

THE ROLE OF NEWS MEDIA IN REPRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE:
IDEOLOGICAL PRESENTATION OF NEWS REPORTS ON GALATAPORT
ISTANBUL PROJECT IN HÜRRİYET AND SABAH NEWSPAPERS

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BY

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

23.05.2022

Rümeysa Kartalcı Güreken



ABSTRACT

Media is shaping the consciousness, ideas, emotions and even daily lives of individuals by presenting a certain framework of meaning to the society. The individuals evaluate the social events and facts within the framework of meaning that is provided by the media. This study is defending the opinion that the content and discourse that is produced in the urban transformation news reports by the journalist, as the organic intellectual, is legitimizing the capital-oriented transformation of the city and the relations of production are reproduced. Starting from the presupposition that reality that is constructed in news which is produced along with certain hegemonic discourse has influences on the consciousness of the individuals, the study argues the news discourse is influential over the individuals in leading them to illusions by neglecting the social inequalities and contradictions, and by virtue of this, neoliberal hegemony can be reproduced. Accordingly, in the study, the role of the hegemonic discourses produced in the news in mainstream newspapers about the Galataport Istanbul Project, which is considered as the spatial reflection of neoliberal hegemony, in legitimizing the capital-oriented transformation of the city and in the production of social consent, is researched with a critical approach and Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method. As a result of the study, to be legitimized the space reproduced as a commodity, it has been observed the project is identified with a strong economy, development, well-being and welfare of the society in the news discourses. By developing a content and discourse that affirms such projects for a strong and developed, society has been encouraged to support neoliberal urban hegemony.

Keywords: media, urban transformation, news discourse, organic intellectual, neoliberal urban hegemony.

ÖZET

Medya, topluma belli bir anlam çerçevesi sunarak bireylerin bilinçlerini, fikirlerini, hislerini ve hatta gündelik yaşamlarını şekillendirmektedir. Bireyler toplumsal olay ve olguları medyanın sunduğu anlam çerçevesi doğrultusunda değerlendirir. Bu çalışma, kentsel dönüşüm haberlerinde organik aydın olarak gazeteci tarafından üretilen içerik ve söylemin, kentin sermaye odaklı dönüşümünü meşrulaştırdığı ve egemen ilişkilerin yeniden üretilmesine hizmet ettiği görüşündedir. Belirli hegemonik söylemler eşliğinde üretilen haberlerde kurgulanan gerçekliğin, bireylerin bilinci üzerinde etkili olduğu ön kabulünden hareketle, çalışmada bireylerin toplumsal eşitsizlikleri ve çelişkileri gözden kaçırarak yanılsamaya düşmesinde haber söyleminin etkili olduğu, bu sayede neoliberal hegemonyanın yeniden üretilebildiği ileri sürülmektedir. Bu doğrultuda çalışmada, neoliberal hegemonyanın mekânsal yansıması olarak değerlendirilen Galataport İstanbul Projesi ile ilgili ana akım gazetelerde yer alan haberlerde üretilen hegemonik söylemlerin, kentin sermaye odaklı dönüşümünün meşrulaştırılmasında ve toplumsal rızanın üretilmesinde nasıl bir rol oynadığı eleştirel yaklaşımla ve Teun A. Van Dijk'ın eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemiyle araştırılmıştır. Çalışmanın sonucunda, bir meta olarak yeniden üretilen mekânın meşrulaştırılabilmesi için, haber söylemlerinde projenin güçlü ekonomi, kalkınma, toplumun iyiliği ve refahı ile özdeşleştirildiği gözlemlenmiştir. Güçlü ve gelişmiş bir kent için bu tür projeleri olumlayan bir içerik ve söylem geliştirilerek, toplumun neoliberal kentsel hegemonyayı desteklemesi teşvik edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: medya, kentsel dönüşüm, haber söylemi, organik aydın, neoliberal kentsel hegemonya.

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1. INTRODUCTION

It is seen that the structures of the cities have constantly changed and transformed throughout the history with the economic, political, social and cultural changes. Also today, along with the globalisation and neoliberal policies, urban space is becoming a stage for important changes and transformations. It is known that since the 80s, along with social, cultural, ideological and economic developments in the world, a novel process of urbanisation started in various cities of Turkey, in particular in Istanbul. As of this period, the pressure of capital over the urban lands started to increase as the rent obtained from the urban land is becoming prominent. It is also seen that urban planning, which has been implemented during a process in which cities has been perceived as spaces where capital can be reproduced, is overlapping with the objective of transforming cities into centres of attraction addressing capital and its actors.

According to Harvey, who indicates capitalism has produced various financial crises in the last 30 to 40 years and many of these crises were essentially ones of urbanisation, the history of capitalism should be examined in order to understand the relationship between the capital accumulation processes and urbanisation (Harvey, 2009):

Capitalism is a system that always produces surpluses. You can think of it this way: the capitalist wakes up in the morning and he goes into the market with a certain amount of money and buys labor and means of production. He puts those elements to work and produces a commodity and sells it for more money than he began with. So at the end of the day the capitalist has more than he had at the beginning of the day. And the big question is what does he do with the

more that he's picked up? Now if he were like you and me he would probably go out and have a good time and spend it. But capitalism is not like that. There are competitive forces that push him to reinvest part of his capital in new developments. In the history of capitalism there has been a 3% rate of growth since 1750. Now a 3% growth rate means that you have to find outlets for capital. So capitalism is always faced with what I call a capital surplus absorption problem. Where can I find a profitable outlet to apply my capital?

As capital discovers the rent obtained from urban land, capitalism would be able to overcome the problem of the absorption of surplus capital. It is important to mention views of Lefebvre regarding on how this may happen (Lefebvre, 1976, p. 21):

Capitalism has found itself able to attenuate (if not resolve) its internal contradictions for a century, and consequently, in the hundred years since the writing of *Capital*, it has succeeded in achieving 'growth'. We cannot calculate at what price but we do know the means: by occupying space, by producing a space.

Capitalism has always looked for new profitable fields of investment for it in order to overcome its crises. Thus, following the economic crisis marking the 70s, a new process was needed to be started in order to sustain capital accumulation. From 1980s onwards, along with the developments in the information and communication technologies, the obstacles in front of capital's expansion in large geographies were eliminated and capital at the international level entered a new restructuring. This process, which is operating under the name of globalisation and opening the road for major capital investments at the national and international level, brought a change in the logic of capital accumulation. During this process, while on the one hand, the

obstacles in front of capital's relocating and spreading to larger geographies were eliminated, and on the other hand, along with the developments in the information and communication technologies, privatisations of the public goods and assets accelerated and the forces of capital came to a position from where they can interfere in the economic and social fields which the state has dominated. During this process, under the influence of globalisation and neoliberal economic policies, marketization of urban land to global capital also became easier. With the flexibilization of the controls over the financial markets, capital investments started to be directed towards urban areas which posed greater potential of obtaining profits and speculative earnings instead of areas based on production. Thus, the use value of the cities, which became valuable commodities for the process of capital accumulation, was replaced by the exchange value. In other words, urban space has been commodified in order to overcome the accumulation crisis of capitalism.



While, on the one hand, with the investments made in urban areas, a solution was found to the over-accumulation crisis of capitalism, on the other hand, occurrence of new crises was tried to be prevented by new demands arising from those investments. In one sense, it is possible to say that urban space has become a fixed capital for capitalism (Beşiktepe, 2008, p. 4). These investments, which started by the discovery of the rent obtained from urban land, are being carried out with the objective of creating the “global city” or the “world city”. With this new urban imagination, which has been imposed upon the societies as one of the most important preconditions of countries' growth and development, with the overprotected and sterile living spaces within the “renovated” neighbourhoods, big business centres and skyscrapers, the five-star hotels, big and flamboyant shopping centres, entertainment,

cultural-artistic and sportive activities, highways, bridges and airports, a city that may be a focus of interest for global capital is aimed to be created.

Interventions in the urban area have been carried out by the political powers under the arguments of “progress”, “improvement” and “providing social justice for the poor”. However, in reality, the poor have always been seen as obstacles in front of progress and development of the society and no areas were granted to them in urban life and culture. The urban poor have to live within the spatial boundaries drawn by the political powers under the interventions of constructors, foreign investors, upper-level income groups living in the city and the middle classes who want to access to their jobs (Davis, 2007, p. 125). Therefore, it is possible to tell, all projects which have been implemented with the objective of creating a “global city” or “world city” have been implemented along with displacement of the poor. The urban poor who are displaced and dispossessed sustain their lives at the peripheries of the cities without any possibilities to access to the social, economic and cultural opportunities of the city.

In addition to the infrastructural investments in the city for attracting international capital, hosting large scale international activities, such as the international fairs and Olympics is also closely related to the desire of becoming a global city. Today, when the urban areas are transformed into spaces of international competition, achieving international reputation by advertising the city over such activities is aimed. With regard to Istanbul, hosting Habitat II Conference in 1996, candidacy for Olympic Games during the 2000s, hosting Champions’ League and UEFA Cup Final, hosting Formula I during the years of 2005-2011 and being awarded as 2010 European Cultural Capital can be shown as the examples of this situation. At

the same time, the cultural-artistic activities such as the Istanbul Biennial under the sponsorship of international companies, Istanbul Design Biennial, International Music, Cinema, Theatre and Jazz Festivals, Filmekimi are closely related to the objective of creating a positive image in the international sphere.

The mega activities performed in the city may be considered having positive effects in cultural, economic or social terms. However, when we look at the opposite side of the medal, such activities bring together a series of high-cost mega projects involving the renovation and transformation of the city in order to eliminate the “ugly” appearance of the slums where especially the poor sections live. Since implementation of such mega projects require big investments, such as transportation and infrastructure, serious sources are allocated for such projects by the public and private sector entrepreneurs. However, the fact that high costs also bring long-term borrowing is creating debates whether such projects are correct investment decisions or not in terms of environment or financial stability (Sönmez, 2016, p. 3).

The mega projects, which are public-private partnerships, are eventually a derivative of privatisation. However, unlike the classical privatisations, where the shares of the public entity are sold to a private firm and the public ownership ends, in the public-private cooperation projects, covering methods such as build-operate-transfer, build-transfer, build-lease and transfer of the operation rights, following the contract the public stays as a party of the project without withdrawing from the it. Thus, while there is still the representation of the state as the real owner of a public property/asset, this property/asset is left at the discretion of a private firm for a definite period of time (p. 5). Such projects are being implemented as a kind of

privatisation which means the transfer of the social assets to a minority class and which causes dispossession of the society (p. 21).

It is stated that the Turkish economy has rapidly integrated to global capitalism by adopting neoliberal policies since 1980s. Also, post-1980 changes in the economic and political fields required re-regulation of the urban space to the needs of the global economy. In this sense, great mega projects are part of the neoliberal programme that has been implemented in Turkey after 1980. It is seen that, every day a new mega project is added to the previous ones which are implemented with the objective of regulating the city and the economy for the desire of making Istanbul a global city. Such projects and their implementation have put Istanbul in a race for the sake of taking place in the class of global cities.

