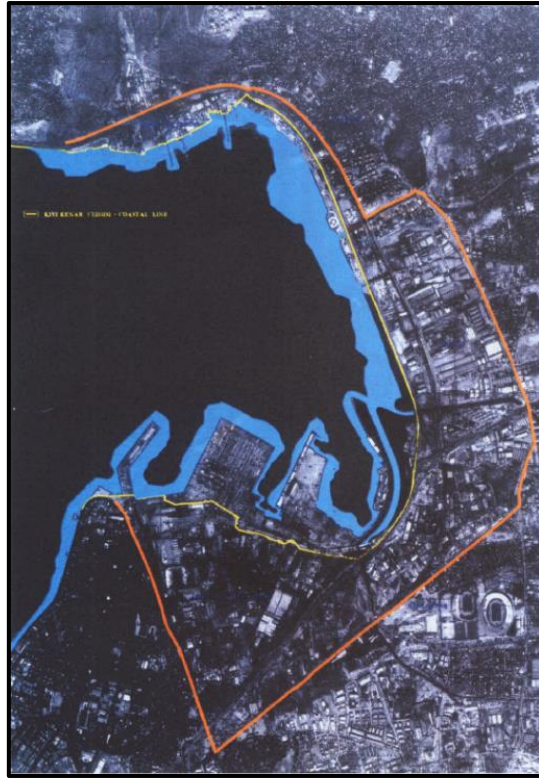


Figure 5.2 Competition Area³⁶⁴

A total of 136 projects from 30 countries participated in the contest³⁶⁵. The competition was followed by the preparation of the Development Plan that was designed as result of the synthesis of 9 awarded projects. Thus, the area was officially declared as the Izmir New City Center with acceptance of 1/5000 Master Plan in 2003. The Master Plan aimed to integrate the north and south of the city to accelerate its development, change the city's appearance and improve the quality of urban life³⁶⁶. Another aim of the NCC plan was to transform the planning area into “a destination, not a place to pass”. Therefore, mixed-use decisions were adopted, the coastline was allocated for investments to activate the tourism sector, and land-use

³⁶⁴ Ege Mimarlık. İzmir Liman Bölgesi için Kentsel Tasarım Uluslararası Fikir Yarışması. *Ege Mimarlık Dergisi* 2001/4-2002/1, 2001-2002. p40-41 and p.58-90.

³⁶⁵ Bal, Eylem., Altınörs, Ayşegül., Doğmuş, Oytun Eylem. Kente Yön Veren Aktörler Temelinde İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım Plan. *Ege Mimarlık Dergisi*. 2005/1 (53), 32-36, 2005.

³⁶⁶ İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2003. İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım imar Planı Raporu.

decisions were created by zoning. The master plan designed the zones as; *Turan* district for tourism-oriented functions. Commercial use, public services and entertainment activities were defined in *Salhane* and *Alsancak Port* districts. The competition brief also highlighted that industrial heritages in the port area were associated explicitly with cultural fields, offering large open parcels. The brief prepared for the 2001 competition had traces of the transformation process for the industrial buildings located behind the port area. Similar principles were defined in the master plan of 2003 (see figure 5.3). This attempt paved the way for shaping the urban space. Since the port area includes two residential areas, *Darağaç* and *Ege* Neighborhoods, the envisaged transformations could cause gentrification. Because through the competition, the port and its surroundings, which are especially valuable in industrial heritage, have become one of the focal points of capital.

The master plan produced in 2003 went through several revisions due to land use demands and density issues. Between 2003 to 2008, the floor area coefficients and the building coverage ratios were some of these demands; however, these alterations were subjected to several lawsuits (see table 2). In 2009 the plan was cancelled by the court due to a lack of geological surveys³⁶⁷. Since the competition brief explained a particular part of earthquakes in İzmir and the area was part of the seismic zone, the proposed plan in 2013 lacked this awareness³⁶⁸. The geological surveys were not ready before the plan. The required changes were made, and surveys were completed. Then, the 1/5000 plan was approved in 2011. It is still in use with several revisions, such as the height of buildings and land use functions for plots.

³⁶⁷ Penpecioglu, *"The Political Construction of Urban Development Projects: The Case of İzmir"*, p.195.

³⁶⁸ New City Center, *Development Plan Notes*, 2003.

Table 5.1 Outline of the planning process

Year	Scale	Planning Process
2001		<i>International Competition of Urban Design Ideas for Izmir Port District</i>
2003	1/5000	<i>İzmir New City Center Master Plan</i>
2007	1/25000	<i>İzmir Urban Area Master Plan</i>
2008	1/25000	<i>İzmir Urban Area Master Plan Revision</i>
2009	1/25000	<i>İzmir Urban Area Master Plan Revision</i>
2010	1/5000	<i>İzmir New City Center Master Plan</i>
2011	1/5000	<i>İzmir New City Center Master Plan</i>
2012	1/25000	<i>İzmir Metropolitan Area Environment Plan</i>



Figure 5.3 Development Plan for New City Center (2003)³⁶⁹

³⁶⁹ Bal, Eylem., Altınörs, Ayşegül., Dođmuş, Oytun Eylem. Kente Yön Veren Aktörler Temelinde İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım Plan. *Ege Mimarlık Dergisi*. 2005/1 (53), 32-36, 2005. p.35.

To sum up, after the master plan in 2003, the Metropolitan Municipality prepared six more plans (see Table 2). In the scope of this study, plans will be analyzed only through the Port Region. According to the plan, the port's capacity will increase as a cargo and cruise port. The hinterland is planned as an area where commercial, cultural activities and tourism facilities locates. Due to the problematic urban texture in the area and the presences of old industrial and storage areas, it is the subject of large-scale transformation projects. The six following plan revisions were mainly related to expanding construction rights and increasing density. These revisions were the demand of different actors that are part of the decision-making process. These actors were the landowners, investors and construction companies; they demanded alteration of functional use of the site, increasing density³⁷⁰. When the changes were applied, in accordance with the investors' needs, the Izmir Branch of the Chamber of Architects and the İzmir Branch of the Chamber of City Planners opposed the changes and took lawsuits for the revisions³⁷¹. Even the multilayered actors, investors and construction companies indicate how the capital investment tries to blend into the area.

The New City Center (NCC) project has become an important urban transformation tool, attracting investment for a new central business district, luxury and gated communities and shopping malls. Starting from the 2000s, the local government authority, the İzmir Greater Municipality, 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. Thus, the plan is frequently subjected to a lawsuit. As a result of this strategic decision, the NCC development plan was approved with the consensus of local governments, investors, local business associations and professional chambers. Even though, parallel to the neoliberal

³⁷⁰ Penpecioglu, *"The Political Construction of Urban Development Projects: The Case of Izmir"*, p.195.

³⁷¹ Ibid, p.193.

policies, investors became a dominant actor and the leading decision makers. The plan was more concerned with the market response and investment in an opportunistic manner³⁷². Markets demands were highlighted rather than public needs.

Moreover, 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). In line with the neoliberal policies, the plan focused on entrepreneurialism and urban rent. Even though the plan resulted from a lengthy planning process, investors were the main target groups. Thus, the minimum building lot in the area was set to 5000-meter squares with a floor area ratio of 3.00. The listed industrial buildings in the area were denoted as particular project areas with culture and touristic uses.

According to the plan, Sümerbank Factory was initially designed as a museum of industrial archaeology, education, culture, and convention centre. However, in current conditions, half of the area was transformed into a school campus, and the rest was given to the police department. The area south of Şehitler Street was planned for commercial, touristic and commercial functions. The site of Şark Industry and the properties of TCDD were denoted as particular planning areas. İşçiler Street is located between the former Tariş and Şark Industry lands, was planned as the central pedestrian street to accommodate commercial functions. The upper floors of buildings on this street can be used for commercial or residential purposes; the lower floors cannot be used for residential purposes³⁷³. It led to the decentralization of the industrial facilities in all NCC areas. Industrial facilities which are located in the

³⁷² Bal and Akyol Altun, *“İzmir’de Neoliberal Kentleşme,”* p.66.

³⁷³ Bal, Eylem, and Didem Akyol Altun. İzmir’de neoliberal kentleşme eğilimleri kapsamında lüks konut üretiminde yeni yaklaşımlar: Folkart konut projeleri. *Planlama Dergisi* 26 (1):65-80, 2016. p 66.

hinterland area is name as TARIŞ, the former Sümer Bank Textile Factory(owned by the Ministry of education), Tekel³⁷⁴ (tobacco storehouse) and Şark Sanayi.

In line with the planning decisions, the Privatization High Council took TCDD İzmir Alsancak port in the privatization program on 30th December 2004³⁷⁵. Meanwhile, in 2016 Turkish Sovereign Asset Fund was constituted to operate the companies under state ownership, aiming to increase operational income capacity by investing in financial assets. The Asset fund took management of the port in 2017³⁷⁶. Thus the Fund had all rights and decision capacity to sell or rent the port. Even though many other ports in the country were sold or rented to investors, Alsancak port remains a state-run port and operates as a cargo and passenger port.

Another State economic enterprise in the port area was TEKEL which refers to the General Directorate of Tobacco, Tobacco products and Alcohol Enterprises. It had a cigarette factory west part of the Alsancak Train station, Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory, located east of the railway and a storage house next to the Ege Neighbourhood. In 2001 the company was taken into a privatization program, and in April 2002, the İzmir Tobacco Factory stopped its operations³⁷⁷. In 2021, The Ministry of Culture and Tourism launched the factory's restoration to convert it as a culture and art centre³⁷⁸. Halkapınar Bomonti Alcohol Factory was closed after the privatization and sold to investors to construct a High-Rise residential and commercial building (Mahall Bomonti İzmir). The factory remains on the site for

³⁷⁴ Tekel factory and administration buildings were located West part of Alsancak Train station. Only a storage building was located in port area, next to the Ege neighbourhood.

³⁷⁵ Hitay Baran. *İzmir Alsancak Limanı ve Özelleştirme Süreci*, İzmir Ticaret Odası, 2006.

³⁷⁶ Fatih Güzel, Melek Acar and Gamze Şekeroğlu. "Sovereign Wealth Funds: A Comparison of the Turkish Sovereign Wealth Fund with the World Samples", *Periodicals of Engineering and Natural Sciences*, Vol.5, No.2, pp. 165-175, 2017.

³⁷⁷ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Treasure and Finance Privatization Administration. *Özelleştirme İdaresi Başkanlığı Bütçe Gerekçesi Raporu*. Ankara, 2009.

³⁷⁸ The Ministry of Culture and Tourism. "Tarihi Alsancak TEKEL Fabrikası Kültür Sanatın Yeni Merkezi Olacak". *Counsellor's Office of Press and Public Relations*, <https://basin.ktb.gov.tr/TR-292419/tarihi-alsancak-tek-el-fabrikasi-kultur-sanatin-yeni-merkezi-olacak.html>. Accessed 4 November 2022.

social functions of the building. The Storage Building of the TEKEL next to Ege Neighborhood was demolished, and became part of the Urban Regeneration Project (see figure 5.6).

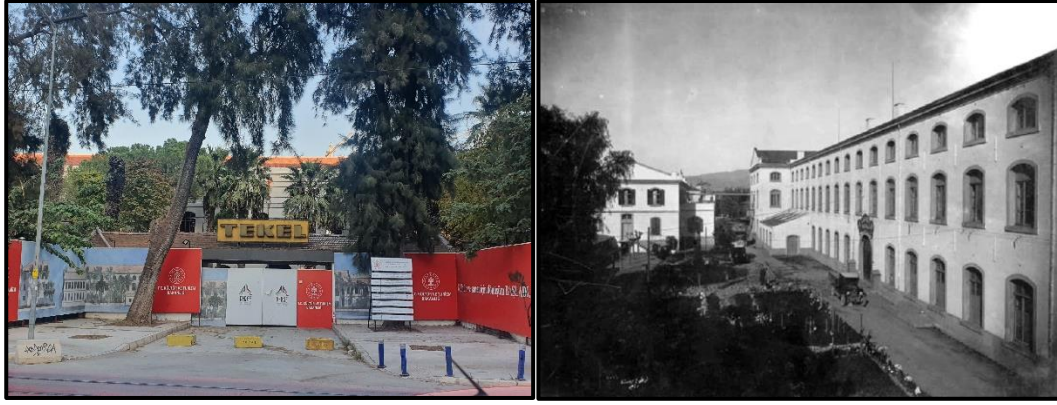


Figure 5.4 Ongoing restorations in TEKEL factory³⁷⁹ (left) and The historical photos from TEKEL Cigarette Factory³⁸⁰ (right)

Contrary to the TEKEL company, the privatization of the Sümerbank emerged with the effect of the 24 January decision in 1980 and it was taken into a privatization program by the Council of Ministers in 1987³⁸¹. In this process, the company was restructured and renamed under Sumer Holding by dividing it into two branches: a banking unit and industrial operations³⁸². İzmir Sümerbank Factory operated till 2000; then, by decision of the Privatization council, its facilities came to end. In 2003 the land was transferred to Special Provincial Administration and used as Nevvar Salih İşgören Vocational High School and Education Campus³⁸³. The main production buildings, warehouses, some administrative buildings and lodgments were destroyed, and other facilities in the production section continued to be used

³⁷⁹ Author's personal archive, 3 November 2022.