However, such projects caused significant transformations in the social-economic and spatial structure of the city. With these projects, it was promised that the privileges of global economy shall be available and such privileges shall include all social classes. But the result was increasing income inequality, unemployment, social polarisation, social-spatial segregation, urban tensions and utilization of resources for the interests of certain classes. (Öktem, 2006, p. 53). Also, these projects increased the infrastructural and environmental problems of the city, as they progressed without any plan and control, and seriously spoiled the city's fabric and identity. Thus, it is open to debate whether such projects made Istanbul a more liveable city or not.

Galataport (Sali Pazarı Cruise Port) project, which was started to be built in Beyoğlu district of Istanbul and which is the research subject of this study, is also one of the mega projects which have been implemented with the operation rights transfer

method, in the framework of public-private cooperation projects which we see as an instrument of implementing the model of neoliberal urbanisation. With this project, consisting in a port and an urban transformation project, covering a coastline of 1.2 kilometres from Karaköy Dock to Mimar Sinan University Fındıklı Campus, implementation of a tourism and commerce-oriented transformation is aimed. Under this scope, historical buildings at the site were either repaired or demolished for opening space for the new ones. However, like in the other similar projects, it is not difficult to guess that this project too shall harm the natural and cultural assets, cause the degradation of the urban fabric and identity and transfer discretion of a public asset to a minority class by enclosing the coastline where the project is to be constructed to the access of the public.

The area where the project is to be constructed is an urban site area, under the scope of the Law on Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets no 2863 and at the same time, has been declared as a tourism centre by the Tourism Promotion Law no 2634. By the recent inclusion of the area into the scope of the law regulating privatisation practices and by bringing a new regulation in the Coastal Law under the name of “Cruise Port”, a complex planning process has been started and objections against the project came on the agenda. The main arguments of those who are objecting and starting legal processes was that the definition of the “Cruise Port” which has been brought by the regulation in the Coastal Law would open the coastal areas, which can only be used for public interest, to unconstitutional construction, and a litigation process has been started (Özden & Açar, 2008, pp. 8, 9). Following long debates and legal proceedings, operation rights of Galataport, which was tendered for the second time in May 2013, were awarded to Doğuş and Bilgili Holding for 30 years in return of 702 million dollars (İstanbul'un Mega Projeleri, n.d.).

When destructive affects of the neoliberal rationality on urban space is considered, the most important question that should be asked about the Galataport Istanbul project should be what kind of transformation the buildings and the public area around the historical Istanbul port, which is an urban site area, would be exposed to. The area where the project is to be constructed is a historical and cultural heritage for Istanbul. Like in many other projects, also in this project, an area which is the historical and cultural heritage of the city is being transformed according to the expectations of the neoliberal logic. In this context, another important question is, with which functions would the port and its surrounding be equipped. The port and its surrounding are aimed to be marketed to global capital by being transformed into a tourism and commerce-oriented attraction centre like in the other similar projects.

It is possible to tell that in Turkey urban transformation projects are implemented with the cooperation of capital-political power. Although in the public-private cooperation projects, the capital groups to be the partners of the public are specified by open tenders, it is seen that the preferred groups consists in the pro-government capital groups (Sönmez, 2016, p. 20). In this study made in the field of communication sciences under the context of capital-political power-media relationship, the focus is on whose reality is the one that is produced in the news reports of the mainstream newspapers regarding Galataport Istanbul project and under which conditions they are produced.

1.1. Presentation of the Problem

The science of communication which is so suitable for establishing relations among different disciplines is a problem area, where various theoretical approaches come together (İnal, 1996, p. 12). When the historical development of communication research is considered, two main approaches called “liberal pluralistic” and “critical”

approaches are confronted. Distinct perspectives have been developed about news reports in both of these approaches and the concept of the news reports have been evaluated in different forms. Thus, the concept of news reports is an important and problematic area within the communication studies.

While the liberal theories assume that there is an objective reality reported through the news media and the news or the reporter is neutral in political and ideological sense (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 1990, p. 57); the critical news analyses argues that the way the liberal approach defines the role of the journalist hides how the power is constructed through the news discourse (İnal, 1996, p. 12). For this reason, the critical theories which consider the mass communication as an industrial structure which makes production and distribution, do not only focus on the communication tools and their impacts. They also focus on the tools and devices used in the production, distribution and consumption processes and on the organised forms of structures and relations; in short how and by whom, with which interests and through which processes the communication is carried out (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2005, pp. 236, 237).

The news, which is transmitted through language and which is a fiction, is not the reality itself, but it is a representation of it. In this study, which considers news as a representation of reality, the focus is on how the dominant ideology is reproduced through the news discourse. Starting from the presumption that reality that is constructed in news which is produced along with certain hegemonic discourses such as progress, development, improvement, modernisation, entrepreneurship, competitiveness, and contribution to urban culture and urban economy has influences on the consciousness of the individuals, the study argues the news discourse is

influential over the individuals in leading them to illusions by neglecting the social inequalities and contradictions, and by virtue of this, neoliberal hegemony and status quo can be reproduced. In the study, the news dealing with the capital-oriented transformation of the city with an affirmative language and content shall be examined through a critical approach.

Discourse has an important role to play in the reproduction and daily articulation of ideologies (van Dijk, 2003, p. 13). Discourse, as a linguistic practice, is one of the important spheres for the social relations and it is one of the places where the hegemonic struggle is most vividly lived. The society constructs itself within the fiction of the dominant ideology through communication based on discourse (Çoban, 2003, p. 270). Gramsci tries to explain the situation with the concept of hegemony where dominant ideology is transmitted to the society without using violence and coercion. The concept of hegemony can be defined, in lean terms, as the worldview of the class leading the society. The worldview of the dominant class can influence all spheres of daily life through ideological control mechanisms and institutions of socialisation. According to Gramsci, the organic intellectuals working in the field of mass communication have an important function for spreading ideas of the dominant class to the broader society. The organic intellectuals spread the ideas of the dominant class to the society through daily language. When Gramsci's concept of ideology is adopted for media, it is seen that media is an instrument transmitting the values of the dominant class. The events and facts that shall be newsworthy in the media are always presented through the lens of the dominant class. Hence, media serves reproduction of the hegemony and status quo by transmitting the dominant values to the society (Yaylagül, 2006, pp. 97-101).

With the 1980s, the ideology and practices of neoliberalism also penetrated into media. As to this period, holding owners in various sectors became interested in the field of media and the ownership structure of the media industry started to change. The capital owners may try to influence the newspapers through special advertisements as well as they may publish their own newspapers. Their newspaper ownership may have a political purpose and also it may be for commercial purposes. As we may see its examples in Turkey, they may easily try to carry out their economic enterprises by purchasing large circulation newspapers and use them as a tool of pressure on public administration (Kışlalı, 2010, p. 23).

With the holding bosses gaining power in the field of media, media transformed into an instrument which acts in a manner representing the worldview and politics of the class dominating on the economy in terms of capital and ensuring the demands of capital to be accepted by the people. Therefore, the projects such as Galataport İstanbul are marketed under the name of “great visionary projects” especially by the pro-government media. Since in such projects, the capital group which is the partner of the public often also has media ownership. Thus, the media do not deal with problems such as gentrification, rising house rents, rising cost of living in the area arising from such projects and displacement of the local people. Their main argument is that these projects shall make the appearance of the city more beautiful with their aesthetic panorama; they will contribute to the modernisation of the city and opening of the road for international investments and develop the country’s economy.

In this sense, the problem of the research may be summarised as the following: The discourse produced by journalists as organic intellectuals in the news reports regarding urban transformation is manipulating the truth by shaping the minds of the

individuals about a public issue and legitimizing the transformation and marketing of the urban space to global capital. As a result, this prevents the urban space, transformed according to the neoliberal logic and rules of capital, to be perceived as urban commons belonging to all social classes and hides the reality behind the creation of urban spaces only addressing capital and upper-income groups by assigning different functions to the city.

1.2. Objective and Significance of the Research

In the study, it is aimed to expose whose reality is the reality constructed in the urban transformation-related news reports, as media texts where capital-oriented elements are brought together and on what elements media depends in construction of reality. Also, by using Gramsci's concept of "organic intellectual", exposing that the discourse produced by journalist plays an important role in production of social consent by legitimizing the capital-oriented transformation of the city and serves the reproduction of the dominant relations and materialising this discursive practice, is another aim of this study. For this reason, on the one hand, an economic-political approach problematizing the ownership structure and ownership relations of media institutions shall be taken as a starting point in order to examine the role played by capital-political power-media relationship in the process of news production, and on the other hand, reproduction of the status quo and hegemony by the construction and functioning of ideology in news reports shall be focused on.

In an age, when we are witnessing urban space being modified and transformed more intensively and systematically according to the rules of capitalism, research which analyse the relationship between production of space and creation of the capitalist society is becoming more important (Uğurlu, 2013, p. 2). In the field of social sciences, there are many distinct studies about urban space. Among such

studies, it is seen that there are ones which examine the relation between the economic-political processes and production of space within the context of the political economy of the space, as well as ones which discuss spatial inequality through concepts of class and labour under the framework of Marxist analysis. Also, in the field of communication sciences, there are various researches which deal with the way of representation of urban transformation practices in different communication texts, such as cinema films, documentaries, newspaper reports and housing advertisements.

Halman, in her study, titled, *Semiotic Analysis of Urban Transformation Promotional Films of Municipalities in Istanbul* (2019), by examining the changing roles of the municipalities about the laws by 1980, scrutinizes which themes have been used in the promotion films prepared by the local administrations about urban transformation. In the study of Özarslan, titled, *In the Context of the Housing Problem: Branded Housing Advertisements* (2018), the themes dealt in the advertisements have been analysed with the method of critical discourse, by focusing on the role of the housing problem in branded housing advertisements. In a study made by Cankurt, titled, *Ideology of Urban Transformation: An Analysis on Newspapers* (2017), the function of ideology has been considered by looking at the way of representation of urban transformation in Turkey in newspaper reports and it is concluded that the discourses of the dominant class and political elites are used in the reports examined by using the method of content analysis. And also in the study by Eken, titled, *Reflections of the Ever-Changing Visual Communication Strategies on the Advertisements throughout the Globalization Process: The Case of Residence Advertisements* (2013), the reflections of the changing visual communication strategies along with globalisation is examined by semiotic analysis. Bektaş, in her

study, titled, *Transformation of Urban Space and Alienation: An Overview to the City Through Documentaries*) (2013), by analysing the impact of the transformation activities of urban space along the neoliberal policies on the alienation of the citizens through documentaries, tried to look at an issue about the city through the lens of a product of media. And in the study of Mutlu, titled, *Publishing Experience of the Urban Poor: Katik Newspaper*) (2011), how the urban poor as recycling workers experience and sense the processes of exclusion has been resolved by analysing 9 issues of the Katik Newspaper as the first and single publication experience of the urban poor in Turkey by using participatory observation and interview techniques.

As a result of the literature survey, no study that question the role of the journalist as organic intellectual in the representation of the reproduction process of urban space in newspaper reports by associating it to the reproduction of dominant ideology and hegemony could be found. In this sense, it is aimed that the study will contribute to the field of communication sciences.

1.3. Assumptions of the Research

What is determining during the news production process is not only the elements about the techniques and technological infrastructure, but the unity of the social, political, cultural and economic conditions. Therefore, the newspaper reporting is a powerful communication activity, which on the one hand has the function of informing people about the social issues, and on the other hand, that may influence the way of thinking and perception of the reader about daily events with the language and content used and may shape social and political reality. It may be told discourses that are produced in the newspaper reports as high profile media products by the journalist as the organic intellectual may influence the consciousness of the society and ensure

that the masses are guided in such a way that they would embrace and support the capital-oriented transformation of the city.

In this context, the assumptions which the study is based on are the following:

- The newspaper reports have the power of guiding the masses and shaping the consciousness of the society.
- Newspaper news plays an effective role in spreading and sustaining dominant ideology as a sphere of discourse.
- A discourse in compliance with the dominant ideology is produced by the journalist as the organic intellectual in the process of making and transmitting the news.
- While producing the news discourse, methods that shall legitimize this discourse is used by the journalist and elements that may endanger the credibility of the produced discourse are trivialized.
- News discourse which plays an effective role in spreading and sustaining dominant ideology by influencing the consciousness of the individuals serves making the dominant production relations invisible and justified.

1.4. Questions of the Research

This study claims that the discourse that is produced by the journalists as organic intellectuals in the news reports in the mainstream newspapers regarding the Galataport Istanbul project assumes an ideological role which serves prevention of formation of class consciousness in the society, by hiding urban inequalities and contradictions and thus sustaining the dominant relations. In this context, the research questions of the research have been identified as follows:

- How the phenomenon of urban transformation is represented in the newspaper reports?
- How the ideological framework is being established in the transmission of the process of the spatial transformation of the city to the reader?
- How the urban transformation practices are being legitimized through the news discourse?
- What kind of contributions is made by the discourses produced by the journalist as the organic intellectuals for sustaining and deepening neoliberal urban hegemony?
- How the journalist as the organic intellectual shape the discourse for the urban transformation practices to be accepted and supported?
- How the physical, social, cultural and economic transformation of the urban area and social-spatial separation arising from these are legitimized in the news reports and news discourse?
- How the privatisation of an urban region by urban transformation and its allocation to the use of capital are affirmed and legitimized in the news discourse?

1.5. Hypothesis of the Research

The hypothesis of this study, which shall focus on the capital-political power-media relationship through the news reports in the mainstream newspapers regarding the Galataport Istanbul project and evaluate the role played by media in general and news in particular in the capital-oriented transformation of the city, is as the following, based on the above-mentioned assumptions and research questions:

Through certain hegemonic discourses that are spread by the journalist in the newspaper reports as the organic intellectual, social support regarding the capital-

oriented transformation of the city can be obtained and thus, continuity of neoliberal hegemony is made possible.

1.6. Universe of the Research and Method

The sample of the study has been identified from among the research universe consisted in the mainstream daily newspapers published at the national scale by the method of non-probability purposive sampling. In the purposive sampling, relevant units that have been previously defined and identified are selected for making the research (Erdoğan, 2007, p. 210). Since it is not possible to examine the entire universe, such kind of sample enables the units that are fit for the purpose and problem of the study to be included in the research. In this framework, for establishing the sample of the study, stemming from their ownership structures, from among the mainstream newspapers, the Hürriyet newspaper and the Sabah newspaper which also have organic relations with the political power besides being mainstream newspapers have been selected. The Internet websites of the aforementioned newspapers were used in obtaining the news reports included in the sample, and the columns were omitted from examination.

Within the framework of these criteria, the digital news broadcasted between the years, 2013-2020 and which referred to Galataport Istanbul project in their headlines, spots or subtitle were extensively surveyed. The reason for choosing the date range in this way while identifying the sample is that, the process that started by the tender for the project in question in May 2013 and awarded to Doğuş Holding giving the highest offer, is desired to be shown in its entirety. In this manner, it is thought to be possible to show in which contexts the developments regarding the project in the process from 2013 until 2020, when the opening date of the project was approaching, were reflected in the news reports.

As a result of the survey, total 111 news reports were obtained; 62 from Hürriyet newspaper and 49 from the Sabah newspaper, respectively. However, when these 111 news reports in question were evaluated among themselves, one report from each calendar year was selected and included in the analysis for avoiding repetition in the study; thus, total 8 news reports from the Hürriyet newspaper (see App. A for Turkish versions of Hürriyet Newspaper News) and total 7 news reports from the Sabah newspaper (see App. B for Turkish versions of Sabah Newspaper News) were examined, since in 2017 any news reports regarding the Galataport project in the website of the latter could not be found.

In the study, it is assumed that the discourse that is produced in the news reports legitimizes the spatial transformation and serves the reproduction of the dominant relations. In this sense, for analysing the news reports, which are considered as discourse, critical discourse analysis method of Teun A. Van Dijk shall be used in compliance with the objective of the study.

2. THE CITY, URBAN THEORIES AND NEOLIBERAL URBANISATION

When examined in its historical process, it is possible to tell the cities developed and transformed along with the changes in the relations and forms of production. During this process of change which has spatial, political, cultural and economic dimensions and which has a complex and multi-directional connection with the dominant form and relations of production, the functions of the cities also changed. The cities under the domination of agricultural sector were replaced by the commercial cities of the Medieval Ages with the diversification of the economic sources and then, by the industrial cities with the development of capitalism. However, at this final point, the modern cities which are centres of industry and production do not seem to be sufficient alone for capitalism to sustain itself as the dominant form of production.

According to Harvey, who states that the crisis trend of capitalism, which inherently always aims to increase capital's turnover time and accelerate circulation of capital, extends and deepens in all turning points, with neoliberalism and globalisation following the 1970s crisis as one of such crises, important structural changes have been occurring in the functioning of capitalism (Harvey, 2008, pp. 81,39; 1997, p. 197). With such changes, the cities that are restructured according to the expectations of the neoliberal rationality are transformed into instruments of investment where capital is produced and reproduced. It may be told that the process in question was built on two separate grounds. First, the relations between the state and the capital have been reshaped through neoliberal policies and entitlement over urban areas was re-regulated in favour of capital. And second, with the complete commodification of the urban area and its transformation into an instrument of accumulation of capital, the public existence of the city, also including the collective action, has been eroded

(Kurtuluş, 2006, p. 9). Thus, in this new circumstances which means “(...) *the new times of capitalism*” and “*a world where capital is deeply rooted*”(Hall & Jacques, 1995, p. 22), it is not possible to deal with urbanisation processes independent from the process of capital accumulation.

2.1. The Changing Meaning of the City in Historical Development

When urbanisation literature is examined, it is possible to see that in multiple disciplines there are various definitions and approaches regarding the city. All of these definitions and approaches have been developed according to different criteria. For this reason, it is quite difficult to make a definition of the city that shall be accepted by all.

When different definitions regarding the city are examined, it seems that some of the definitions are based on the criterion of administrative boundary and some on criteria such as the population density and economic or sociological properties. The definitions that use the criterion of administrative boundary are those which require calling the places within certain administrative boundaries as cities and the areas outside these boundaries as villages. And in definitions based on population criterion, while settlements with a certain level of population are called cities, the others are accepted as villages. According to one economist, the city is an economic system which emerges for fulfilling the changing demands of the society during the distribution and consumption of products and services (Keleş, 2002, pp. 105-107). And according to the sociological criteria, the city is a settlement consisted in people who are not similar in social terms (heterogeneous), relatively extended over a large area, with a dense population and has continuity (p. 107).

The early sociologists made their definitions of the city by focusing on identifying the difference of the city and the countryside. Some comparisons were developed for identifying the basic differences between the urban and the rural. In all these comparisons, the city was seen as the opposite of the rural community. While the countryside is a small, undifferentiated social space, where social control is strong, and sincere, face-to-face relations prevail; the city is a large, differentiated, heterogeneous, non-personal social space where anonymous relations prevail (Tekeli, 1882, p. 302). Within this approach, the differentiation of *Gemeinschaft* (community) ve *Gesellschaft* (society) made by Ferdinand Tönnies is one of the most important ones on the urban-rural differentiation. According to Tönnies, the *Gemeinschaft*, which represents the countryside, is a community where there is sincerity and honesty, where warm relations prevail and where one lives from one's birth to death. However, the *Gesellschaft* representing the city expresses the communities of their own as a reality, where there is sordidness; and where personal relations are undermined or completely disappear. In this sense, existence of the city depends more or less on significant transformations and weakening of the countryside (Aydoğan, 2000, p. 18).

Differentiation of the city and the countryside also became the starting point for Emile Durkheim's studies. According to Durkheim who divides the society into two as "simple societies" and "complex societies", while there is "mechanical solidarity" at the basis of simple societies representing the countryside, "organic solidarity" prevails at the basis of the "complex societies" representing the city. In mechanical solidarity-based societies, although the division of labour and specialisation among individuals is very weak, there is solidarity stemming from homogeneity of the ideas and beliefs of the individuals. But organic solidarity-based societies are the ones that are increasingly becoming more complex. And this complex

structure requires division of labour and specialisation. In such societies, social order and control are maintained by official coercion over the individual. So it is possible to define the city, according to Durkheim's perspective, as a place of settlement that is consisted in specialised parts interacting with each other and where there are people which have close ties among them (Ertürk & Sarı, 2019, pp. 48, 49). In this sense, Durkheim sees the contemporary city as the basis of transition from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. According to him, undifferentiated traditional social forms of solidarity are disappearing with the development of social diversification based on individualisation and division of labour within the process of urbanisation (Holton, 1999, p. 39). Another figure who deals with the city in terms of division of labour is Karl Marx. However, Marx bases on the class relations and class contradictions instead of a vulgar analysis of division of labour. According to him, the history of society until the Medieval Age is the history of the rural section. And from the Medieval Ages on, with the emergence of the feudal form of production and revival of commercial relations, differentiation between the city and the countryside emerges (Aslanoğlu, 2000).