³⁸⁰ Erciyas, Saadet. *Kent Yaşam*. 2018, <https://kentyasam.com/2018/01/10/ege-medeniyetleri-muzesi-icin-dugmeye-basildi/>. Accessed 1 November 2022.

³⁸¹ Mehmet Gökhan Polatoğlu. "Türkiye'nin Kalkınmasında Sümerbank ve Etkinliği (1933-1987)". *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* 37: 261-306, 2021.

³⁸² Musa Türkoğlu and Muzaffer Demirbaş. "Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüslerinin Özelleştirilmesi." Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, *İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7, 241-264, 2002.

³⁸³ İzmir Industrial Heritage Inventory. 2021. İzmir Development Agency – İZKA. p. 62.

for educational purposes. After the earthquake on 30th October 2020 in İzmir, the headquarters of Police Department were damaged. Thus, another half of the factory campus was transferred to Police department, soon it will serve as headquarters with new construction in the campus area.



Figure 5.5 Demolished TEKEL Storage Next to Ege Neighbourhood³⁸⁴

Another big-sized parcel at the port area was TARIŞ established in 1935³⁸⁵ as the first agricultural sales cooperative association. The cooperative had a Bank, five branches and factories of these branches. Factories were processing the agrarian products of these branches, that are fig, olive, olive oil, cotton and grapes, in the 1980s. Both products processing was operating in the port area.

TARIŞ's boards of directors were elected by the producing partners, albeit on paper. The main forces that elected the board of directors were the large landowners and the major shareholders of the cooperative. Factory managers and other bureaucrats affiliated with the cooperative were appointed by the Ministry of Commerce. Thus, it was a semi-state-oriented organization. Due to this feature, TARIŞ has been an

³⁸⁴ Photo of Photographer Birol Üzmez.

³⁸⁵ 9 October 1935, 2834 numbered law stimulated the establishment of agricultural sales cooperative. However, TARIŞ first establishment was 1913 as a branch of National Aydın Bank.

institution where political powers have produced projects every period³⁸⁶. Depressions experienced throughout the country quickly spread to TARIS as well. In 1980, factories of the cooperative frequently became the subject of the public due to the uprising and its debts³⁸⁷. In 2000 with law numbered 4752, Agricultural Sales Cooperatives and Unions were economically restructured, and their relationship with the state was financially weakened, or one can say that Tariş gained autonomy. Thus, Unions became free of state power, but the financial support to the institutions was also terminated, and the liquidation process was initiated due to debts of the cooperative³⁸⁸. After the master plan of NCC, the cooperative declared its support for the project and was willing to move its facilities out of the city.

In line with the support, having financial problems of the cooperative, being lack of state support, emerged with the transfer of 144 decare factory sites to the Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) in 2013. The area has tourism, trade and culture functions in the NCC plan. However, the deindustrialization of the Tariş land exemplifies one of the speculative developments in the port area. Apart from the Metropolitan municipality, The Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning has been involved in the planning process. Between 2013 and 2017, Tariş land plans changed four times and went to court four times. Planning on the site became a battlefield regarding planning decisions between local and central authorities.

To conclude, housing function was added to the plan instead of cultural functions. The land was divided into two parcels; for the first part, the tender was made in 2017. The project was approved to construct a high-rise hotel, residence and commercial complex³⁸⁹. Similarly, the second tender for the other half of the parcel was

³⁸⁶ Bülent Ruscuklu. *Demokrat Parti'den 12 Eylül'e*, Alfa Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008. p. 358.

³⁸⁷ For more information; Uğur Pınar. "İzmir in the transition process of the 12 September military coup", Master thesis, Celal Bayar University, Manisa, 2020.

³⁸⁸ Özlem Çetinkaya. "Türkiye'nin rekabetçi üstünlüğüne üretici birliklerinin katkısı: Tariş örneği", PhD Thesis, Aydın Adnan Menderes University, 2005.

³⁸⁹ The Project of Evora İzmir based on 1049 residence, 121 hotel rooms and 41 commercial units. The constructions began in october 2018.

completed in 2017, and the project is based on the same function as the other part³⁹⁰. Additionally, it will include cultural centres, private colleges and a primary school. In 2019, high-rise residential building construction emerged. In terms of the tension between the central and local authorities, the Tariş site had a unique experience. The Ministry used its jurisdiction to produce a Master Plan; thus, the site became the only parcel in NCC's port area that is planned by the central authority.



Figure 5.6 On Going Housing Project (Allsancak) on former TARIŞ factory area³⁹¹ (left) and demoplished Tariş Factory³⁹² (right)

In the context of existing residential areas, Darağacı Neighborhood was planned for small-scale touristic accommodation. Ege Neighbourhood was initially designed as a green area in the first master plan (2003). However, the community objected to the

³⁹⁰ Second half of the area will include 1070 residences, 35 commercial units and 130 hotel rooms, and education facilities. The Project name declared as Allsancak.

³⁹¹ Author's personal collection, 3 November 2022.

³⁹² Photo of Photographer Birol Üzmez.

plan with the support of the Chamber of City Planners³⁹³, and the area became a part of regeneration plan.

In conclusion, this section examined NCC plans and how the deindustrialization and privatization process was handled. After the 2000s, capital integrated itself into the urban area. NCC plans and the country's financial crisis paved the way for this integration. Since the NCC plan provides speculations and increases the exchange value of old industrial sites over the use value. Deindustrialization and privatization plans also provided needed urban areas for capital investments. Also, investors' idea was taken into account during the planning process or as in TARIŞ case, central authority became active participants in this transformation. Thus, capital in the area converted industrial heritage into residential and tourism facilities. During these functional alterations existing residential neighbourhood in the port area tries to survive.

5.2 Ege Neighborhood Urban Regeneration Project

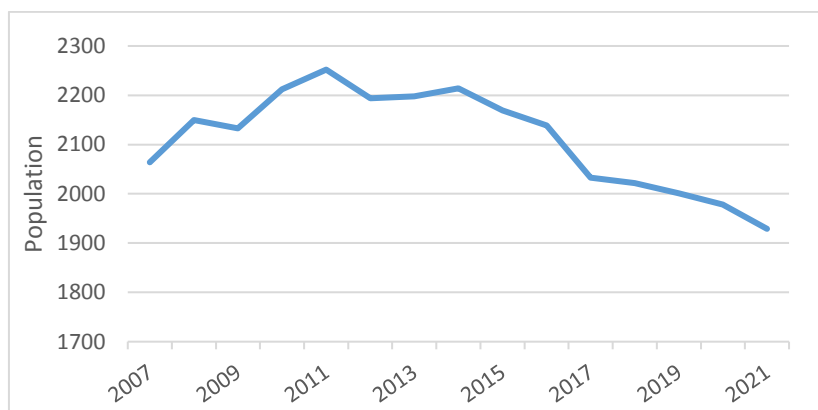
The neo-liberal economic restructuring of the country affected the city, thus, the NCC Plan was developed by Metropolitan Municipality in line with these policies. Ege neighbourhood became part of this plan with an urban regeneration project and Metropolitan Municipality Council renamed the area as "Ege Neighborhood Urban Regeneration and Development Area" on 16th September 2011. Following this decision, The Council of Ministers approved and declared the site an urban regeneration zone on 22nd February 2013³⁹⁴. According to the decision, around 2000 people will be affected by the urban regeneration project. Based on the address registration system, the neighbourhood's official population data was available from 2007 and indicated that 2064 people live in that area. In 2014, after the regeneration

³⁹³ Yiğit Acar. "Urban Transformation Within The Interface Of Design And Administration: The Case Of Izmir Harbor District", Master Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2011. p.90.

³⁹⁴ Official Gazette, 13.03.2013, Decisions of Ministers Council, No:28586

decision, the population started to decrease, and in 2021 the population dropped to 1929 people. However, Muhtar mentioned that approximately 2500 people live in the neighbourhood (see table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Ege Neighbourhood's population³⁹⁵



In the NCC plan, the neighbourhood is designed as a special planning zone indicated in the plan notes. According to the notes, the area's borders are determined based on the foresight of maintaining the social fabric in the neighbourhood where cultural activities can be sustained and kept alive. Thus, the NCC plan kept less density for the area. However, plan notes also mentioned that the site could include tourism, residential and commercial functions.

In line with Plan notes, the Metropolitan Municipality aimed to provide sustainable, healthy housing units, form new public and green places in the area, prevent physical borders, provide a physical connection between the neighbourhood and the city, create new recreational facilities for sports facilities, cultural meetings and shopping, and change the introverted-ghetto condition of the district³⁹⁶. There was a public deliberation and participation in planning stage of project: non-governmental organizations (NGO) of the neighbourhood's inhabitants, Chamers of Architects,

³⁹⁵ TURKSTAT, The Results of Address Based Population Registration System, 2007-2021. Accessed 28 November 2022, <https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/medas>.

³⁹⁶ İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Urban regeneration Bureau, Accessed 8 November 2022 kentseldonusum.izmir.bel.tr.

Chambers of City and Regional Planners and inhabitants were involved as stakeholders in the decision-making process. Also, qualitative and quantitative surveys were conducted to understand the needs of the inhabitants. To reach more inhabitants - including householders and tenants-the Metropolitan Municipality organized negotiation meetings. Drawing on the collected data from all participants, the project was introduced in Kulturpark, Pakistan pavilion with models and video presentations. Through the introduction, the local authorities wanted to prevent rumours, provide clear information about the project and get the inhabitants' support. The Municipality paid attention to the bottom-up approach and tried to avoid the top-down approach like TOKİ. Thus agreement meetings were conducted with each householder in Pakistan Pavilion. The agreement meeting was completed, and in 2020 the project's implementation started.



Figure 5.7 Site Plan of the Ege Neighbourhood Urban Regeneration Project³⁹⁷

³⁹⁷ Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. 2013. Ege Neighbourhood Urban Regeneration And Development Presentation Booklet

The project implements housing, commercial units, a religious building, sports facilities, a car park area and a building for the Metropolitan Municipality service. Three types of housing blocks were introduced: block with courtyards, block next to Meles stream and a high-rise. Housing blocks designed with courtyards between 31 m² to 114 m² aim to protect the social and cultural fabric and sustain on-site transformation³⁹⁸. A High-rise block was planned for householders not living in the neighbourhood, and its construction started in 2020 as the first part of the project. On the ground floor of housing blocks and in the municipality service area, offices were planned between 15 m² and 74 m². These office units aimed at improving the area's social, cultural and economic conditions. Also, the courtyard decision for housing blocks and designed public space around the church sought to be a place for the cultural activities of the inhabitants. Interviews and questionnaires with inhabitants showed that space for rituals is the most important expectation of inhabitants from the project³⁹⁹. The planned square also designed to be an attraction point for tourists and small businesses.

As a result of conservation decisions, the Aya Yani Ligaria church and two blocks of social housing were planned to preserve. The church will turn to a commercial function in the centre of the square. The two preserved blocks are designed to be a public education or cultural activity centre for inhabitants. The public education centre planned to be a vocational school for inhabitants to improve their economic conditions and teaching instruments.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Mehmet Melih Cin and Yakup Eğercioğlu. A critical analysis of urban regeneration projects in Turkey: Displacement of Romani settlement case. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 216, 269-278, 2016.



Figure 5.8 Ege Neighbourhood Urban Regeneration Project⁴⁰⁰

Changes in the demographic structure during preparation of the regeneration project have traces of common understanding towards the project by inhabitants. In 2008, the population was 2150⁴⁰¹, then it grew till 2015 reaching 2700⁴⁰²; however, in 2021, the population decreased to 2150⁴⁰³. The change could be related to the project and the lack of job opportunities in the area. According to the 2015 questionnaire⁴⁰⁴, more than half of the population was unemployed, and unemployment was most common among women. Regarding education, only half of the population graduated from a primary or higher level of education. The rest of them stopped their education due to financial problems or unwillingness to continue.