Although there are various definitions of city according to Weber, there is only one point where such definitions intersect with each other. Accordingly, put simply, the city is a place of settlement which is constituted by separate residence communities but which is relatively closed (Weber, 2000, p. 101). However, Weber argues that while analysing the city, the population or size cannot be sole criteria by their own, and economic and political functions of the city are also quite important. Weber, when emphasizing the city as a "*market place*", focuses on its economic function. The city, when defined in economic terms, is a settlement where subsistence is obtained from trade and crafts rather than agriculture. On the other hand, Weber

stated that for a place of settlement to be deemed as a city, also a castle for defence purposes, an autonomous administration, an independent court and a special law system, and a structure of union should be present in addition to the market place (pp. 101-120). In this sense, Weber underlines the community characteristic of the city by considering it together with economic, political and legal structures.

According to Pirenne, the urban life did not develop independent from trade and industrialisation either in the ancient or in the modern times. Pirenne underlines that the city would disappear if there was no trade for ensuring constant exchange and no industry for producing products for exchange. Activities in the field of trade or industry are clear features of the city, depending on time and space. In the ancient age, an important part of the urban population was constituted by the landowners who lived on an income provided from the land, by cultivating the lands outside the city. However, with the development of the cities, it is known that the number of merchants and artisans ever increased. During this period, the rural economy and the urban economy continued their existences side by side without preventing each other's development. And the cities of the Medieval Age continued their progress under the influence of trade and economy. The great contradiction between the social and economic organisation of these cities and the social and economic organisation of the countryside enabled the emergence of the first urban class, i.e. the Medieval bourgeoisie (Pirenne, 2014, pp. 99, 100).

Pirenne, who tells that the development of the towns is related to the spreading of trade, puts the proof of this as the following (pp. 100, 101):

It is easy to mark how, in step with the progress of trade, towns multiplied.

They appeared along all the natural routes by which trade spread. They were

born, so to speak, under its footsteps. They are found, at first, only along sea coasts and rivers. Then, as the commercial penetration spread, others were founded along the transverse roads which connected these first centers of activity with each other.

Pirenne argues that for a place to be considered as a city, the most important requirement is existence of a class of merchants. According to him, the most vital point for the towns is the emergence of the merchants, as a new class, that cannot compromise with the countryside and its institutions. The merchants struggled for having a new law and jurisdiction subject to a special status, free property and organisation. Thus, according to Pirenne, the city is a “*community of merchants*” (Martindale, 2000, p. 84).

Simmel too defines the city as a formation, where the economic activities come to the fore. According to him, the town is the “*capital city of the money economy*”. Economic exchange in the town is very intense and the medium of exchange that is used during this exchange has a more intensive and special meaning than in the countryside (Simmel, 2000, p. 169). In feudal societies, the towns are places of market and exchange where the handcrafts and artisans come together and various goods are produced by human and animal energy (Kıray, 2006, p. 91). In this sense, it would not be a mistake to tell that the existence of money economy determines the relations of production and exchange in feudal towns.

The cities are material products of a given social formation. Thus, it is a structure which is reformed by the mode of production and relations of production. Therefore, the cities underwent various changes from their first emergence to today (Doğan, 2002, p. 69). When the literature on city is reviewed, it is possible to tell that

the views which base the existence of the city on economic reasons, unlike the rural areas, prevail. Thus, it is understood that Kıray also shares this view with her definition on the modern city (Kıray, 1998, p. 17):

(...) they are forms of settlement where non-agricultural production is made and more importantly, the control functions about the distribution of both agricultural and non-agricultural production are concentrated, and which reached a level of size, heterogeneity and integration according to certain technological levels of development.

It is possible to observe the development of the cities over the changes of production-consumption and exchange. Just as the form of production in the feudal societies caused the emergence of towns as places of market and exchange, also in the 19th century, with industrialisation, an urbanisation based on division of labour and specialisation emerged. Also in the 20th century, when industrialisation was accelerated, the capitalist relations of production became determining over urbanisation. In order to explain this process, it would be useful to mention Lefebvre's views. Lefebvre, in his *Urban Revolution* (2019), stated that "*the society has urbanised as a whole*" and proposed the term, "*urban society*" in order to define the post-industrial modern society, i.e. the society which aroused from industrialisation and then succeeded it. In Lefebvre's thought, this term means the society which is constructed as a result of a process that absorbs agricultural production or establishes its domination over it (pp. 7, 8). Lefebvre, with his famous thesis stated that the contemporary social reality now can be understood not by the divisions such as the "urban" and the "rural", but within the framework of the analysis to be made in the context of the developing urban society. So Lefebvre's thesis points out a radical

rupture from the traditional concept of the city in the West. While in the classical definitions, the city has been considered as a place of settlement which clearly enables the “urban” life-style and whose boundaries can be absolutely drawn, Lefebvre’s thesis on urbanisation of the society as a whole, corresponds to a long-range understanding of the spatial transformation (Schmid, 2014, p. 77).

In the urban society which aroused as a result of industrialisation, it is not possible to talk about agricultural production when defining the society. Thus, no economy based on agricultural production can be mentioned. In the urban society, agricultural production has lost its dominance and became a part of the industrial production. In Lefebvre’s thought, there are spatial reflections of the dominant relations of production in the society. Now the traditional community belonging to the peasant life is transformed and the village has become integrated into industrialisation and consumption of industrial products. *The urban fabric* is eliminating all what is left from the agricultural society. Areas such as a summer villa in a rural area, highway and supermarkets become part of the urban fabric, they are integrated to it. With industrialisation and urbanisation developing at a global scale, the rural areas have been drawn into de facto extinction (Lefebvre, 2019, pp. 9, 10).

Lefebvre tries to explain the industrialisation process in terms of the dominance of the logic of industry over the entire society. According to him, there is a complex and contradictory relationship between industrialisation and urbanisation. Industrialisation is a pre-condition and tool of urbanisation. Spreading of industrial production to the whole world constitutes the origin of urbanisation (Schmid, 2014, pp. 77, 78). While industrialisation and urbanisation accelerate suburbs, collective residence areas, industrial complexes and satellite cities appear as unclear forelands in

front of us. Small or middle sized towns too are becoming independent from the metropolises or becoming a colony of them. Lefebvre sees this process as the process of making of the urban society. According to him, the urban society is a social structure where consumption is under bureaucratic administration (Lefebvre, 2019, p. 10). What Lefebvre understands from urbanisation is reshaping of the rural by the urban fabric and its becoming a colony, in addition to the radical transformation of the settlements which were already towns for long. And the most important result of this process of transformation is the spontaneous dissolution and disintegration of the city. According to Lefebvre, while urbanisation is accelerating, the city cannot be anymore understood as a certain “thing” or a place of settlement whose boundaries can be absolutely drawn, and it is a historical category deprived to extinction (Schmid, 2014, p. 78).

It is possible to say that urbanisation in today's sense is a phenomenon that started by the novelties brought by the industrial revolution. Mumford stated that, with the development of capitalism the merchants, capitalists and landowners who served the demands of them played efficient roles in the growing of towns. According to him, such powers developed under the influence of industrialisation. Thus, it is possible to say that Mumford too associates the period when urbanisation accelerated to the process of industrialisation. During the periods before industrialisation, growth of the commercial towns was a slow process. The reason for this was that the town in the Medieval Age was confronted with resistance stemming from the structure of the town itself and its traditions. However, with the development of capitalism, conditions of the market started to dominate over all parts of the city in a universal form. With industrialisation, the social values that were valid for the city were transformed. In the town, “not Caesar now, but money, is all” (Mumford, 2007, p. 500).

2.2. Urban Theories According to the Capital Accumulation Processes

In the 19th century, transition from the feudal mode of production to the capitalist mode of production caused various things to change from production to social organisation, from personal relations to spatial arrangements. Those who laid the first theoretical foundations about the city were researchers known as economists, historians or sociologists. The changes in the mode of production led these scholars to explain the urban developments. (Pınarcıoğlu et al., 2010, p. 72). The common point of such scholars was that they were analysing the question of city in the capitalist society by looking at the entire society. Their objective was establishing a fundamental theory of the social structure changing within capitalist development. Thus, they saw the city and urbanisation as important objects of investigation in the historical sense during the transition from feudalism to capitalism (Saunders, 1993, p. 14). For instance, names such as Marx-Engels, Weber and Durkheim tried to analyse the city with the patterns of social relations to which it is associated, instead of evaluating it as a specific social reality (Holton, 1999, p. 34). Although they could not develop a specific urban theory, such analysis created a considerably important foundation for the urban theories to be developed later.

It is known that urban sociology as a discipline first appeared with the Chicago School during the 1920s. And since the end of the 1960s, scholars with different perspectives from Marxist tradition started to show interest in issues related to city and space (Şengül, 2001, p. 9). These research which provided important contributions to the literature by putting the relations between the society and space in a theoretical framework, are the ones which adopted the political economic approach. They emerged on the basic thesis of social production of the space and reproduction of the society (Kaygalak, 2007, p. 15). In this framework, the scholars argued that spatial

organisation has an important place in the functioning of capitalism, and analysis of the space should be a basic element in the analysis of capitalism (Işık, 1994, p. 18). For an analysis in this context, the phenomenon of town in the studies of Marx and Engels, of Lefebvre who analysed the urban space as “a social product” and that of Harvey who analysis the space together with the process of capital accumulation are very important.

2.2.1. The urban phenomenon in the studies of Marx and Engels

When we consider the approach of Marx and Engels regarding the city, it is possible to gather the issues they emphasized under three main headings such as the differentiation of the countryside-town, urban problems and the housing question (Pınarcıoğlu et al., 2010, p. 74).

Marx and Engels, in their work *The German Ideology* (1992), mention the increasingly crystallizing differentiation of the countryside-town with the transition from the feudal mode of production to the capitalist mode of production and underline the characteristics that the modern city possesses. According to them, the division of labour in a country first separates the areas of industry and trade from agriculture, and then, a differentiation appears between the city and the countryside, and as a result of this, the interests of the rural areas and the cities start to contradict. The most important division between the material and mental labour is the separation of the countryside and the city from each other (p. 38). The opposition between the countryside and the city emerged during the transition from barbarism to civilisation, from tribe to state, from locality to nation and came to this day continuing along the history of humanity. Emergence of the cities, at the same time, caused administration, the police, taxes, the municipal organisation and thus politics to become obligatory. Thus, the first division of the population into two classes, the division that was

directly based on the division of labour and the means of production, started here. Indeed, the city is a place where the population, means of production, capital, tastes and needs concentrate in a centre; and the rural area is the symbol of loneliness and irregularity (p. 76). Various differentiated economic, political and cultural functions that are not included in the primitive agricultural structure are concentrated in the cities. Thus, it is possible to tell Marx and Engels saw the emergence of the contemporary city as a sign of development and stood against the village (Holton, 1999, p. 61).

Holton explains how Marx dealt with the city as the following (p. 34): “*Marx certainly wavered between treating the city as an autonomous generic structure to be found in all societies characterized by private property and the division of labour, and viewing it as a heterogeneous institution whose form varied according to the property relations of different modes of production.*” According to Holton, in this sense, Marx talks about the differentiation of the city and the countryside in order to mention the differentiation between the relations of production based on society and nature (p. 64).

Marx and Engels think that the source of power and wealth is not soil but labour. All of the needs such as food, shelter, cloths are procured in exchange for labour. What creates both the “bourgeois” and the “labourer” is the city. Thus, the class relations in the cities are in a crystallized form. In the capitalist city, the contradictions and conflicts of interests arising from the relations of production caused a social division, i.e. emergence of a dual class structure, as the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The Marxist approach argues that what is seen in the city does not stem from the city itself, but as a result of the capitalist process and relations of production.

According to this view, the diseases in the city are in fact the diseases of capitalism. And the city as such is not responsible for the exploitation and impoverishment of the urban labourers, but capitalist form of production is. For this reason, Marx and Engels defend that urban poverty can be solved as a result of the total transformation of the society. According to them, the fact that the city empowers a certain class and deepens the class contradictions is an element that facilitates the arrival of the “expected final”. However, the rural life does not have such characteristics (Keleş, 2002, pp. 131, 132).

According to Marx and Engels, while the capitalist relations of production developing with the emergence of the capitalist city, on the one hand increased the oppression of bourgeoisie over the proletariat, and on the other hand, enabled the working class to make of its own class consciousness. In this sense, the city has an important function in the making of the class consciousness. The capitalist city has dissolved the complex feudal relations and left nothing but naked interest among human beings. Thus, the disintegrating feudal society enabled the development of the revolutionary element, thus emergence of class struggle. In the thought of Marx and Engels, deepening of the conflicts of interests and contradictions between the labouring class and the bourgeois living in the cities, is an opportunity for the labouring class to resist against the capitalist relations of production by acting through its class consciousness. Bourgeoisie ended the feudal relations specific to rural life when it gained its dominance. It put the rural area under the slavery of the city. It created large cities and largely increased the urban population compared to the rural population. Thus, it liberated an important part of the population from the isolation of the rural life (Marx & Engels, 2014). In this sense, it is possible to tell Marx and Engels thought the conditions of active struggle against capital can mature in big

cities. According to them, urbanisation would develop the potential conditions of the revolution that is already inherent in capitalist development (Saunders, 1993, p. 27).

In addition to this, Engels, who in his work *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, deeply analyzed the working and living conditions of the working class in the cities of England with the progress of capitalism, stated that capitalist urbanisation creates spatial divisions among the social classes. According to Engels' observations, in the cities the quarters where the working class and bourgeoisie live are separated with sharp lines. The working class pushed to the peripheries of the cities lives having almost no contact with the upper classes. The quarters where the working class lives are places of settlements where dirt, poverty and epidemic diseases loom. In this sense, it is possible to tell Engels evaluated the problems arising in the cities as ones that are created by capitalist urbanisation and did not considered the current conditions of the cities separate from the capitalist relations of production (Engels, 1997).

Marx and Engels, while on the one hand affirming the city because of the potentials it contains, on the other hand, criticized it because of the problems and poverty it causes. Thus, it is argued that attitude of Marx and Engels towards the city is shaped over a duality and contradictions. However, since the urban space, like any other social relation and process, has a dialectical structure, it is not possible to tell that such evaluation of Marx and Engels is contradictory. There are simultaneously both progressive and reactionary elements within the city. The city which becomes an obstacle with its reactionary elements, becomes to have a revolutionary potential when it incorporates with new elements having transformative potential (Şengül, 2001, p. 10). Briefly, Marx and Engels, showed a political economic approach by stressing the

importance of the city in the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the potentials and obstacles it contains rather than taking the city directly as an object of investigation; and they analyzed the city through class consciousness, capital accumulation, conflicts and contradictions.

2.2.2. Lefebvre: Urban space as a social product

Lefebvre, in his work, *Production of Space* (2014), suggested a different approach on space by objecting the fact that until now the space has always been perceived something in the geometrical sense, conceptualised as a passive and empty area; and tried to examine the space in its social context in a multidirectional and holistic manner. In this context, Lefebvre was interested in social space and its production by the social classes, distancing himself from approaches dealing with space with abstract conceptualisations.

Lefebvre took the industrialisation process as a starting point for talking about the urban problematic. According to him, the process of industrialisation is indisputably the engine of the changes in the society. Before industrialisation, towns were social and political centres of life where not only wealth but also knowledge, technique and works (art works, monuments) were accumulated. For Lefebvre, this characteristic of the town corresponds to the use value while all kinds of commodities which are produced to be sold correspond to the exchange value. Generalisation of the commodity and the exchange value through industrialisation tend to destroy the use value of the city. In this sense, Lefebvre defines the social reality, where the exchange value and use value come together, as the *urban society*. In Lefebvre's thought, the urban society is a sign of the fact that the use value is replaced by the exchange value, i.e. of the transition from work to product (Lefebvre, 2018, pp. 21-24).

According to Lefebvre, the space as a social product changes together with each mode of production. Starting from here, Lefebvre argues that all societies, thus all modes of production, produce their own spaces. All modes of productions contain some relations of production. There is also a relationship between space and the relations of production. The social space includes the relations of production and social relations of reproduction (personal and sexual relations, family, reproduction of the labour power) (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 61). Today the capitalist system has commodified space by giving it a different functionality. For capitalism what is important is not the concrete use value of the space but its exchange value. In other words, capitalism is commodifying space. In a commodified space, the social values represented by the space or historical production and use alone do not have any significance. They are only important when they contribute to the exchange value of space. For capitalism, two spaces with large differences of historicities from each other are only abstract pieces of land or buildings that can be bought and sold in the market (Şengül, 2001, p. 15).

Lefebvre thinks that capitalism could survive despite its internal contradictions by active exploitation of urban space by bourgeoisie and explains his view with the *model of circuits* he developed. According to this, capitalism owes to its ability to *occupy the space and produce new spaces* in overcoming the crisis occurring in the industrial production process as the first circuit of capital accumulation (Lefebvre, 1976). In the capitalist society of the 20th century, the areas such as real estate, finance and real estate speculations to which capital is transferred become sources of priority for the formation of capital by becoming dominant over the industrial production as the first circuit of capitalism. Hence, the urban areas became a source of creating surplus value (profit) for the secondary circuit of capitalism (Gottdiener, 1993, p.

132). In this sense, it is possible to tell that Lefebvre has made an important contribution to the analysis of space, by connecting the long-term survival of capitalism to the reproduction of the social relations created by the capitalist mode of production (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 253). As it may be also understood from Lefebvre's own expressions, capitalism has commodified urban space by arranging it according to its own logic and thus, could attenuated its internal contradictions.

According to Lefebvre, the relations of production are reproduced for the purpose of enabling the sustainability of capitalism as a result of the piling up of capital, labour force, production and consumption. This reproduction occurs in a space-related manner. Thus, projection of reproduction appears as the city centre. In this sense, the city is reproduced for the sake of continuity of capitalism. In other words, capitalist social organisation creates the space which then in turn, finally reproduce it (p. 254). Lefebvre explains the domination of capitalism on space as the following (Şengül, citing from Lefebvre, 2001, p. 15): *“today the analysis of production has shown that we have passed from the production of things (commodities) in space to the production of space itself (as a commodity).”*

What really important for Lefebvre, who is focusing on the social character of space, is the “production of space” in capitalist societies and the analysis of the contradictory situations arising during this production. His thoughts about space were shaped over the concepts of “production” and “to produce” that are ongoing since Marx. In this framework, Lefebvre, suggesting that *“(social) space) is a (social) product”*, emphasized the need to explain the strong relation between space and social relations (Lefebvre, 2014, pp. 46-56). Lefebvre, like Marx, starts the analysis of the society from the human beings. He believes that humans as social beings are said to

produce their own life, their own consciousness, their own world. His main idea about production of space is as follows (Fuchs, citing from Lefebvre, 2019, p. 135): “*humans not only produce social relations and use-values, but in doing so also produce social space.*” To articulate with his own sentences (Lefebvre, 2014, p. 188), “*every living body is a space and has its space: it produces itself in space and it produces that space.*” In this context, it is possible to tell that Lefebvre has expanded the concept of production as to cover the production of the built environment. And expansion of the concept of production to cover the production of the urban space enables the urbanisation processes to be considered together with the processes of capital accumulation.

Lefebvre, in his work, *Right to the City* (2018), states that the concrete spaces where the labouring classes in the cities live are endangered with the increasing initiative of capitalism for changing and transforming the urban space. According to him, the labourers of the city have been deprived from their rights to use space and shape it according to their own needs. In this sense, the concept of *right to the city* he suggests is grounded on the labour-capital contradiction and has a class character. In this sense, Lefebvre, with the concept of the right to the city, rejects the commodified space approach imposed by the capitalist society. He puts use value against the conception of space brought to the fore by exchange value. And he makes this by emphasizing the sphere of reproduction rather than the sphere of production. According to Lefebvre’s thought, the city is not only an area where commodities are produced and consumed. The city itself has become a commodity as a result of production of urban spaces for absorbing the surplus capital arising during the periodical crises of capitalism. In this framework, Lefebvre does not see urban development as a self-developing condition. There is a direct relation between urban

space and capitalist form of production. Urban space is important for the accumulation of capital.

2.2.3. Harvey: The process of capital accumulation and transformation of the urban space

Lefebvre argues that capitalism solves its crises by occupying the space and producing new spaces. The views of Lefebvre were also the starting point of the studies of the Marxist geographer David Harvey. Harvey, by including the problem of space into Marx's capital accumulation theory and basing on the model of circuits developed by Lefebvre, tried to explain the role of capital in the production and reproduction of the urban space. According to him, it is not possible to treat the processes of capital accumulation and the phenomenon of urbanisation independently. For this reason, in Harvey's analysis on space, the urban areas are dealt within the context of the capitalist accumulation processes and crises of capitalism. The movements of capital were directed to the secondary circuit, where the monetary and speculative transactions occur, from the industrial sphere determining the first circuit of capital due to the crisis of capitalism in the last quarter of the 20th century. This transformation of capitalism made the urban space an important part of such monetary and speculative transactions in order to raise the profitability of capital. The condition where urban space is located at the centre of the capitalist logic may be described as the history of the capitalist urbanisation.

Harvey calls the approach, which he has developed by including Marx's theory of capital accumulation, *historical geographical materialism*, and stated that this approach has a relational dialectical understanding (Harvey, 2008, p. 31). Harvey's aim is (Harvey, 2004b, p. 1), "*to look at the current condition of global capitalism and the role that a 'new' imperialism might be playing within it. I do so from the*

perspective of the long duree and through the lens of what I call historical-geographical materialism.” In this framework, it is possible to tell that Harvey has concentrated on Marx’s studies in order to analyse the capitalist urbanisation process which has complex dynamics and with the approach he calls *historical-geographical materialism*, he aims to develop Marx’s concept of *historical materialism*.