There is also a relation between job occupation and education level; both of them are low. It stimulates one of the problems of the area that is economic problems.

⁴⁰⁰ Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. Ege Neighborhood Urban Regeneration And Development Presentation Booklet, 2013.

⁴⁰¹ Neriman Yörür. Roman Mahallesibde Kentsel Yoksulluk ve Yoksunluk: İzmir Ege Mahallesi (Kuruçay) Örneği, *Esken Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, 3(1) 58-72, 2022.

⁴⁰² Cin & Eğercioğlu, *A critical analysis of urban regeneration projects in Turkey: Displacement of Romani settlement case*, p.273.

⁴⁰³ Neriman. *Roman Mahallesibde Kentsel Yoksulluk ve Yoksunluk: İzmir Ege Mahallesi (Kuruçay) Örneği*, p.62

⁴⁰⁴ Cin & Eğercioğlu, *A critical analysis of urban regeneration projects in Turkey: Displacement of Romani settlement case*, p.276.

Regarding to economic problems, inhabitants have objections to the regeneration project, which is the affordability issue. Other concerns were the size of housing units and the prevention of their cultural activities. Lack of labour activities affects the education of the young generation in the family. Also, the young generation's education level prevents them from reaching job opportunities. Therefore, the young generation's labour in the formal sector is getting more complex every day, and they prefer to work in the informal sector. Thus, economic conditions became the most essential factor to the urban regeneration project implementation. Even though the project has many issues that need to be addressed, it is lack of responding needs of the inhabitants, as they mentioned in interviews, the most critical barrier is the financial constraints. As in the ENSHP, householders can get the houses from the area, so it is on-site regeneration. However, they have to pay monthly instalments for 20 years. The Municipality provides housing units in another site if they cannot afford it. Since their formal or informal labor is located around the city centre, moving out of the area will also affect the economic conditions.

Apart from the economic problems, inhabitants' concerns are housing units related to their size and 6-floor apartment buildings. The project offers the following square meter sizes: 31 m², 38 m², 43 m², 51 m², 55 m², 87 m², 114 m² and 1+1, 2+1 or 3+1 houses⁴⁰⁵. The majority of family are compose of four or five people, and the area's population is expanding. To respond to this growth, adding one more floor to their houses is one solution or transforming 18 shops in ENSHP into housing units is another tactic of a survivor. If the inhabitants have suitable economic conditions, they prefer to rent a house in the Kahramanlar District opposite the railways. The small-sized houses in the regeneration project make it easier for them to afford a house as they will pay the minimum amount. However, habitability becomes a problem. Most inhabitants have extended families, and all live in one house or flat

⁴⁰⁵ Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. 2013. Ege Neighbourhood Urban Regeneration and Development Presentation Booklet

with their children and their children's wife or husband. Since inhabitants will receive less than their current house size⁴⁰⁶, living in small houses with the same family members is a significant problem.



Figure 5.9 Floor Plan of Housing blocks with courtyard⁴⁰⁷

In interviews, the Head of the NGO mentioned the effect of the new plan on their cultural activities and emphasised the solidarity in the neighbourhood. For instance, having a funeral makes people stop celebrating, playing music, they attend the funeral and bring food to the community. The same solidarity and commune culture can also be seen in weddings where all residents participate, and the celebration continues until morning. In addition to these activities, street works as an extension of their housing. At night, inhabitants sit in front of their houses or accept their guests. This practice is an outcome of living in small sizes and not owning semi-open spaces. However, strong motivation of that is related to the need for socialisation. Therefore, having 6-floor housing blocks fed their concerns about losing this practice. Losing the open-air public gathering areas, that are 1517 street

⁴⁰⁶ By paying extra amount they can have bigger house than what is allocated for hem.

⁴⁰⁷ Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. Ege Neighbourhood Urban Regeneration and Development Presentation Booklet, 2013.

and the space between ENSHP blocks, stimulates hesitation of the community to find new gathering areas.

Table 5.3 Land alterations in Port Area

<i>Factory Name</i>	<i>End of Operation</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Current Situation</i>	<i>Function</i>
<i>Gas Plant</i>	1955	İBB	Restored by İBB	Historical Gas Plant Congress and Culture Center
<i>Şark Company</i>	1976	Private Ownership	Not started construction	-
<i>Electricity Factory</i>	1989	İBB	Land transferring to İBB Not started the restoration	Planning to be a Culture Center
<i>Alsancak Port</i>	Still Operates	Turkish Fund	Asset Management and all rights were transferred to the Asset Fund	Cruise and cargo port
<i>Sümerbank Factory</i>	2001	The Treasury	The land was transferred to the Ministry of Education and Police department	Education Campus and Police Department
<i>TEKEL Tobacco Factory</i>	2004	The Ministry of Culture and Tourism	Emergence of The restoration project	Art and Culture Center
<i>TARİŞ</i>	2010	The Ministry of the Environment and Urban Planning	Transferred to TOKİ Construction of two projects was started (Evora and Allsancak)	Residential, Commercial and Tourism facility
<i>Darağacı Neighbourhood</i>		Residence		Commercial and Residential
<i>Ege Neighbourhood</i>		İBB	Urban Regeneration Project was Started	Residential and Commercial

Shortly, this section aimed to discuss the urban regeneration project after the NCC plan and provide the demographic structure of the neighbourhood between 2013-2016. Also, the project is illuminated through the lenses of the Metropolitan Municipality and the community. Concerns of residents dominantly focused on their economic conditions and lack of job opportunities. In an urban sense, the emerging regeneration is part of the NCC plan, an implementation of neo-liberal policies through urban rent and speculation. Also, it is an outcome of the area's de-

industrialisation which no longer needs a labour force. Therefore, the habitation area of workers is not meant to continue its existence.

5.3 Informal Economy Becoming Visible

My site visits in 2017 showed that the impact of the neo-liberal policies on residents' everyday life became more valid and visible. Compared with my previous site visits, one essential change was the dynamics on the street, and the other one was the prevalence of hopelessness among the residents about the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood has formed eight NGOs after the urban regeneration project debates that have been going for a while now. These organizations focus on changing the appearance/dynamics of the neighbourhood, promoting the Roma culture, organizing religious meetings, serving food during religious dates, and explaining their expectations from the urban regeneration projects. Among these NGOs, two were established to express their expectations and complaints; one from the householder's and one from the tenant's perspective. Both NGOs have a consensus on preserving Roma culture and preventing economic problems. During this time, photographer Birol launched his exhibition on the neighbourhood and claimed that 2007 was an easy time to work in the neighbourhood, and there was a strong belief to make a change⁴⁰⁸. Completion of the regeneration planning phase and the end of negotiation meetings led the residents to lose their hope, closing their communication with anyone outside the neighbourhood

I have conducted five interviews on the labouring practice of inhabitants; two of them with the director of two different NGOs⁴⁰⁹, one with a woman who used to work in TARIŞ, one man who used to work in TEKEL and one with an owner of *kahvehane*.

⁴⁰⁸ Interview with Birol on 25 September 2021.

⁴⁰⁹ On purposely, name of the NGOs were not mentioned to protect the confidentiality.

I planned to conduct meetings in all six *kahvehanes* since each accommodates different profiles and groups who are not necessarily in different camps. There is a dialogue between them, but they have different political or religious standing. They also have different understandings of labouring activities; they deny the existence of informal labour or associate informal labour only with drug dealing. Thus in this section, I mainly concentrate on the interview with the owner of a new kahvehane, the one that opened after 2015, to better understand the changing relations. When I arrived at the new kahvehane, Serhat introduced himself as the owner and former resident of the neighbourhood. He narrated the history of his place, which provided me with initial clues on informal labour;

“The space of kahvehane was a church and was used as an open cinema in the 1980s. In my childhood, I remember that I was selling beverages in the cinema. In the 2000s, it turned into a bone-breaking⁴¹⁰ workshop. After the introduction of the regeneration project, the place was closed, then turned into a kahvehane, and I rented the place from the Muhtar.”⁴¹¹

Serhat’s summary of the church area’s transformation history provided insights into the change of labouring practice. With the presentation of the regeneration project, the building was initially categorised as a preservation area. However, after 2017, the area informally started to be used as a *kahvehane* by initiatives of the Muhtar. Similarly, Sedat, a customer in kahvehane who retired from the TEKEL factory, narrated that; *“with the introduction of the urban regeneration project, bone-breaking activities stopped due to the preservation decision of the church. After local elections, the new Muhtar converted the space into kahvehane, and we started to use it”⁴¹²*. In my previous visits in 2015, the area was closed, and I could not have a chance to enter the place. However, during my visits in 2018, the place had already

⁴¹⁰ Breaking animals bone provides valuable materials that use in chemistry.

⁴¹¹ Interview with Serhat on 2 November 2021

⁴¹² Interview with Sedat on 9 November 2021

been appropriated as a *kahvehane*; the floor was covered with concrete and a fountain, some temporary additions were attached to the church walls, and the top of the area was covered with temporary structures.

Sedat further explained the ongoing transformation over the last five years as follows;

*“The building constructed as Ford Service in the 1980s turned into an olive oil factory. However, the company went bankrupt and sold the building to a furniture atelier. Until the 2000s, they produced furniture, which became vacant land when they stopped production. In 2013, the space was used for Dog Race and Cockfight for a short period. In 2019 it became a flea market.”*⁴¹³

Till 2019, the flea market was operating in Halkapınar due to land ownership problems. The local authorities prevented the flea market operation in the neighbourhood because of its negative reputation, such as, robbery, damage to public property and security concerns⁴¹⁴. The market is one of the city’s biggest, most popular flea markets and attracts many residents. It operates every Sunday till midday. After the ban on the flea market, salespersons formed an association⁴¹⁵ and looked for a new location where they would not have property problems⁴¹⁶. Former industrial buildings that are no longer in use in the Ege neighbourhood seemed an appropriate public space for the market. The market started its operations with 600 vendors who sell second-hand or collected goods from the city’s garbage⁴¹⁷. In order to prevent security issues, police officers patrol in front of the market. The muhtar

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ Pehlivan, Nuray. İzmir bit pazarı: 'Sürülmedi' imha edildi! Gazete Duvar 2018 [Accessed 13 December 2022]. Available from <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/hayat/2018/03/04/izmir-bit-pazarı-surulmedi-imha-edildi>.

⁴¹⁵ Association for the Evaluation of New and Old Goods formed in 2017.

⁴¹⁶ Şentürk, Erman. Bit pazarı esnafından ‘Öcü değiliz!’ sitesi. Ege Telgraf 2020 [Accessed 13 December 2022]. Available from <https://www.egetelgraf.com/bit-pazarı-esnafından-ocu-degiliz-sitemi/>

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

has put in a lot of effort to move the flea market into the neighbourhood; thus, providing work opportunities for inhabitants and in an attempt to reconnect the neighbourhood with the city. Despite the negative reputation of the neighbourhood, many residents of Izmir came to the flea market and started to create an informal economy for the shop owners. Until the closure of factories, workers were creating this economy; with the flea market operation, customers of the market took on that role. Thus, after a long while, the inhabitants gained new labouring opportunities and a new *kahvehane*.



Figure 5.10 Flea Market⁴¹⁸

In an interview with the head of the NGO, Serkan, who is retired from the TARİŞ factory, mentioned informal activities in the area and took me around the neighbourhood to show me the informal usage of public spaces. The interview was conducted during a summer evening in front of his house on the ground floor of ENSHP buildings and a former commercial unit that they transformed into a residential unit. They put chairs and a table in front of the house on 1517 street, which used to be a busy street with car circulation in the 1980s. During the interview, we were occupying the street, and many residents had the same practice. The street has two lanes and operates the traffic in two directions; however, due to the occupation of the street, one lane was closed to the traffic.

⁴¹⁸ Author's personal collection, 8 August 2021.



Figure 5.11 One of the occupation form of the street by a *kahvehane*⁴¹⁹

The head of the NGO, Serkan, mentioned how the shift in economic conditions affected the younger generation adversely and lack of employment opportunities pushed people to survive by earning money in any condition;

*“Closure of the Sümerbank and Tekel affected us (residents of the neighbourhood). My wife and I had a chance to work and retire from those factories. However, there is no job for our children. Therefore, people try to find a way to earn money.”*⁴²⁰

As the first generation, Serkan and his wife worked in factories in the formal sector from the 1980s to the 2000s. As the second generation, one of their children is engaged in informal labour. It is one of the examples of how labouring activities change even in the same house. However, one could not say that all activities shift to the informal economy, as another child works in the formal sector as a motorcycle courier. Even though the dominant sector shifted to informal labour, the shift is not sharp; rather than the direct transformation of formal to informal labour, both forms of labour occurs concurrently.