The cities are formed as a result of the geographical concentration of the social surplus production. The mode of economic integration too has to have such a capacity to produce and concentrate a surplus. (Harvey, 2013, p. 198). Harvey points out that, as it is known from the past, the capitalist class cannot protect its power without directing its accumulation to more profitable new areas. At the root of the crises of capitalism is the problem what Harvey calls the “*problem of absorption of the surplus capital*” (Harvey, 2019, p. 223). Capitalists always produce more in order to obtain profits. The conditions of competition force the capitalists to transform a part of the surplus capital into capital again and to make new investments for growth. This requires finding new profitable areas that would attract the surplus capital (p. 37). However, the capital owners face various obstacles in this planned uninterrupted investment process. And in order to overcome such obstacles, new production methods, and most importantly new natural resources must be found (Harvey, 2015a, p. 46). Geographical expansion or spatial arrangements are an option for this (Harvey, 2004b, p. 75). According to Harvey, capitalism survives as a political economic system thanks to geographical expansion, spatial arrangements and uneven geographical developments. According to this, capitalism appearing in a certain region as over-accumulation of capital applies to the “spatial solution” in order to overcome its internal contradictions (Harvey, 2008, p. 40). In this sense, it is possible to consider capital accumulation as a geographical issue.

Harvey, in his study, titled, “*Class Structure and the Theory of Residential Differentiation*” (2002) has analysed the relation between the spatial organisation arranged according to the dictates of the capitalist system, and the social structure and processes. In this context, Harvey explains the spatial differentiation by associating it to the reproduction of the social relations in the capitalist society. The basis of the residential differentiation theory is that living space of a certain community is regulated by the capital accumulation processes; therefore the option of the living space is determined by capital. In this context, the residential differentiation in the capitalist city means the differentiation of the opportunities of access to the scarce resources that are required for reaching capital equipment. As a result of this, the urban space becomes a space where the labour force suitable for the production place is reproduced. Consequently, a white collar labour force is reproduced in a white collar neighbourhood unit, and a blue collar labour force is reproduced in a blue collar neighbourhood unit. Hence, a class division appears between the white and blue collared who are living in the city (pp. 162-169). In this context, it is possible to tell that the changes in the spatial form of the city have impacts over the organisation of capitalist production and the social relations. The factories, schools, shopping areas, parks etc. are shaped as capitalism dictates (Harvey, 1982, p. 373). Therefore, the space has a function enabling reproduction of the social relations according to the needs of capitalism.

According to Harvey, the phenomenon of urbanisation always has a class character. Since, it is certain that the surplus product would be obtained from a place or some ones, and the control on how it shall be used would be always in the hands of a tiny group. Capitalism is always in pursuit of a surplus value (profit). However, in order to produce surplus value, the class of capital has to produce surplus product.

And this means that capitalism constantly produces the surplus product which is needed by urbanisation. Similarly, capitalism needs urbanisation also for the absorption of the surplus product that it constantly produces. So the parallelism between the rise of the capitalist production and rise of the urbanisation of the population in time is not surprising. There is always an internal connection between capitalism and urbanisation (Harvey, 2015a, p. 45). Harvey explains the absorption of the surplus product through urban transformation by borrowing the concept of “creative destruction” from Schumpeter. In order to maintain absorption of the surplus product, the city has to be presented to the service of the class of capital, and therefore, to make certain changes in the city. According to Harvey, this process means destroying the existing one for re-creating and thus, this creates a dark panorama. Since, who are first or most affected by the successively carried out urban transformation processes by the method of creative destruction are often the poor, deprived sections and the ones that are marginalised by the political power (p. 58).

Just at this point, it would be useful to remember what Engels wrote in 1872. Engels, in his work, *“The Housing Question”* (2013), states that the only path that bourgeoisie uses for solving the housing question is to solve the problem only by constantly reproducing it. For this, long and broad roads are opened at the centres of the workers’ quarters of the big cities, and large and luxurious houses are constructed around them. Here the purpose is to open up inroads in order to prevent the barricade fights in the working class neighbourhoods, independent from public health concerns or efforts of beautify the city or building railroad lines or new streets, avenues for solving the traffic problem. Whatever the reason is, the result shall always be the same. Infamous streets and narrow roads disappear, bourgeoisie praises itself at every turn, but the same situation reappears in another place again. According to Engels, this

is the bourgeois way of solving the housing question. The basement rooms which the capitalist form of production imprisons our workers in them, the home for diseases, dirt and misery did not actually disappear but are moved to other places. Those living conditions to which the workers are exposed to due to their economic conditions are reproduced elsewhere (pp. 79, 81).

According to Harvey, the process of urbanisation has gained a global dimension. It constitutes the engine force of the capitalist dynamic in various countries, in particular in the US. What makes such a global simultaneity is the partial integration of the financial market to the process at an amazing level. The financial sector is using its flexibility for financing the urban transformation processes in the whole world on loans. The infrastructural services funded on loans are required for the absorption of surplus capital and rapid growth. Therefore, urbanisation process has a vital importance for absorption of surplus capital and the global economy. Thanks to the role played by the financial sector in the process, a construction frenzy for the rich has been witnessed in almost all cities of the world in the midst of a flood of poor immigrants who have lost their lands as a result of agriculture gaining an industrial and commercial character and who concentrate in the cities (Harvey, 2015a, pp. 52, 53).

According to Harvey, as a result of the increasing polarisation in the distribution of wealth and power, irreversible changes have occurred in the form of the urban space. The cities have gained a structure, constituted by enclosed, security-controlled residence areas and privatised public spaces under constant surveillance. Protection of the ownership rights and property values in the neoliberal framework has become the dominant form of politics even for the lower-middle class. The cities,

especially in the developing countries, have been divided into differentiated segments, each with the appearance of a small state. In the cities, while on the one hand, rich districts enjoying various services such as the privileged schools, golf courses, tennis courts and private security continue their existence, on the other hand, there are poor districts where drinking water can be only accessed through the neighbourhood's fountain, with no sewage system, where electricity can be only accessed by the privileged sections, with nested illegal buildings and neglected roads (pp. 57, 58).

Another concept which Harvey highly emphasises is the concept of "right to the city. According to him the right to the city is much more than individual or collective access to the resources which the city possesses: it is the right of the inhabitants of the city to change and reinvent it as they desire. The right to the city is not an individual but a collective right. Since reinventing the city depends on executing a collective power during the urbanisation process (p. 44). Therefore, this right covers not only the construction workers but all who sustain the reproduction of the daily life. However, as Harvey also states, the right to the city is increasingly being appropriated in the hands of private or semi-private interest groups. The neoliberal project tends to privatize the control over the surplus value in the last thirty years. For this reason, reclaiming the right to the city means reclaiming a determining power over the urbanisation processes that are shaping our cities, and reclaiming this in radical way (pp. 45, 66).

2.3. Neoliberalism, Globalisation and Capital-Space Relationship

Neoliberalism and globalisation are among the most disputed and examined concepts in the field of social sciences in understanding and explaining today's social issues since they have various world-wide impacts and their consequences. As it was summarised in the previous section, when we look at the contemporary urban theories, the transformative impact of neoliberalism and globalisation on today's cities are seen, and including these two concepts in the examination in this study and discussing their impacts also become necessary and important.

2.3.1. The changing urban structure with neoliberalism and globalisation

When we consider the post-Second World War period, in the framework of both Keynesian and import substitution industrial strategies, we see that the state has positioned itself not in a nature only for regulating the market, but as an important economic actor which directly contributes to economic growth (Ersoy, 2001, p. 39). However, at the end of the 1970's, it is seen that neoliberalism gained importance as a “strategic political reaction” against the decrease of the share of profit in the mass-production industry and Keynesian social welfare policies, for the increase of social and individual welfare. In this context, a series of neoliberal policies were put into force. In this context, a series of neoliberal policies were deployed to *“justify, inter alia, the deregulation of state control over industry, assaults on organized labor, the reduction of corporate taxes, the privatisation of public services and assets, the dismantling of social assistance programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, and the intensification of interlocality competition”* (Theodore et al., 2012, pp. 21, 22). In this sense, neoliberalism with its practices which advocate existence of free market without state intervention, envisaging opening the path for foreign capital

and enabling privatisation of all sectors, came to the forefront in the whole world from the second end of the 1970s as the dominant economic-politic paradigm.

Harvey states that, neoliberalism, which became hegemonic as a form of discourse, and is based on the idea that social benefit shall be maximized by the expansion of the frequency of the market transactions, can direct the decisions in the global market and take all human actions under the influence of the market, thanks to information technologies (Harvey, 2015b, p. 11). Existence of a global market means that almost no area is left outside the influence of the market (Harvey, 2008, p. 90). Thus, neoliberalism, as a political ideal, defines the market environment where everything is seen as a commodity having a market value and can be bought and sold, as the space where the most efficient decisions are made, and advocates that markets should be established for all human spheres that were not formerly marketized such as water, forests (Geniş & Çelik, 2012, p. 7). In this context, Harvey (1997) emphasizes that an important change has occurred in the functioning of capitalism from the 1970s to today, during this process under the domination of the neoliberal logic few things could be saved from commodification and it is not possible to escape from being commodified and becoming an object of consumption under conditions where circulation has accelerated with globalisation. According to him, under the influence of neoliberalism, the urban areas too had their shares of commodification and the cities have been transformed into objects of consumption and presented as solutions for the accumulation crisis of capitalism.

Capitalism constantly needs profitable areas for obtaining surplus capital and for its absorption. Therefore, it tries to go to new profitable areas, such as the new production techniques in general and new natural resources in particular. This effort for the absorption of surplus value also creates an increasing pressure over the natural

environment. Therefore, urbanisation has an important function in this process. The policy of capitalism to expand its areas of activity by creating surplus value too leads the capitalist urbanisation processes (Harvey, 2015a, pp. 46, 47). Tekeli, in his article, titled, *Explanatory Possibilities of Looking at Urbanization in Terms of Capital Accumulation Processes* (1988) emphasized that the phenomena of the city and urbanisation should be evaluated together with the forms of capital accumulation. According to him, it is possible to look at the entire city as capital. It may be told that different societies create different cities at different stages of development (p. 130).

When the history of the cities is briefly looked at, it is seen that the cities were changed and transformed along with the changes in the forms of production. The cities which developed through commercial activities in the Medieval Age became the centres of industrial production with capitalism. But the economic bottleneck, caused by the deep economic crisis in 1973, has started a restructuring process for a new regime of accumulation, and changes occurred in the forms of production. In this context, instead of the Fordist production based on high-volume, standardised forms and methods suitable for mass-production, transition to post-Fordist production form, based on “flexible accumulation” model in terms of labour processes, labour markets, products and consumption patterns started to prevail (Harvey, 2015a). It is seen that, through the neoliberal economic policies implemented by the end of 1970s and especially by 1980s, the relations among capital, labour and state were re-regulated in order to shift the centre of gravity even more in favour of capital. During this process when emergence of the services industry, in particular with its financial component was witnessed, changes were made also in the spatial relations through neoliberal policies. Following this process, which is called “deindustrialisation” because of replacement of industrial production in the cities by the services sector, the cities

ceased to be the spaces of production and became spaces where consumption is organised, and have been turned into a labour force warehouse for the services sector in the global economy (Türkün & Kurtuluş, citing from Urry, 2016, p. 13).