⁴¹⁹ Author’s personal collection, 5 June 2018.

⁴²⁰ Interview with Serkan on 5 July 2022.

Serkan exemplified the informal economy by expressing his story. Even though he retired from a factory, the salary is not enough. Thus, he and his son was operating an unlicensed taxi and justified this by arguing that they were addressing the needs of the residents:

“Taxis are scared to enter this area, especially at night. Inhabitants do not prefer to walk, even for the Kültürpark; however, they do not have enough money to take a taxi either. Therefore, I started using my car with my son to drive residents around for a cheaper fare. It worked well for my son, who was previously sitting at home all day and playing video games.”⁴²¹

His informal labour is not limited to unlicensed taxi business; he also sells ice cream and operates a vending machine with toys. The vending machine and ice cream fridge are located in front of the house but operate only at night when 1517 street becomes crowded. This is also related to official permission; he does not have the paperwork for this informal business. Since he is involved in so many informal employment businesses such as taxi driving, toys and street vendors, he highlighted many times that a formal job market with a more secure contract and insurance remains the inhabitants’ foremost need. Also, Serkan complained about the drug dealing in the neighbourhood as an important factor creating a wrongful reputation of the area;

“People need to earn money and the easiest way to sell drugs which damages the neighbourhood’s reputation and young people. My kid was sitting at home, if I did not provide the job of the unlicensed taxi, he could sell drugs too. To protect my kid, I am operating the unlicensed taxi”⁴²².

Like many residents, he is unhappy with drug dealing, even though he is part of the informal labour, and considers drug dealing as a crime. This leads to a demarcation

⁴²¹ Interview with Serkan on 5 July 2022.

⁴²² Ibid.

of the informal economy being positioned between petty crime and crime. From the inhabitants' perspective, petty crime could be a way to earn money, but as informal labour, drug dealing cannot be justified as an economic activity to make a living. There is a degree of informality in what they can approve and not approve.

Table 5.4 Encountered informal Labour Activities of Inhabitants

<i>Charge for Parking on sidewalks</i>	<i>Informal Pipe House</i>
<i>Picking garbage of inhabitants (çöpçü)</i>	<i>Informal buffet for food</i>
<i>Dog Race</i>	<i>Informal betting</i>
<i>Unlicensed Taxi</i>	<i>Drug Dealer</i>
<i>Waste picker</i>	<i>Illegal gambling</i>
<i>Street vendor</i>	<i>Cockfight</i>
<i>Flea Market</i>	<i>Gathering debris of constructions with a coach and dropping into the former TARIŞ area.</i>

Similar issues were also observed during my visit to other *kahvehanes* to interview another director of NGO, Seyfi, who operates a *kahvehane*. He is against drug dealing and sees the urban regeneration project as an opportunity to get rid of drugs:

“There was not much drug dealing in the 1990s, but the closure of the factories affected the youth deeply as all of a sudden, there were no future or employment opportunities for them. They started to get involved in drug dealing as outsiders came to the neighbourhood and asked where and how they could get drugs. It soon turned out to be a business for them. Numbers of dealers increased through this vicious cycle of seeing it as a possible way of creating income”⁴²³.

⁴²³ Interview with Seyfi on 1 June 2022.

The lack of formal labouring practices and after the construction of physical borders turned the neighbourhood into a ghetto and increased the area's bad reputation. Under these conditions, finding formal labouring became difficult and young people see drug dealing as one of the easiest ways to have informal labour. Informalization of the labour also accelerated when the business of coaching with horses started to be regulated by the Municipality. As Seyfi mentioned;

“riding a coach was a tradition; we learned it from our ancestors. It was one of the most important economies in the neighbourhood. one coach could feed 20 people, including the job of taking care of horses. The Metropolitan Municipality formalized the job by providing lawsuits to coachmen. However, disallowing coaches created financial problems. Even though the Municipality gave them jobs as employees, a limited number of them agreed to this ”⁴²⁴.

In response to the banning of coaches in Alsancak, coachmen took their horses and started to collect construction debris that they dropped on the former TARIŞ site. Also, some of them chose to convert the ground floor of their building into an informally operating café. Banning their formal labour caused another series and a process of informalizing their labour.

Urban transformation in the Alsancak port area led to deindustrialization of industrial functions. The mobility in the area decreased and pushed inhabitants to find other jobs. Given that as a Roma community, they were already facing issues of stigmatisation and marginalisation, finding a job in the city was not necessarily easy for them. They picked up informal labour activities, including providing sub-services to other sectors or mainly the informal service sector. Also, informal labour became an ecosystem which fed one another, creating more informal labour for the informal

⁴²⁴ Interview with Seyfi on 1 June 2022.

sector. Thus, it became the dominant economic activity on which inhabitants of the neighbourhood relied.



Figure 5.12 Gathering debris of constructions with a coach and dropping into the former TARIŞ area⁴²⁵

The construction of the railway barriers turned the neighbourhood into a closed area, accelerating the ghettoization process and cutting off the connection between the city and neighbourhood. Activities in the neighbourhood decreased as the public transportation lines from 1517 street were no longer operating. Compared to my previous visits in 2015, informal labour activities became more visible in the neighbourhood. An increase in the density of informal practices captured the attention of the police leading to their influence in the neighbourhood after 2016. Stigmatization to the neighbourhood turned into a concrete shape with the introduction of two police checkpoints, and regular patrolling by police officers and undercover officers in the area.

During the interview with the director of the NGO, Serkan, I witnessed police motorbikes and cars passing from the street multiple times with a face-detection camera on top of their vehicles and searching for possible suspicious activities.

⁴²⁵ Author's personal collection, 18 July 2019.

Serkan also identified undercover agents who passed quite frequently during our interview, as I was unfamiliar to them. They were staring at me to understand what I was doing in the neighbourhood and to figure out if I was a visitor or a new resident.

Checkpoints at the two neighbourhood spaces also created quite an uncomfortable feeling among the inhabitants because the police constantly stopped inhabitants for security checks. As Serkan said:

“they stop us on purpose to make us uncomfortable. Even though he knows us, they check ID cards every time we go in or out of the neighbourhood. Sometimes they even do a body search.”⁴²⁶

It seemed like the police only intended to search only residents of the neighbourhood because, during my numerous visits, they never stopped me. Moreover, while entering the neighbourhood, I was warned by a civil police car who approached and asked me if I did know where I was going or if I had any idea about how dangerous the neighbourhood could be. As Serkan mentioned, the surveillance indeed aims to monitor the residents rather than control the neighbourhood’s entry points.

On the other hand, the increasing drug dealing could also be one of the primary concerns of the police. Although the neighbourhood has several petty crimes or informal economic activities, these seem to be secondary issues for the officers. The police also have good relations with Muhtar, who can provide them with further information about the neighbourhood and they often use his *kahvehane* to rest or to get refreshments. On one of my visits to his *kahvehane*, the residents were betting illegally on horse racing without being bothered or minded by the presence of the officers, which indicates how the police have accepted such informal and petty illegal activities as a norm of everyday life in the neighbourhood. As Serhat, the owner of the *kahvehane*, put it:

⁴²⁶ Interview with Serkan on 5 July 2022.

“Police always come here to rest. Every six months, police officers at the checkpoint change. I meet newcomers every time, and they prefer here (his kahvehane); if you have any problem, I can handle it. Also, if they try to stop you at the checkpoint, tell them that you are going to Serhat’s kahvehane”⁴²⁷

The police prefer this *kahvehane* because it is the closest public space to the checkpoint, and being in touch with Muhtar also eases their jobs in case they have to investigate a crime.



Figure 5.13 Police Checkpoint⁴²⁸

5.4 Transformation of the labour is the transformation of the space

Shifting to neoliberal policies paved the way for deindustrialising the port area in İzmir. However, the transformation of the land primarily emerged with the speculations on the land; the NCC project fed the speculations and planned the form of the land along with de-industrialisation strategies. Therefore, at the beginning of the 2000s, most facilities were closed down; some of the former industrial areas were

⁴²⁷ Interview with Serhat on 2 November 2021

⁴²⁸ Author’s personal collection, 25 June 2021

demolished and turned into vacant land. The transformation idea also included the neighbourhood. As mentioned above, the ongoing process transformed the inhabitants' labour practices.

During the 1980s, the area served as a cheap labour force and reproduction space for industries. Moreover, the neighbourhood was also a service space for industrial activities. These industrial activities created a vibrant economic environment which were accompanied by service sector such as restaurants, small buffets and transportation facilities, all of which provided means of creating income for the residents. As mentioned by Sedat, drivers of the trucks were coming to the neighbourhood to rest or eat while waiting for the factory to open⁴²⁹. Also, workers would come to the neighbourhood to eat or rest in *kahvehanes*, which shaped the neighbourhood's economic facilities to focus on the food and beverages sector, providing residents extra source of income beyond working in factories. Some would open small shops to provide food and drinks to those coming to the neighbourhood during their lunch breaks.

As the industrial activities slowed down and finally ended, this led to a decrease in the number of commercial units in the neighbourhood. Inhabitants not only lost the labouring opportunity in the factories or factory-related jobs, but also there was no longer high demand and business for shops. In 2008s, factories were demolished, and port areas industrial sites turned into vacant lands, the area became less busy as people stopped commuting for their work and eventually, there was no longer public transportation operating around the area.

To better understand this radical change, I met with Birol Üzmez, an outsider to the neighbourhood but someone who worked in TARIŞ. At the same time, he is a photographer; after his retirement, he worked in the Ege neighbourhood for five months and opened a photography exhibition named "Mortakya- Roman

⁴²⁹ Interview with Birol on 25 September 2021.

Kahramanları”⁴³⁰⁴³¹. The exhibition narrated the culture of the Roma community living in solidarity. In 2006, he conducted three-month-long fieldwork in the neighbourhood, and he described the conditions as follows;

“When I started to take photos in the neighbourhood, it was the most comfortable time in the area. They (inhabitants) were trying to connect with the city. Therefore, they established an NGO that helped me a lot. Also, the area’s connection with the city was not blocked yet. The transportation routes were passing from the neighbourhood, TARIŞ was still operating, TEKEL had storage, Ege TV⁴³² was still there.”⁴³³

Despite the reduction activities of the factories, the neighbourhood was still connected with the city through the transportation routes and a limited number of operating factories. Also, people continued to shop in the area, occasionally visiting the buffets in the region. However, in 2007, with the establishment of İZBAN⁴³⁴ and the introduction of the railway line that encircled the neighbourhood, the neighbourhood’s connection with the port and the inner parts of the city were cut off as the walking paths leading to the high street was blocked with barriers. Since İZBAN uses a high-speed railway, the walking passage was blocked with barriers. Vehicle entrance to the neighbourhood was cancelled, and the pedestrian walk was the only available through the overpass till the construction of the underpass in 2015. As mentioned by Birol, *“since the community is a closed society. The İZBAN formed*

⁴³⁰ The exhibition name actually referred two meaning; on the one side it refers Roma community who lives in Kahramanlar, on the other side, reference to their life, it refers as fictitious characters.

⁴³¹ Atilla, Okyar. 2020. “Birol Üzmez İle Fotoğraf Üzerine Söyleşi”, *Arthenos*, <https://www.arthenos.com/birol-uzmez-ile-fotograf-uzerine/>, accessed 14 November 2022.

⁴³² Local TV channel of Aegean Region.

⁴³³ Interview with Birol on 25 September 2021.

⁴³⁴ İzmir Suburban Rail system (İZBAN) that connects the northern part of city to southern part. It is corporation of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and The State Railways of Republic of Turkey (TCDD). The railway system belongs to TCDD and it operates by the Metropolitan Municipality. Thus, the suburban rail system uses rails lines of Aydın-İzmir and İzmir-Turgutlu (formerly known as Casabba).

*physical borders and encouraged losing the community's connection with the city*⁴³⁵. Strengthening of physical borders emerged the ghettoization process of the neighbourhood, and inhabitants' use of space changed; for instance, 1517 street used to be open to car traffic as the cars were no longer pass through the neighbourhood, the street became an extension of houses of residents where inhabitants sit and socialise with each other.

The Fair area was an important place of employment in the 1960s; after the closure of nightclubs, it became a space where residents visited to kill time or for leisure activities as Sedat narrates: *"we used to go to the fair area to have fun, or we had Roma Festival in that area. After banning car circulation in the fair area, the festival was interrupted. The barriers on the railway blocked our usage of the fair area"*⁴³⁶. Psychological borders prevented car circulation; thus, the street turned into a dead street of the neighbourhood, but its importance in the everyday life of the people increased as they started to use it as space for socialising, killing time, organising weddings, and holding the spring fast (*hidirellez*). Therefore, the borders encouraged a closed community, resulting in a decline in the residents' economic facilities and conditions.