With the transformations in the capital accumulation and labour processes, changes were seen also in the forms of employment. This also caused a new middle class to emerge working in the services and financial sector in the cities. The city started to be transformed by being assigned new functions for the life-style, choices, expectations and consumption habits of the new middle class, working in the financial and service sector. Thus, it is possible to tell that the transformation in the capital and labour processes under the influence of globalisation is the main dynamic of the transformation of the urban built environment (Hansen, 2006).

The shift of the capital accumulation from the industrial sector to the service and financial sector shows the transformation in the accumulation processes. Harvey states that neoliberalism always has to find a way to take wealth and richness from the majority of the population or poor countries and transfer it to the upper classes or rich countries, and this is carried out by the way of “*accumulation by dispossession*”. Harvey, with this definition, refers to the continuity and acceleration of the accumulation practices which Marx called primitive after the rise of capitalism (Harvey, 2012, p. 79), but emphasizes that now accumulation is maintained by the “*enclosure of the social commons*”, meaning the allocation of what belongs to everyone, to capital (Harvey, 2004a). In this sense, with the objective of “*opening of the areas which were previously seen outside the profitability account to capital accumulation*”, privatisation and commodification of the public assets were witnessed as one of the most fundamental neoliberal policies (Harvey, 2015b, p. 169).

Neoliberalism and its accumulation by dispossession model are important in order to understand the actors which have influence over the transformation of space in the modern cities. Frequency of the flow of capital and labour in the urban space brought the urban change with it. The neighbourhoods/regions in the city where the working class predominantly live became an object of investment for capital. The cities, as part of this new understanding of space, were converted into important spaces of neoliberal globalisation. Consequently, in many cities of the world, an “an entrepreneurial urban policy/strategy” was started to be implemented in order to attract global capital investments and due to this, “urban governance” has become the key concept. All of investors, financiers, real estate agents, local politicians, the state and the local social groups are strong actors of the global capital accumulation who struggle over the urban sphere. Shift of these actors to urban governance in order to attract international investors brought competition among the cities. The result of this new understanding of capitalist urban governance causing competition among the cities was irregular growth, exclusion and wars of space (Hansen, 2006). Since, the neoliberal urbanisation accelerating this policy aims to channel the resources to dynamic and entrepreneurial growth foci, such as the developers, financiers and real estate speculators instead of improving the underdeveloped neighbourhoods, cities and regions (Harvey, 2015a, p. 72).

Globalisation has become the dominant discourse both among the academic and political circles since the end of 1980s. Such discourse, which explains the economic, political, social and spatial transformations from a certain perspective, has been extended mainly for justifying the economic and political programme constituted by the dominant class. Definitions such as the “global city”, “world city”, which present a series of policy proposals regarding the space and again which have the

same justifying purpose emerged within this globalisation discourse (Öktem, 2006. p. 54). It would not be a mistake to tell that the cities were put under a race under such definitions, in order to stand out from the global competition. In the cities which entered a fierce competition in order to attract more investments and to make the city an attractive place for global competition, an image creation process was started following a series of marketing strategies. In the competition between the cities and the urban entrepreneurship process ongoing since 1970s, creating an image for the city by creating spectacle urban spaces has become an instrument both for attracting capital and people (Harvey, 1997, p. 116).

The needs of the institutions determining the direction of globalisation and the global market are the basic elements which determine the form of urban competition and marketization of the city. With the global urban formation stemming over the axis of pro-privatisation and pro-market neoliberal economic policies implemented since 1970s, in the cities which fiercely compete with each other in order to be an international finance, tourism and trade centre, infrastructural preparations such as closed-luxurious residential areas, renovated ports, fair areas, international airports and fast train came to the forefront. And in the recent period, hosting world-wide activities and organisations such as exhibitions, festivals and cultural activities were added to these. Although at the beginning, urban transformation and renovation projects, including predominantly the real estate-oriented tourism investments were being implemented, since 1990s “culture”-related strategies were introduced in order to attract more capital and visitors to the city (Öktem, 2006, p. 55).

The urban policies which take capital and upper-income groups to their centres, cause capital to direct to culture and service industry and in this context, increasing commodification of culture (Geniş, 2011, pp. 58, 59). As the city and

culture becoming important in the accumulation of capital, it is seen that strategies of using culture as a tool for urban transformation and renovation, for creating a new and marketable urban image and developing the culture industry, are multiplying (Özden, 2012). In this sense, it is possible to tell that culture is used as a functional instrument both for accelerating urban transformation practices and for marketing the city. While in Europe the culture policies were emphasized in the mid-1980s for increasing social growth and encouraging social participation, in the later years the potential of culture regarding the urban economy and transformation of the physical environment of the city was discovered. And from the end of the 1990s, as the proliferation of the urban marketing strategies and gradual transformation of such strategies into a holistic one of city branding, it is seen that convergence between culture and economy in the urban context is clarified. As to this period, entertainment, culture-art activities and the private activities of the business world assumed a central role in city branding (Garcia, 2004, p. 315, 316). Depending on the drive of capitalism to make profits, culture has started to be seen as an economic activity and has become a profitable investment area for the capitalists and urban entrepreneurs (Harvey, 2015c).

According to Stevenson (2003), in addition to the fact that a large majority of the world's population live in the cities, the cities are at the same time the most visited places. For this reason, the texture of the cities are increasingly changing with activities which are performed both as the object of the tourists' gaze and a sign of urban identity. As a result of globalisation, deindustrialisation and economic restructuring, increasing number of cities and regions aim to attract global capital investments in order to survive spatially and economically and compete with other cities over the image and pleasantness by turning into consumption, entertainment and financial activities. Marketing activities are encouraged by the cooperation of the

business world and the local governments in order to reverse urban degradation. Re-valuation of the image which the city is reflecting lies at the foundation of the marketing activities. In this process which Stevenson calls sale of the city, with the new image of the city created, perception about the city is also differentiated. The commodity what is sold is not only the physical space but all symbolic values and images of the city. Consequently, together with the physical space, its all symbolic values and images are also transformed into commodities. During this packaging process, not only attracting potential investors and visitors to the city but also influencing local inhabitants of the city is aimed. With marketing campaigns which are generally carried out through the media, production and transmission of the images of the city is maintained. The objective is to separate the city from other cities as a unique and attractive place to live, to visit and to work (Stevenson, 2003, pp. 93-98).

While the increasing visibility of high-profile activities like urban festivals in national and international media promise positive and long-term local economic benefits, they help to marketize the renovated city. On the other hand, organising small-scale activities as local cultural festivals seem as an efficient method for raising the profile of the city centre. What ever is the scale of such enterprises that are involved with the transformation of the urban area, they are always implemented with concerns on whether the city would be perceived as a desirable place for the foreigners to live or to visit or not. Central administrations and the business world which focus on production of commercialized recreation areas through practices of urban renovation, image creation and urban marketing especially aim to attract new commercial investments to the city centre in order to mobilize the touristic interests and support local economic growth. In this sense, the term “urban tourism” was

coined in order to call the packaging and marketing of the cities in order to make them the centres for touristic consumption. For the city to be positioned as a centre of consumption its visitor profile should be raised and its attractiveness should be considerably increased. For this reason, a series of renovation projects are formulated which include staging of the activities. Here idle time, taste, pleasure and spectacle are produced, packaged and consumed (pp. 99, 100).

Construction of sellable consumption areas and a renewed urban image like establishing culture-artistic or entertainment spaces from idle industrial buildings may also be involved with the manipulation of the built environment. Generally, this process ends with the total transformation of the urban area, restoration or demolition of the buildings. These transformation strategies which became fashionable by 1980s (p. 100), are expressions of the “symbolic economy” in Zukin’s terms. The symbolic economy means the re-functioning of the urban space within the intertwined operation of cultural production and entrepreneurial capital. In this sense, it is possible to tell that the modern cities owe their existences to an abstract symbolic economy that is designed by urban entrepreneurs. The symbolic economy survives with the interest and investments of the urban entrepreneurs and capital. The advocates of the symbolic economy and business persons aim to create a city which contains splendid art museums, parks and architectural complexes and represents the world standards. Thus, the city whose image is reinforced as a centre of cultural innovation is enabled to compete more for the touristic dollars and financial investments. The cultural production while on the one hand claims to represent the city, on the other hand, provides serious earnings for the urban entrepreneurs and capital. That earning is not only restricted from the profit obtained from culture industries. What is more important is the fact that culture is becoming a tool of valuation for some regions

within the city and obtaining serious profits over land speculation. Therefore, the cultural growth strategies find more support in the economically declined depression areas of the city (Zukin, 2005).

Although it is thought that culture often stays outside the capital accumulation logic, the drive for profits has become the most important element and even the aim of the cultural elements and activities for a long time (Harvey, 1997, p. 377). The fact that culture-oriented urban transformation strategies becoming a “universal pandemic” may be explained by the neoliberal urban policies that are implemented by increasing the attractability and competitive potential of the city in order to influence capital, tourists and upper-income groups (Geniş, 2011, p. 53). The strategies that are designed for developing the culture industry in compliance to the symbolic economy are implemented in the “selected physical environment of the city” and with this, fuel an increasing polarisation in the cities (Krätke, 2014). Thus, there are many considerable views stating that culture-oriented urban transformation strategies cause gentrification, rising real estate prices and increasing social tension and exclusion.

The urban space which is the place where neoliberalism shows itself in the most concrete form is being restructured through the rent-oriented urban policies in order to sustain capital accumulation (by dispossession and displacement). Typical consumer attraction centres like sports stadiums, shopping malls, marinas, eating-drinking places are being created, instead of considering the city as the common environment of all social sections, (Harvey, 2015c, p. 431), and in this context, the city is transformed into a marketable commodity, a medium of accumulation by being presented over spectacle and image and becoming a touristic venue. This overlaps with Lefebvre’s conceptualisation of “urban society”, where consumption is taken under control. All these enterprises involving with the concern of attracting visitors

cause the city to be perceived only as an object to be consumed, i.e. the exchange value of the city to exhaust its use value. It is possible to tell that what emerges from this process which is operating for marketing the city to global capital is cities surrendered to capital and real estate market, and have no distinctive differences from each other.