In order to rectify the ongoing deterioration, the Metropolitan Municipality attempted a project at the coaching business. Coachmen⁴³⁷ business at Alsancak was mainly practiced by the Roma community of the Ege neighbourhood. Coachmen were self-employed, taking care of their horses in the neighbourhood. In order to improve the conditions of workers and horses, in 2011, all coaches were transferred to the metropolitan Municipality, and anyone who is the owner of a horse and/or a

⁴³⁵ Interview with Birol Üzmez on 18.06.2021

⁴³⁶ Interview with Sedat on 9 November 2021

⁴³⁷ In this thesis, I use the term coachmen rather than coachperson because the coaching business used to be practised by only men in the region.

coach became an employee of the Municipality⁴³⁸. The Metropolitan Municipality also formed a facility for horse care next to the neighbourhood and took care of the area's vacant lands. However, as Seyfi stated, *“people were not happy with it, due to working hours and having a fixed minimum wage from the Municipality. They were earning more before this regulation”*⁴³⁹. In my visit to an informally working hookah café, the owner of the place, Burak, echoed the concerns of Seyfi: *“my dad had a coach, we were operating together and earning quite good. After transferring to the Municipality, they did not allow me to work. Thus I opened this hookah café”*⁴⁴⁰. In 2019, all coaching services were suspended as animal rights activists protested and petitioned against the poor conditions of the horses⁴⁴¹. Thus, all coach owners were employed in other departments of the Metropolitan Municipality. Although the initiative of employing people with a regular salary started as a way to improve the economic well-being of the residents, it did not lead to fruitful consequences. As the horses were no longer in use, the place where they were being taken care of was transferred to the Police department mounted police training centre, thus leading to a spatial change in the neighbourhood.

As we see labour practices shaped the urban environment; in other words, the tension of change in these practices was not only spatial but also implicitly social and political. Coaching was something that many people in the regions relied on to make a living. Fitting them in a lawsuit by including them in formal borders provided spaces for horse care; however, banning the entire business caused economic marginalisation in the neighbourhood and a change in how the community used the horse care space, and losing the ownership of the space to a state department.

⁴³⁸ Türkmen, Hamdi. İzmir'de yeni Faytonlar Kent Kartla Çalışacak. Milliyet Gazetesi 2011 [Accessed 25 September 2022. Available from <https://www.milliyet.com.tr/amp/yazarlar/hamdi-turkmen/izmir-de-yeni-faytonlar-kent-kart-la-calisacak-1398946>

⁴³⁹ Interview with Seyfi on 1 June 2022.

⁴⁴⁰ Interview with Burak on 18 July 2022.

⁴⁴¹ İzmir'de fayton dönemi kapandı 2019 [Accessed 25 September 2022. Available from <https://www.izmir.bel.tr/tr/Haberler/izmir-de-fayton-donemi-kapandi/40690/156>.

Therefore, people started to use coaches to collect construction debris from the city and dump it at the former TARIŞ site (see figure 5.12).

The way the transformation of labour impinges on space is not limited to the horse care centre. After the construction of physical borders, the neighbourhood turned into a ghetto followed by urban and financial decay. Therefore, informal labour practices became the dominant economic activity. As mentioned, the olive oil production factory was turned into a furniture atelier. After the closure of the atelier, it became a place for dog races or cock fights operating at night. Due to the lack of formal labouring, the informal economy quickly found a place for itself. Currently, the place operates as a flea market where people can find second-hand or garbage-collected products from the former olive oil factory.

Other informal activities in the area, particularly after the introduction of physical borders, include paper and tin garbage collections. Site walls of the former TARIŞ factory became a convenient place where people bring the collected materials and load them onto vehicles (see figure 5.14).



Figure 5.14 Waste Collection⁴⁴²

⁴⁴² Author's personal collection, 5 August 2021.

A further transformation can be seen in the church area. The place used to be an outdoor cinema in the 1980s, but now there is a *kahvehane* where people watch horse races on TV and bet among themselves. Thus, the occupied place, *kahvehane*, serves not only as a meeting place of inhabitants but also operates as sites of informal activity.

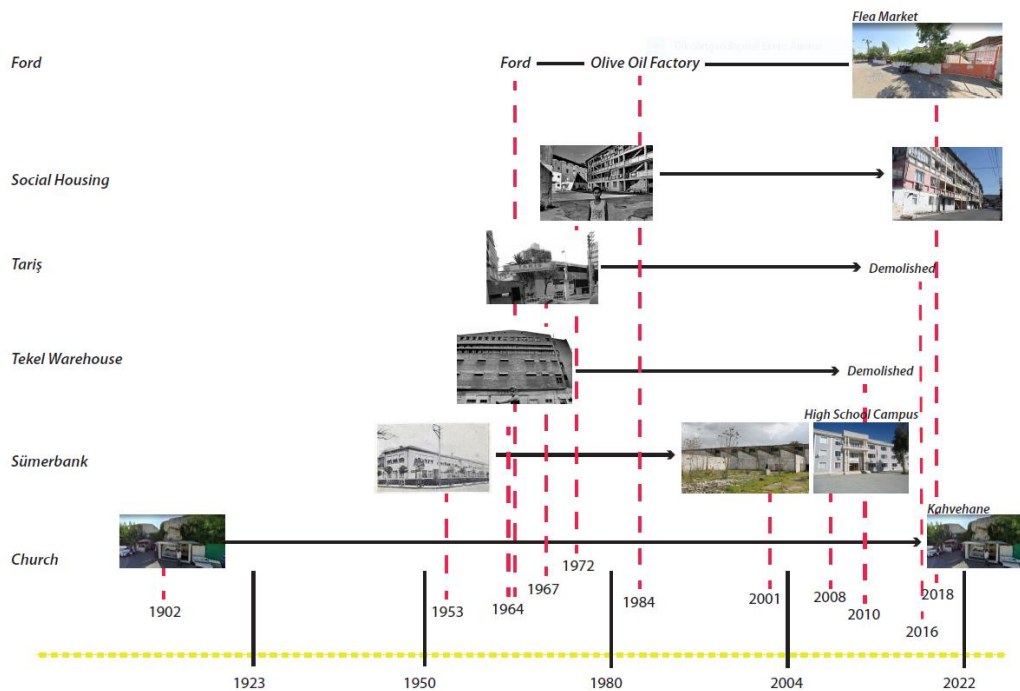


Figure 5.15 Transformation of spaces⁴⁴³

Indeed, activities in the neighbourhood are not limited to informal betting or cockfighting. Deindustrialization and blocking the area's connection with the city prevented the commercial area business from developing. Along with the physical borders, economic decay disabled inhabitants' circulation in the city. Therefore, I particularly wanted to speak with the young generation to understand how they adapt to these changes and cope with the increasingly marginalised ambience of the neighbourhood. In one of my visits, I met three young people at the *kahvehane* and

⁴⁴³ Produced by the Author (see appendix).

I went out with them to start a conversation and participated in their card games. Generally, they preferred to stay in the neighbourhood with occasional visits to Tepecik and Hilal. On one of my visits, they invited me for coffee and hookah. Since I had been hanging around the neighbourhood for a long time quite frequently, I initially could not understand where we could smoke a hookah because I had never encountered any café in the region. Firstly, we arrived in front of a house; the building had three floors and looked like a detached house. They pushed the door without knocking, and we went to the third floor, where there was a café. Indeed, the building was not different from any other housing unit, but it had a café inside, which only served to the residents. The café was full of young people who were drinking, chatting and playing video games. It was a quite masculine *kahvehane with young lads wearing casual smart clothes*. Our second stop was also a hidden café, and again, we entered the ground floor of a house without knocking on the door.

The first floor is the owner's house, and the ground floor operates as the hookah café in the evening but as a carpet washing shop during the day time. The owner's son explained the situation: *"my dad used to be a coachman; after the ban of coaches, he resigned and started to operate carpet washing in that place. At night time, I operate the space as a hookah café; I wish I could have a chance to work as a coachman because it provided a good income"*⁴⁴⁴. The young lad, Emre, who accompanied me, also added, *"My dad was a coachman too, but now he has a restaurant in the neighbourhood, and I help him"*⁴⁴⁵. Similar to the hookah café, restaurant customers are also inhabitants. Since the elderly population faced a transformation of their formal labour, it forced inhabitants to run informal businesses such as turning their houses into café, betting houses, and/or engaging in the garbage collection business. The regions' youth are taking over their parents' informal practices in the absence of job opportunities.

⁴⁴⁴ Interview with Burak on 18 July 2022.

⁴⁴⁵ Interview with Emre on 18 July 2022.

During these visits, there was always the anxiety of showing me and talking about the informal businesses as I was an outsider. In our interactions with young people, they refrained from showing me the places of where drug dealing was taking place and had been acting as if drug dealing was not a reality of their everyday life. This mainly stemmed from their desire to paint a decent picture of their neighbourhood to avoid further marginalisation. I could see such efforts in sharing with me their everyday practices of struggle and warning me about not approaching or talking to certain people on the grounds that they could be dangerous, implicitly implying that they were drug dealers. After the sunset, the neighbourhood became more lively, and all informal and illegal activities became visible. Next to an informal café, some people were sitting in front of their houses and waiting for customers to sell drugs. At the same time, people kill their time in front of their houses, going to *kahvehanes* or going to cafés. The people I have talked to think that due to the ghettoization process, people try to earn money via different means and drug dealing is not the dominant labouring activity. According to them, operating informal cafes and *kahvehanes* are more common, and since they lost their ties with the city and there are no longer formal economic activities they can rely on, residents operate and use these cafes as a way to keep the community spirit, reiterate their belonging with each other but most importantly to make an income to survive.

5.5 Epilogue

“Crises are essential to the reproduction of capitalism. It is in the course of crises that the instabilities of capitalism are confronted, reshaped and re-engineered to create a new version of what capitalism is about. Much gets torn down and laid waste to make way for the new. Once productive landscapes are turned into industrial wastelands, old factories are torn

down or converted to new uses, working-class neighbourhoods get gentrified."⁴⁴⁶

Events of 1968 on the streets of many cities, the collapse of the Bretton Woods international monetary system in the early 1970s and a turbulent decade of labour struggles in the 1970s gave rise to neoliberalism⁴⁴⁷. At the end of the 1970s, an economic-political practice, it started to settle over the World with the growth of the building sector, which shaped the contemporary discussions on urban.

In Turkey, protest and economic destabilisation crises in the 70s led to neoliberal politics with the coup in 1980. In 2001, Turkey faced another economic crisis. Consequently, business and industrial facilities closed down. In 2003 when the ruling of the Justice and Development Party ushered into power, they put neo-liberal policies into practice and as their priority and reshaped the industry. The 1980s signalled the new political and economic regime in Turkey as neo-liberalisation. The policies included the privatization of the state-run factories, growth-oriented entrepreneurial policies, profit-oriented and rent-oriented production of urban space. As a result, the state took a mediator role rather than being a producer and the focus shifted from the production sector to the service sector. As a result, privatizations and shifts to the service sector initiated deindustrialization process. The rise of neo-liberalisation could elaborate in two distinct periods, the first covers the between 1980s to 2000s, as discussed in chapter 4, and the second is the development post-2000s.

Post-2000s was the roll-out phase of neo-liberalisation with de-industrialisation and privatisation, which provided rise to urban entrepreneurialism in İzmir. NCC was one of the results of authorities' interventions and the participation of business associations in urban policy makings. The project reflected how entrepreneurialism is organized and mobilized by the state and capital. From the point of the state, it

⁴⁴⁶ Harvey, "*Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*".

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

preferred overcoming stagnant economic growth and unemployment; from the capital perspective, it was a rent-oriented project for accumulation.



Figure 5.16- Aerial photo of Ege Neighbourhood from 2019⁴⁴⁸

Alsancak port area was deeply affected by the deindustrialization process by the closure of old factories, and through the NCC project, it was planned to convert into new residential space, including tourism and commercial functions in place. The project was brought to the agenda in line with neo-liberal policies, and capital accumulation was the common motivation behind the planning. The capital is created to profit by increasing output and using machines and workers. Overaccumulated capital in the primary circuit needs something with excess capital not to fall when the supply and demand sides are unequal. Thus, it invests in the second circuit, which is related to the consumption of overaccumulation through investing in fixed assets such as houses and durables; thus, it is a built environment. Harvey defines urban as essential to the production process, generation of surplus value, as well as

⁴⁴⁸ Reproduced by the author based on 2019 map of General Directorate of Mapping

consumption (shopping malls) and social reproduction (housing)⁴⁴⁹. At the starting point of neo-liberalisation, the capital gained a mobility advantage through technological advancement. Capital in the old industrial area that organized labour in Fordist production was moved to new geographies. The capital movement to new geographies invested whether in the primary circuit related to the production process or the urban environment. Shifting investment into the urban fabric tends positively to the production of surplus. The NCC project is one example of switching capital and investing in the built environment. The project provided the reproduction of capital through rent-oriented urban development projects.

In line with the movement of capital, after the mid1980s, neoliberal policies concluded that redistributing wealth to less advantaged neighbourhoods, cities, and regions failed and that resources were conveyed to entrepreneurial growth poles⁴⁵⁰. Therefore, the government's priority was to pay attention to capital investment in the era of competition between cities or countries. From the state's perspective, capital takes care of all these marginalized, pesky regions, spaces and urban inequalities, thus turning the city over to the developers and speculative financiers for the benefit of all⁴⁵¹. As an empirical response to this perspective, the Alsancak port area was converted to a new function where capital accumulation could benefit and invest in the urban environment. The transformation of the industrial area affected the Ege neighbourhood not only through a lack of labour activities but also through the change in the urban environment.

Inhabitants lost their labour opportunities with the closure and transformation of industrial areas. Formal work capacity in factories was lost; in parallel, peripheral works in the neighbourhood were transformed. Peripheral work was shrunk as a small-scale business going out of the market and narrowing down the government

⁴⁴⁹ David Harvey. *The urbanization of capital: Studies in the history and theory of capitalist urbanization*. *Science and Society* 51 (1), 1987. p.67.

⁴⁵⁰ David Harvey. *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. Verso 2012. p.29

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

and industrial sectors⁴⁵². Restructuring the labour pyramid provided mobility to peripheral labour and mainly to the informal sector. Both labours in formal and peripheral turn into informal labour in the neighbourhood. However, the informality previously had a weak connection with illicit block. In the new labour pyramid, informal labour is interconnected with illicit block, especially children, the young generation, and people who lost their jobs, drawn into this sector⁴⁵³. Therefore, the inhabitants' labour force was converted to informal or illicit labour.

Loss of peripheral and formal work induced the closure or transformation of shops inside the neighbourhood. In parallel with that, accessibility to the neighbourhood was limited through the construction of railways and the demolition of the factories. The link between the neighbourhood and the city weakened. Previously it was a threshold space, sustaining connection between the industrial area and the city. This feature of the area is lost and, through the physical borders, turning the neighbourhood into a marginalized neighbourhood. Since the labour opportunities are limited and being a member of the Roma community stimulates barriers to job opportunities in private sector, inhabitants have difficulty finding a job in the formal sector. As a survival strategy or income-earning activity, informal and illicit labour activities became prominent in the neighbourhood.

Marginalization of their labour and space became the subject of regeneration. In order to improve the conditions in the neighbourhood, after the declaration of the NCC project, the neighbourhood became the subject of transformation where inhabitants could have both residential and commercial facilities. Additionally, a rise in the informal sector brought police surveillance after 2016. The existence of police and encircled borders of the area formed the process of marginalization to ghettoization. This process has been further exacerbated by the regular police patrolling in the neighbourhood.

⁴⁵² Şenyapılı, “*Charting the ‘Voyage’ of Squatter Housing in Urban Spatial ‘Quadruped’*”.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

With the emergence of the industrial revolution, production activities in the cities increased, and urban environment became one of the essential areas for production. Industrialisation brought less need for labour in agricultural production, and people migrated to cities to make a future for themselves; hence urban population gradually increased. Cities have been evolved as accumulation places where the capitalist mode of production concentrated.

Capital surplus production and absorption continuously look for profitable areas. In doing so, it needs a labour force to produce the surplus value. When it faces labour scarcity or high wages, the existing labour force has to be disciplined through the unemployment thread. The state became a tool to control labour through regulations. Another option for capital was to find a new labour force in the boundaries with migration or to move the capital activities to more profitable geographies. Thus, urbanisation has been a critical area for the absorption of capital and labour surplus throughout capitalism's history⁴⁵⁴. The history of the capital is related to the crisis, which restructures the mode of production and related to overcoming the problem. It reshapes the urban environment by altering production and reproduction spaces. The production space is where the labour produces surplus value. Reproduction space is where the needed labour forces are reproduced for the capital. The crises lead to deepening labour exploitation through altering labour type and production space. Transformation of the production space could occur through a change in the mode of production, such as Fordism to post-Fordism or investing in more profitable

⁴⁵⁴ Harvey, *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*, p 42.

geographies. The system also encounters the need for labour through the new migrations to cities that come up with urban poverty. Thus space of reproduction also shapes by the needs of capital. Therefore, there is a dialectical, intertwined and inseparable relation between capital, urban environment and labour.

6.1 Summary of Research and Findings

Departing from a Roma community's neighbourhood, I attempted to approach the urban space chronologically through the circuit of capital. Each period represents different phases of capital and relationally different approaches to the labour force. Consequently, a transformation of the labour force initiated the transformation of reproduction space through everyday life practices.

In the scope of this research Roma community in the Ege neighbourhood is indicated as a reproduction space. There are several reasons why I chose this neighbourhood: location, the community's diverse characteristics concerning other Roma communities and their diverse characteristic on labour practice. The city has twelve areas that the Roma community accommodate⁴⁵⁵. The Ege neighbourhood is the oldest one among these neighbourhoods. In other areas, the Roma community is located on a few streets or a partial area in the neighbourhood; however, Ege district is accommodated mainly by the Roma community. Another critical factor to focus on the Ege neighbourhood is its location and labour practice. Other Roma communities deal with daily jobs or the entertainment sector, such as Tepecik

⁴⁵⁵ Selçuk Savacı and Ömer Köletelioğlu prepared a map for the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Directorate of Mapping. This map indicates a eleven area for the existing roma community in İzmir. However, in all these areas the community is part of the neighbourhood they are not dominant group as in Ege neighbourhood. These areas are indicated as; Bornova- Erzene Neighbourhood, Gaziemir-Irmak Neighbourhood, Çiğli- Şirintepe neighbourhood, Karşıyaka- Örnekköy and Yalı neighbourhood, Buca-Göksu neighbourhood, Konak-Ege, Kuruçay, Hilal and Yenişehir (Tepecik) neighbourhood.

Zerrin Toprak et. al. *İzmir Büyükkent Bütününde Romanlar*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 2014. p.267. In addition to this map, there is a roma community in Urla-Sıra neighbourhood. (see appendix)

community, which they know as playing instruments. However, Roma in Ege does not deal with the entertainment sector. Even in their weddings, people come from Tepecik to play instruments. The Roma community in Ege, work in labour-intensive sectors because of its location between the harbour and the city centre. Another importance of the area is ENSHP, constructed on the industrial site in the 1960s to protect the community and have unique plans to adapt the housing conditions for the community. The attitude of authorities shows the recognition of the community. Therefore, the Roma community in the Ege neighbourhood is unique in terms of its location and labour practice.

The last two centuries showed that İzmir has commercial activities, which increased with the construction of the port and have been of vital importance for the city. Pre-industrial production also increased related port activities. Before the republican era, commercial and pre-industrial activities were interrupted due to epidemics and wars. In the republican period, with the emergence of industrialisation, new industrial facilities were formed behind the port area. Development and re-development of industrial facilities faced a crisis between the 1950s and 2020s arising from the economic shift both globally and nationally. Each crisis caused a paradigm shift in capital investment and its relation with labour. As an adjacent neighbourhood to the industrial area, the Ege settlement was affected by these changes to labour practices and, thus, the alteration of the urban environment.

At the beginning of the Republican Era, the city was trying to reconstruct the urban environment due to damage from the great fire. Till the 1950s, new plans were prepared, and in line with these plans, the area behind the port was transformed into an industrial area hosting previously pre-industrial facilities such as mills and carpentries. Similarly, The Ege neighbourhood was emerging before the great fire. Then, it was reformed by the Roma community as a consequence of the Turkish-Greek population exchange in 1922. Early community members were dealing with informal work such as collecting garbage, riding coaches or insecure jobs in the city. During this time process, the first members of the community used the houses left

behind from the Greek minority or constructed their own houses with cans as a temporary construction.

As mentioned in the City Council meeting, people were able to get hold of these cans through the transformation of garbage bins. The material was easy to access and eased the construction of a shelter. Therefore, the area is called the tin-can neighbourhood. The neighbourhood's character also aligns with the gecekondu debates. Mainly the word means built-at- night, and the buildings are often constructed illegally because they occupy the public lands. Since the area remains industrial, the first houses sit on this industrial land. Gecekondu areas are self-organised neighbourhoods, and as understood from Aru's plan of İzmir, they started to emerge in 1945 in the city. Gecekondu appeared to respond immediate housing needs of the city during the industrialisation period between 1945-1980⁴⁵⁶.

Till the 1950s, inhabitants were working dominantly in the informal sector. Marshall's aid and industrialisation movement of the country took an investment in the port area with the construction of state-run industrial facilities. Till the 1960s number of these factories increased, and these investments occurred in the production spaces which needed a cheap labour force. To meet the need of industry, inhabitants of the neighbourhood gradually started to work as formal labour in the factories. Dominant informal practices steadily turned into formal labour. In line with that, the neighbourhood's population increased, and to respond to the housing

⁴⁵⁶ Kemal H. Karpat. *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976;

İlhan Tekeli, Yiğit Gülöksüz and Tarık Okyay. *Gecekondu, Dolmuşlu, İşportalı Şehir*. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1976;

İlhan Tekeli. *Bağımlı Kentleşme*. Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 1977;

Tansı Şenyapılı. *Gecekondu: Çevre İşçilerin Mekânı*. Ankara: Middle East Technical University Publications, 1981;

Önder Şenyapılı. *Kentlileşen Köylüler*. İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1978.

Burcu Şentürk. *Bu Çamuru Beraber Çiğnedik, Bir Gecekondu Mahallesi Hikâyesi*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2015.

İlhan Tekeli and Tarık Okyay. *Dolmuşun Öyküsü*. Ankara: Çevre ve Mimarlık Bilimleri Derneği, 1980.

Ruşen Keleş. *Kentleşme Politikası*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2015.

needs, the community constructed more gecekondus. The area included the program of squatter housing prevention to improve the conditions. The place was located next to the industrial site and in the city centre; also, it has importance because of providing a cheap labour force. Even though the land is located on industrial land, it was purchased by the municipality to construct social housing in the neighbourhood. Thus, existing squatter housing was demolished, and the ENSHP was completed on that site.

The ENSHP was one of the milestones for the neighbourhood. The tin-can neighbourhood and informally working inhabitants are acknowledged by the authorities. The transformation of industrial activities transformed their labour from informal to formal. Therefore, with the state's intervention, the urban environment in the neighbourhood changed through the project. Socially, Roma communities face discrimination or social exclusion in Turkish cases. However, being a cheap labour force for the industry, the state intervened with the housing project and allowed the construction in the neighbourhood to protect their culture and unity. Concerning its comparative examples, it is a unique attempt towards the Roma community in Turkish cases⁴⁵⁷.

The industrialisation period till the 1980s shifted the labour practice of inhabitants, and increased demand for a formal labour force emerged worker neighbourhood feature of the area. Also, the labour characteristic of the area was redefined according to Şenyapılı's theorisation. Previously, inhabitants were dealing with informal labour. However, increased activities in industrial areas resulted in the need for small businesses to work for industry and shop to respond to workers in the industrial area. Therefore, inhabitants' informal labour was transformed into formal and peripheral

⁴⁵⁷ Tolga İslam. *Devlet Eksenli Soylulaştırma ve Yerel Halk: Neslişah ve Hatice Sultan Mahalleleri (Sulukule) Örneği*. PhD thesis, Yıldız Technical University, Istanbul. 2009;
Hacer Foggo. The Sulukule affair: Roma against expropriation. *Roma Rights Quarterly*, 4, 41–47. 2007;
Fehmi Doğan, Adile Arslan Avar & Tonguç Akış, Urla Sıra Mahallesi Romanları. İzmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü. 2013.

labour stimulated in the neighbourhood. The ENSHP's commercial units contributed to the inhabitants' peripheral work growth. According to the interview data, small businesses produced intermediate goods for factories, and small shops provided shopping opportunities for the working class. Also, interviews show that, illicit work still exist in the neighbourhood.

The global crisis in oil during the 1972s gave birth to the neo-liberal policies in the world. From the Marxist perspective, the capital faced accumulation crises that gave rise to neoliberal policies through the Regan and Thatcher governments. The 24th January decision enabled Turkey's economic shift to neo-liberal policies. The two decades were the regulatory preparation period for the İzmir port area. The regulation phase accompanied the area's deindustrialisation after the 2000s. As discussed in chapter 4, till the 2000s, labour activities did not change much until the 1970s. The peripheral work and formal work were contained as the dominant labour activities.

In the built environment, along with the shift to neoliberal policies, the area took urban investments to sustain infrastructure for entrepreneurs. The infrastructure investments were rehabilitating the Meles river, increasing the port's capacity and improving the connection to the port by constructing the highway. From the gecekondü debates, after the 1980s, title deeds of squatters were distributed through the enactment of the Development amnesty law. Inhabitants of the Ege neighbourhood obtained the title deed in 1984. Then, small-scale enterprises served as a dominant building model in transforming squatter settings⁴⁵⁸. The new migrants became the tenants of the former migrants. However, this process does not apply to the area. Except for the ENSHP, all buildings are constructed by the owners without having small-scale enterprises. In this point case differs from the transformation of gecekondü cases.

⁴⁵⁸ Işık and Pınarcıoğlu. *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk Sultanbeyli Örneği*, p.278; İlhan Tekeli. *Türkiye'de Kentleşme Yazıları*. Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1982.

From the theoretical perspective, as Harvey⁴⁵⁹ argued, over-accumulated capital in the primary circuit shifted to the secondary circuit to overcome the crisis. In Turkey, capital switching comes from the privatisation of state-run enterprises. The capital necessitates the designation of the most profitable sites. Neil Smith argued the profitable sites through the rent gap theory, defined as the disparity between actual land rent and potential land rent⁴⁶⁰. In another approach, it could enucleate the difference between the use and exchange value of the land. The process begins with the decline of land due to disinvestment, then the movement of capital to another site for possible profit. Authorities extracted the gap between the exchange and use value through the NCC project in the port area. The trace was the valorisation of the industrial area till 1980 and the de-valorisation of it through disinvestments.

Shifting economic policies accompanied the alteration of labour at the top of the pyramid that was transferred from union-protected formal Fordist labour to white-collar administrators and professionals. In the middle part, peripheral labour lost its position; these small-scale businesses, whether shrunk and went out of the market due to deindustrialisation, became informal labour, or they have succeeded in enriching their position by exploiting the labour. Former peripheral labour became marginal workers intertwined with illicit and illegal activities or transformed into professionals. Spatial correspondence of the top position in the pyramid reflected the gated communities in cities⁴⁶¹. The NCC project opened up new land for this class by transforming the industrial zone into high-rise gated communities. After the 2000s, inhabitants were mainly located in the middle class with small businesses and transformed into informal workers with an interlocking character of illicit activities. For instance, coachmen had to go out of the market due to the de-regulation of the sector and become informal workers in other sectors. Their spatial correspondence

⁴⁵⁹ David Harvey. *Social Justice and the City*. London: Edward Arnold. 1973.

⁴⁶⁰ Neil Smith. Toward a Theory of Gentrification A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45(4), 538–548. 1979. pp.543.

⁴⁶¹ Şenyapılı, “Charting the ‘voyage’ of squatter housing in urban spatial ‘quadruped’”, p.45.

is visible through the alteration of existing facilities in the neighbourhood. After the 2000s, as can be deduced from interviews, the former Ford service building became home to marginal labour activities with a flea market. The church building was operating as an open cinema in the 1980s, transformed into a small business place as a bone-cracking atelier. Lastly, it was transformed into a kahvehane where illegal activities found a place through informal betting and gambling. Since the peripheral work dispersed, formal shops of the ENSHP converted into housing units. Also, other small businesses in the neighbourhood were closed down or continued to operate informally to inhabitants.

I was in the field till 2023 and conducted the interviews between 2021 to 2022. In existing conditions labour of the inhabitants was transformed into informal labour. However, the condition is different from the 1950s conditions. Informality was based on the insecure and daily paid work. Being coachmen, gathering tins, and papers, doing daily cleaning work in houses, and working at the Fair area were some examples of informal labour. Currently, some of these labour opportunities are lost due to job loss concerning the regulation or close-down of entertainment places in the fair area. The labour practices shifted to informal shops in the neighbourhood, integrated with illicit activities, and became the dominant factor.

Urban conditions also changed since the 1950s. The neighbourhood turned into a closed community due to its physical boundaries. Rehabilitation of Meles river, highway construction and barriers for high-speed trains encircled the area. Moreover, the loss of industrial activities transformed the routes passing inside the neighbourhood. Workers in the factory and transportation routes were passing inside the community. Thus, the area lost its connection with the city, and enclosed characteristics and transformation of the labour force brought ghettoisation of the neighbourhood. Upcoming urban regeneration project planned to improve the conditions of the area. However, if the project aims to sustain the community in the setting, the primary concern should be transforming the labour rather than regenerating the urban texture. This thesis also shows that labour is essential for changing the urban environment. Transformation of a concrete environment without

paying attention to labour could cause gentrification in the area and displace the community.

6.2 Limitation of Research

I faced two types of limitations during the research: fieldwork and archival work. In fieldwork, it was hard to reach inhabitants due to police existence. However, the problem is addressed through the organic relations with inhabitants. Each inhabitant introduced me to another inhabitant for the interview. Therefore, in the beginning, I remained in the same circle who had a particular approach to transforming labour and urban. This obstacle was overcome by meeting with people in different kahvahanes. However, interviews were mainly conducted with men. As a male researcher, it was not easy to reach female inhabitants. I could contact them only through their husbands. Therefore, all women interviewees obtained their husband's consent, and I interviewed both couples. One of my female colleagues sometimes accompanied me to interview female inhabitants. Therefore, I tried to combine narratives of interlocutors from both genders with historical data focussing on all three periods of the area.

To draw the socio-spatial transformation of the area from the 1950s, I have conducted interviews with second-generation inhabitants who were formal workers in the factories and the youth people as the third generation who are currently part of the informal labour. However, it was hard to reach the first generation of the neighbourhood as they were old and some passed away. This obstacle prevented the first-hand understanding of the conditions that formed the society between 1923-1945. Therefore, the second generation of inhabitants' knowledge of the period is based on what they heard from their parents.

The last limitation of interviews was to reach the illicit labour force of the neighbourhood. Since the police existence increased in recent years, they were unwilling to talk due to security reasons. Also, it was hard to reach them, and in some

cases, inhabitants prevented me from talking with labours for my security. Thus, I was able to conduct only one interviewee from this labour practice.

Since I aimed to elaborate on the transformation of urban starting from the 1950s, I conducted archival research. There is not much archival data to reach historical records about Romani communities, which is the common problem of Romani studies. This is because historical documents are written by other people rather than by their own society, due to their low level of education or it could be related to their nomad character. Therefore, few researchers study the community. Thus, historical data about the area was limited. In addition to that, official records for the site did not remain fully. The City Council Meetings and daily newspapers gathered historical data on the neighbourhood. However, the coup in the 1980s not only affected the socioeconomic conditions but also make it difficult to access historical data. The City Council Meeting Minutes and some daily newspapers were lost after the 1980s. Thus, it was impossible to draw historical context during the coup period.

6.3 Contribution to the Knowledge and Further Studies

The main research question was how to reframe the transformation process of urban fabric through labour, problematising the dialectical relationship between the urbanisation of capital and labour. I elaborated on the relationship between the two concepts using the Roma neighbourhood as a case study

(I)Through the engagement with the Roma community regarding the object of transformation of labour and capital circulation, this dissertation has critically investigated the historical process of a disadvantaged group in Turkey. Since there is little research on historical information about the Roma community, this study aims to address this gap through the Ege neighbourhood case. In doing so, I focused on the evolvement and transformation of the society. Additionally, gentrification often affects the disadvantaged group or Roma community with some expected consequences. Contemporary Turkish and global literature shows not a different

outcome. However, during the transformation period, the social housing project in the area indicates that the society's sustainability could be achieved through in-situ regenerations and contributions to the everyday life of the field.

The Roma community is always conceptualised as a music and entertainment-related community. In addition, they are seen as communities with illicit activities. However, this dissertation has revealed that focussing on labour practice; not all Roma communities have similar labour activities. The labour of the community is affected and shaped within context and opportunities. The ghettoisation of an urban niche is not occurring due to inhabitants' conditions but how everyday life changes concerning the surroundings affect the process of marginalisation.

(II) The research methodology of the dissertation also was provided to draw transformation of urban fabric through oral history. The methodology provided an accurate picture of the past by augmenting the information with inhabitants' history, public records and important events. Lifestory of inhabitants contributed to obtaining various viewpoints, which helped to fill the gaps in the documented history; sometimes, it corrects or contradicts history. Rather than having official historical documentation written by authorities, oral history contributed to the transformation of the area through the perspective of the social fabric. This method teaches us what has transformed and what has stayed the same over time concerning the personal consequences of transformation. Also, it opened up how inhabitants experienced power relations. Since authorities dominantly wrote the Roma communities' histories, the thesis provided the transformation perspective from the lenses of those who witnessed the change.

(III) Marx and flowingly Harvey's interpretation notion of the capital's circuit became critical after the neo-liberalisation and globalisation in an urban environment.. However, employment framework in empirical analysis in relation to labour theory on the urban environment is rare. Additionally, labour discussion mainly focused on the formal and informal discussion that has deficiencies in applying to the Turkish case. Therefore, the research frames the transformation

process in a dialectical relation between labour and capital regarding land. The dissertation not only empirically grounds the framework of the circuit of capital and transformation of labour but also contributes to the theoretical reframing process by its formed research methodology to test the framework.

(IV) Transformation of labour and capital form the basis of this research. The concepts were handled through the macro view in the neo-liberalisation period. Shifting the scale from global to the neighbourhood, macro to micro, the research re-contextualised and re-conceptualised the terms. It elaborated the urban environment through these concepts and re-formed the relation between land, labour and city. Therefore, the thesis provided a local reflection of the transformations by empirically testing the framework in the İzmir case.

This research is significant because it reframes a disadvantaged neighbourhood beyond urban phenomenon and analyse the socio-spatial urban history of a particular community through the lens of labour and urbanisation of capital. In line with that, the research aimed to further discussions on labour practice in spatial research. The oral history and archival research became a tool to document and elaborate the transformation process of an urban environment used by disadvantaged groups. The research could be expanded with analyses of other Roma or disadvantageous communities' labour practices in light of the urbanisation of capital. Secondly, the research implements the historical reading from the labour and capital perspective. The research could steer alternative theoretical frameworks looking particularly at marginalised communities with less interaction in industrial areas. In doing so, labour and capital based perspectives could be base for discussion and should include different communities that do not share the common culture and migrate to the area in various periods, facing poverty, unemployment and being pushed into a illicit labour force. In this line, the research forms the ground for future debate on urban transformations and crises faced by altering labour and urban conditions.

6.4 Implications: Circuit of Capital, Labour and Roma Community

Throughout the historical process, the capital was invested firstly into the production space and then the reproduction space. When the capital faces a crisis, the problem is addressed with changes in the circuit of the capital. However, each shift has a reflection on the urban environment and also affects the labour market. Along with the alteration of capital, the labour market transformed and expanded. In the Turkish case, the need for a labour force emerged from immigration to city centres and formed the *gecekondu* neighbourhood. The construction of squatter housing transformed the urban environment to respond to the need for cheap labour. This feature reflects the dialectical and intertwined character of the labour market and the urbanisation of capital.

In the 1980s, Turkey faced neoliberal policies that accompanied de-industrialisation and closed down state-run industrial activities. The policies encouraged the shift from import substitution policies to export-oriented policies. Thus, the state ran out of the market and weakened the social policies to protect the labour and the capital invested into industrial production and built environments. In line with de-industrialisation, some state-run facilities were privatised or demolished.

The Izmir Port area was one of the spaces where industrial production was located. In 2001, the NCC project introduced the apparatus of capitalist forces to impose profit-oriented urbanisation. The project focus on the primacy of the exchange value of space over the use value of space. Thus, the destruction of remaining industrial facilities accelerated the process. The labour practice in this area was also lost and mandatorily transformed into marginal or informal labour. Additionally, peripheral labours who provided mediate products to the industrial area were closed down or shifted to the informal/marginalised labour force. To sum up, the transformation of production space is viewed as a strategic site to implement the second circuit of capital and urban political praxis of hegemonic capitalist forces through the ruling elites or state power.

In addition to transforming industrial facilities in the port area, surrounding of the neighbourhood also started to alter. Gated communities and a private hospital were constructed in the east part of the neighbourhood. Also, in the east part of the area, between Kültür Park and the neighbourhood, buildings have been converted to private medical facilities such as hospitals and laboratories. Therefore, not only were the production spaces transformed into residential buildings but also, residential housing stock turned into a service space with private medical buildings. It represents the third circuit of the capital through the private hospitals. The neighbourhood faces the circulation of capital from the first circuit to the second and third circuits with gated communities and private hospitals. Before these transformations, the community could use their labour power to work in these areas; however, transformation around the neighbourhood limited their labour-intensive working capacity, which is diminishing every day. Therefore, the neighbourhood's population decreased yearly after the declaration of the urban regeneration and NCC projects.

This thesis indicates two possibilities for the port area and the neighbourhood. Since the port area will transform into a new residential and commercial site, an urban regeneration project will also implement in the neighbourhood. In the first possibility, the Roma community will remain in the neighbourhood. Despite the transformation and loans for their new housing, the area would face another phase of alteration in the labour market and urban environment. Former industrial facilities will turn into residential and commercial areas; therefore, in the first scenario, there will be another transformation in labour regarding the service sector's emergence. Once more, the community's labour force will transform and adapt to the changing conditions. Also, the regeneration project plan is to construct a community commercial area in the neighbourhood. Thus, commercial activities could transform informal labour into peripheral/former labour. The second possibility indicates that the community will move out of the neighbourhood due to unaffordable housing prices and expenditures of the urban regeneration project. They will face gentrification, as in the other case of Turkey.

In this context, controlling the mode of production gave the power to transform the labour and urban area regarding the interest of the capital; on the other hand, labour power empowers humans to transform the built area through their work capacity. Urban areas became combat fields between capitalist forces and inhabitants. Since the bourgeoisie has the power of policy-making and controlling the ruling elites, inhabitants have the labour force to resist intervention in the urban environment. The transformation of the labour force became a crucial factor in transforming the urban environment. If labour power is one of the human capacities, it could resist the urbanisation of capital through labour relations in producing urban space. Since there is a dialectical relationship between labour and urban space, the built environment could be ground to tackle capitalist production and stimulate alternative labour relations to benefit citizens who could find tactics and strategies to overcome the crisis as capital through labour-power.

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APPENDICES

A. Ethic Committee Report

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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29 EYLÜL 2021

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Mehmet Melih CİN'in "A CRITICAL INQUIRY ON MODE OF PRODUCTION OF INFORMAL SETTINGS AND THEIR REFLECTIONS ON PUBLIC SPACE: LIMINAL SPACE AT İZMİR EGE NEIGHBOURHOOD" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **386-ODTU-2021** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

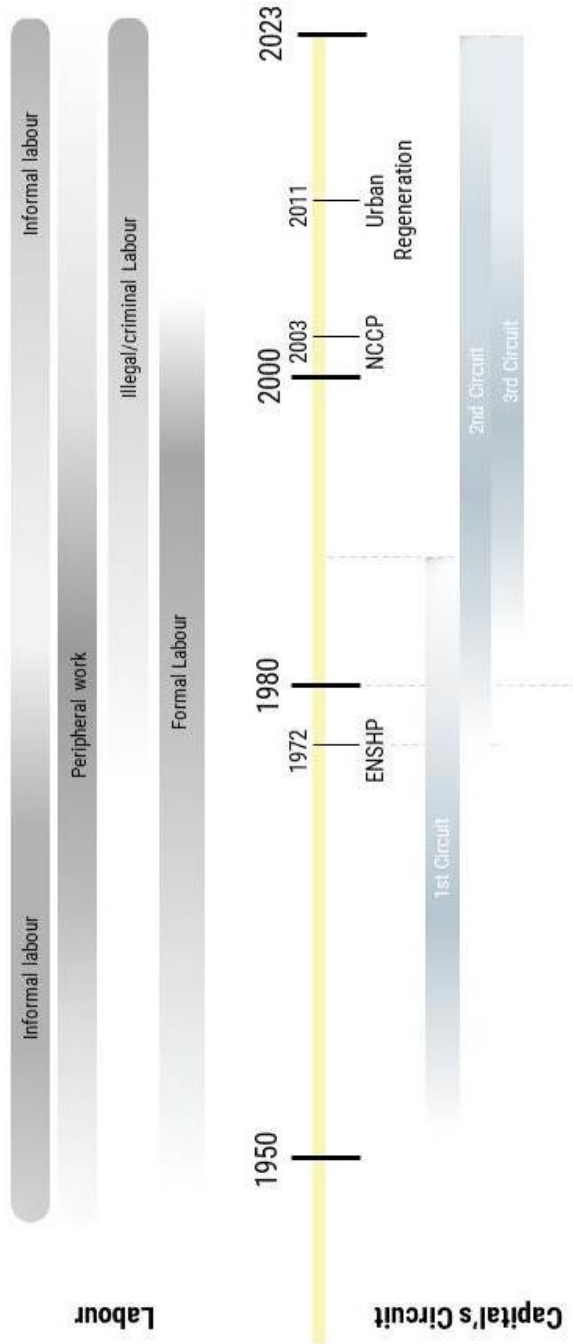
Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

B. Semi-Structured Interview Questions

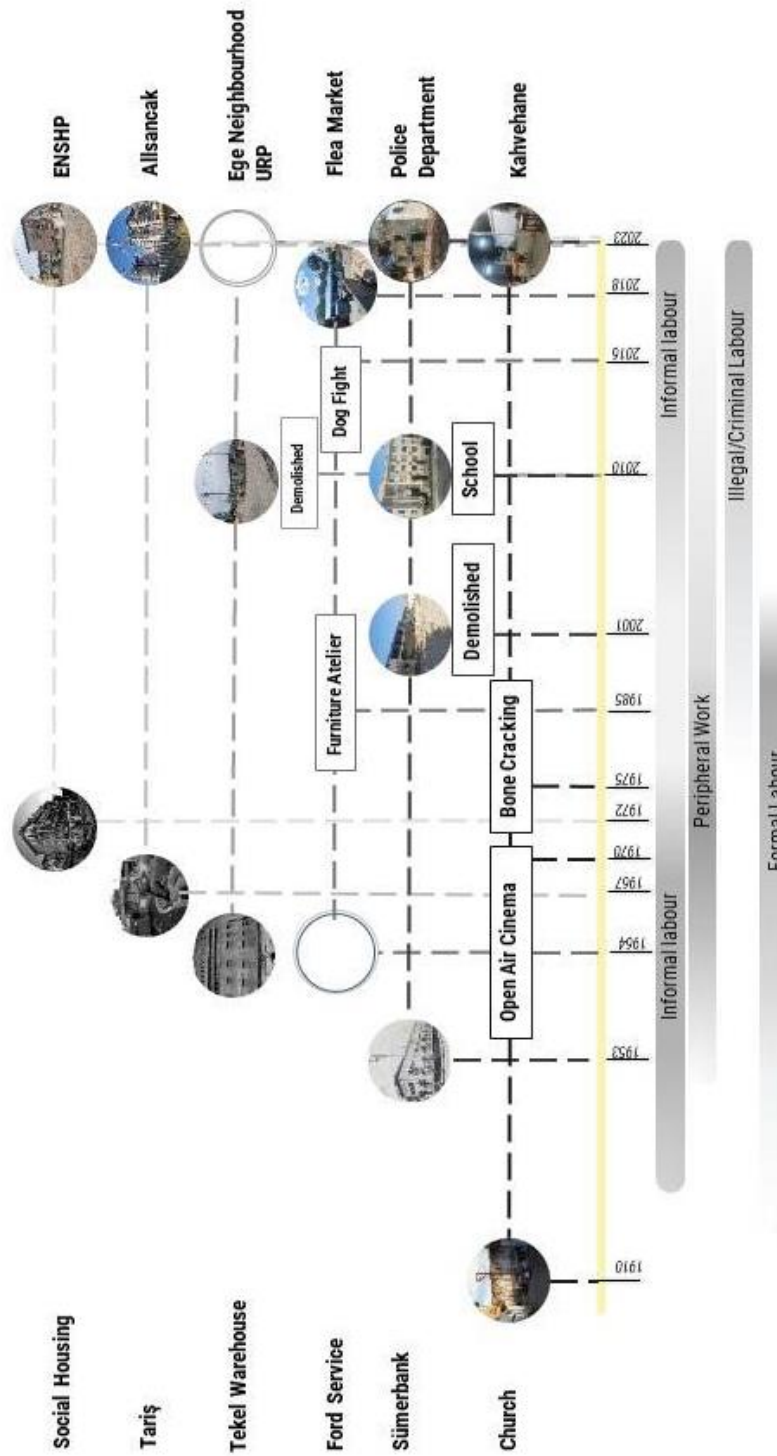
1. Ne kadar süredir mahallede yaşıyorsun? (Mahalleye ne zaman taşındın? Buradan önce hangi mahallede yaşıyordun? Neden burayı tercih ettiniz?)
2. Nerde doğdun?
3. Mahallede ev sahibi misin kiracı mısın?
4. Ne iş yapıyorsun? Sigortalı mı bu iş, kayıtlı mı? İşe nasıl gidiyorsun? (Siz veya aile üyelerinden biri daha öncesinde Tariş, Tekel veya Kristal yağ gibi fabrikalarda çalıştı mı?)
5. Mahallenin konumunu ve sınırlarını gösterebilir misin? Mahalle, Alsancak ve Fuar nerde gösterebilir misin? Mahalle hakkında ne düşünüyorsun, nasıl tanımlarsın?
6. Mahallenin sizin için anlamı nedir?
7. “Sokak”ta ne sıklıkla vakit geçiriyorsun, ne amaçla kullanıyorsun?
8. Sokak nerden başlayıp nereye kadar devam etmekte, sınırları neresi?
9. Pandemi sonrasında sokağa ne sıklıkla gidiyorsun veya vakit geçiriyorsun?
10. Pandemi nasıl etkiledi? Alışverişinizi nasıl yaptınız?
11. Mahalle için hangi ismi kullanıyorsun? (Neden?)
12. Çalışmadığın zamanlar ne yapıyorsun? Vaktini mahallede mi geçiriyorsun?
13. Çalıştığın ve çalışmadığın günde ki günlük rutinini anlatabilir misin?
14. Komşunu tanıyor musun? Komşunla ilişki nasıl?
15. Mahallenin düğün cenaze gibi zamanlarda bir geleneği/töreni/alışkanlığı var mı?

16. Senin için eđence ve boş zaman nedir? Eđlenmek için ne yapıyorsunuz, nereye gidiyorsunuz?
17. Mahalle ile ilgili iyi ve kötü olduğunu düşündüğün yanlarını anlatır mısın?
18. Mahallede yüksek işsizlik olması ve devamlı suçla ilişkilendirilmesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsun?
19. Mahallede ki fabrikaların açık olduğu zamanda ki gündelik hayatınız, çalışma koşullarınız nasıldı? Fabrikaların kapanması gündelik hayat ve ekonomik açıdan nasıl bir deęişim yarattı?
20. Kentsel dönüşüm projesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsun? Kentsel dönüşümün gerçekleşmemesi mahalle hayatını nasıl etkiledi?
21. Kentsel dönüşüm uygulamasının gerçekleşmesi durumunda mahalleden taşınmak durumunda kalırsan nereye taşınmayı düşünüyorsun?

C. Circulation of Capital and Transformation of Labour Practice



D. Transformation of Urban Environments



E. Glossary

Gecekondu: Squatter houses in Turkey were mainly constructed during the country's rapid industrialisation period to respond to the need for shelter for the workforce. These houses were constructed quickly without proper permissions.

Illegal/Criminal Labour: This type of labour was framed by Şenyapılı as a third block in labour practice to indicate unregistered labour that is not part of informal labour. Not to criminalise and not to use discriminatory language, in the scope of this thesis, illicit labour is used to define this labour practice.

Informal Economy: The economy produced by informal labour practices; it is neither taxed nor monitored by the authorities. However, it is attached to the formal economy.

Informal Labour: Unregistered, unrecorded, unregistered labour that could be part of the formal economy or officially unrecorded daily jobs.

Romani: "Roma", "Romani", and "Romany" refers to the Roma community, and both three words are used alternately in the thesis. "Gypsy" is another word used to describe Romani communities, but it was not used in the thesis due to its harmful and discriminant meaning.

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Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	İzmir Katip Çelebi University, Urban Regeneration	2016
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PUBLICATIONS

1. Kılınç, Kıvanç, And Cin, Mehmet Melih. "Housing the People Who “Lived Free”:Inhabiting Social Housing in the Tin-Can Neighborhood." In *Architecture and the Housing Question*, 151-172. London: Routledge, London/New York, 2022.
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