2.3.2. Looking at neoliberal urbanisation process through Istanbul

It is seen that since 1970s, initiatives for maintaining the articulation of the countries to the global economy over the cities and regions are accelerating. In this context, the cities are accepted as the engines of economic growth and progress. Therefore, it is seen that the central and local administrations in cooperation with capital interfere in the spatial structure of the cities. Istanbul, like various cities in Europe and the US, as the biggest city of Turkey with its population of nearly 20 million and thought to have the potential of becoming a global city, is one of the cities mostly affected by this situation. There is a broad consensus on transforming Istanbul into a global city since the 1980s (Bartu, 2018, p. 44). In this period, in Turkey there was a great interest towards the neoliberal policies that were initially implemented in the US and England and a new era has started in the country in economic, political, social, cultural, ideological and even in spatial senses.

It is possible to tell that 24th January economic decisions that were implemented by the 12th September military coup d'état became the turning point. It is also possible to say that the long-term economic policies implemented by Özal government that was established under the tutelage of 1980 military coup d'état were based on the decisions taken on 24th January. In this period, a new consumption-oriented life-style emerged by the liberalisation of imports. And with the entrance of foreign capital, the course of daily life started to change. As a result of the subsidized

consumption-oriented new life-style and introduction of international capital investments to the country, important changes started to appear in the faces of the cities, in particular of Istanbul, in physical and cultural terms (Taşbaşı, 2009, p. 35). As to this period, there was a restructuring including the entire city. In these years, when Istanbul turned its back to its characteristic as an industrial city, different meanings were assigned to the urban space equipped with new functions. The 2nd Bosphorus Bridge, opened in 1988 has driven the financial centre which was moved by the first bridge to Mecidiyeköy, to the north of the city. And this time high-security sites and shopping centres started to appear instead of the slums around the ring roads which it brought with it. In these years when neoliberalism started to give its fruits, new real estate bubbles were started to be boomed, as capital, accumulated while income gap was increasing, started to direct its investments to the urban area and real estate rent. Industry has been pushed to outside of the city for exploiting cheap labour force and the city centre became the temple of consumption for the masses working in the service sector (Azem et al., 2011, 7:06-7:57). Today, it is possible to tell that this process has been accelerated with the third bridge and the new airport.

After 1980s, the trend of deindustrialisation constituted the basis for the urban policies of the central and local governments. By this period, the objective was to put Istanbul to the forefront by its key role in sectors such as trade, tourism and finance and making it an important actor in economic growth and global competition. In this context, global urban projects and practices that were developed over the “global city discourse” that emerged as the urban perspective of neoliberal globalisation has put Istanbul into a race between the cities for taking place in the class of global cities. And the big urban transformation projects which were shown as the most important ones of the urban policies that were developed for the city to take part in class of global cities

were put on the agenda for preparing the built environment of the city for the global economy (Öktem, 2006, p. 54). In this period, it is possible to tell that the state, coming to the forefront with its regulatory role arranged the urban processes in compliance to the neoliberal rationality by coming together with capital and started a process of creating a new image for the city. The dominant discourse that determined the urban policies of the central and local administrations was putting Istanbul into the class of global cities and attracting more capital to the city by making Istanbul the financial, commercial and cultural centre of the Middle East and Europe. For this, establishing the required infrastructure and built environment was vital and finally broad highways, skyscrapers, residences, luxurious hotels and shopping malls started to mark the period as products of this process (Öktem, 2016, pp. 39-45)

By the 2000s, it is seen that urban policies implemented for increasing the regional importance of the city and marketing it to global capital were on the rise. The project that started in 1980s and envisaging transforming Istanbul into a global tourism, finance and trade city by de-industrialising it and emphasizing its position in service/finance sectors, crystallized in 2000s and the process has continued by the transfer of emptied industrial areas, public areas and slums to national and international capital. Thus, in Istanbul Landscaping Plan, approved in 2009, it is seen that the target of making Istanbul a global world city by strengthening it at the global level was clearly emphasized. In that report, it was emphasized that Istanbul should be directed to information and communication technologies instead of industrial production and gain the identity of a top level service/trade/finance and management centre and thus have economic competitiveness in the global market; and spatial arrangements for this were underlined. According to this, it was stressed that the industrial areas in the centre which were envisaged to be converted into different uses

than industry should be transformed with appropriate functions; and such areas should be used for information economy, culture industry and top level service/trade/finance sector. Also, it was envisaged that areas such as congress, fair and cultural centres should be contributed to the city and the city should reach a status of a culture-oriented tourism city status by developing in areas such as sports, health, shopping and cruise port tourism (İBB, 2009).

It is seen that in connection to this vision, the meaning of the concept of urban transformation has expanded in 2000s, and large-scale mega projects marked the city. In this process, tens of mega projects were posed by the state, and city of Istanbul started to be increasingly commodified by being marketed to the elites, in order to create new attraction centres for the investors (Çobanyılmaz, 2017, p. 47). In this context, it is possible to tell that the mega projects, introduced under the scope of public-private cooperation model are the ones over which the city was opened to capital accumulation over construction. The public-private cooperation model has narrowed the economic role of the state, restricted the “investment” expenditures in the public finance, made the state a user/consumer and opened a new infrastructural area to the private firms which reached a certain accumulation level and looking for new areas of accumulation (Sönmez, 2017, pp. 32, 33). On the other hand, the “global urban discourse” which became even more dominant by the 2000s, caused the service sector-oriented city of Istanbul, disconnected from industry and production, to be put into the service of global capital as a consumption centre open to real estate and financial speculations. In this context, the city ceased to be a space where production is conducted and with Harvey’s expression (Harvey, 2010, p. 324), “*became the capital for the circulation of money and capital.*”

2.3.3. Galataport Istanbul Project as a practice of neoliberal urbanisation

Transformation of the city into a medium of accumulation along with privatisation and pro-market logic of neoliberal globalisation and its commotification has been experienced in Istanbul in different scales alongside the course in the world. In this study, the urban policies that are implemented for articulating Istanbul to neoliberal globalisation are dealt within the context of Galataport Istanbul project which created intensive debate since the first day it has been introduced. Galataport project which is started to be constructed for the renovation of the historical Istanbul port, standing in between the Karaköy and Fındıklı quarters, has an important place, like in many similar projects, in the process of creating new spaces needed for sustaining capital accumulation. Galataport project is one of the typical examples for the situation in which space is seized and reproduced by capital through a series of legal changes and regulations and by assigning it new functions.

The coast lines had important roles for the foundation and progress of the cities in the whole world. With the industrial revolution, this situation became clearer and the ports became important properties for the cities due to increasing commercial activities. However, with the new economic restructuring created by neoliberalism and globalisation, the industrial activities within the city started to regress. In addition to these, the technological developments in transportation and handling caused the former ports left from the industrial age to become outdated. As a result, in the whole world, the ports started to transform under the influence of market-oriented policies and initiatives (Erbil & Erbil, 2001, p. 185).

Parallel to the course in the world, although it was the centre of transportation and trade at Istanbul and European level in the beginning of 1900s, Istanbul Port too started to lose its importance, as the area of industrial activities were moved from the

centre to the periphery by 1980s. The port was deactivated by being ruptured from its commercial context by the ban on the entrance of cargo ships in 1987 and by the ban of articulated lorry entrance in 1988 (Mimarlık ve Tasarım Yayın Platformu, 2014). The changing economic structure of the city also required the port area to be renovated by being equipped with different functions. For this, Istanbul Port, which once was a busy cargo and passenger port, was forced to transform by the state and capital groups within the framework of various future scenarios (Erbil & Erbil, 2001, p. 186).

Despite the fact that the region was declared as “urban site area” in 1993 by the Istanbul No 1 Conservation Board for Cultural and Natural Assets, declaration of the region as a “tourism centre” in 1994, according to Tourism Promotion Law, may be evaluated as part of the process to deactivate the port (Özden & Açar, 2008, p. 30). In this period, the management of Turkey Maritime Authority had the opinion that the port’s potential as a passenger port is not fully used and for this reason, it is not economically efficient. On the one hand, for the port to be used as a full capacity passenger port, there were initiatives for its privatisation or transfer of its management to private sector, and on the other hand, improving its surroundings for attracting more ship passengers and restructuring it as tourism centre were aimed. TMA in this context invited international firms to prepare an urban design concept, including a hotel complex, business offices and park and recreation areas, in addition to advanced passenger port facilities (Erbil & Erbil, 2001, p. 187). Thus, in this period, tenders were declared by the TMA for the port to gain a new tourism and trade-oriented function, but as the legal infrastructures and legislative frameworks were not yet ready, there was no participation to the tenders and they became inconclusive, thus in

the initial stage, the port region could not attract the required investment for transformation (Özden & Açar, 2008, p. 64).

The warehouses that were left empty by the deactivation of the port were started to be leased by the special permission of the then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in the beginning of 2000s (Mimarlık ve Tasarım Yayın Platformu, 2014). In 2004, Istanbul Modern Art Museum established by the support of Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı, the founder of Istanbul Culture Art Foundation (IKSV) was opened as the first modern art museum of Turkey, by Erdoğan, with great splendour. By establishment of Istanbul Modern here, the whole area become the centre of a large urban transformation process which aimed to revive the old port including cultural leisure time activities (Polo, 2015, pp. 1511, 1512).

Although such cultural projects are presented as a way of articulating the cultural heritage of Istanbul, they are part of the project of branding Istanbul within the context of the globalisation strategy (p. 1518). The Biennale, as the most comprehensive international art exhibition organised in the region, played an important role for the promotion of contemporary artists not only from Turkey, but also from various countries. In years, the number of domestic and foreign visitors coming to the Biennale also gradually increased (pp. 1517). Thus, establishment of Istanbul Modern is one of the steps taken for maintaining marketing of the city at global scale in the last decades. When it is thought specifically for Galataport, it is possible to tell that the cultural activities in the region were influential for capital's desire to make investment in the old port area.

One of the most important features of the Galataport project is that a new regulation was introduced under the definition of the “cruise port”, by the amendment

in the Regulation on Implementation of the Coast Line Law in 30th March 2004, and with this definition, a reconstruction and usage privilege was granted to Galataport, that was never granted to anyone before (Özden & Ağar, 2008, pp. 5, 70). It is possible to tell that, this amendment opened up the road for constructions on the coast line regions and filled shore areas, and prepared the ground for the project to be tendered again. By assigning the function of a cruise port to the region, the foundations of an urban renovation project of mixed usage, including eating-drinking venues, a shopping centre and office areas have been laid (p. 14). However, the fact that the area was an “urban site area” according to the Law on Conservation of Immovable Cultural and Natural Assets no 2863, and declared as “tourism region” under the scope of Tourism Promotion Law no 2634 and also taken under the scope of privatisation in addition to these, brought various problems and debates on the agenda. According to the law, the fact that the region was a site area required a positive opinion to be obtained from the conservation board before making any plans. Although the conservation board did not approve the plan proposal, the project was not set aside. On the other hand, the plan is also contrary to the Coastal Law setting forth that the use rights of the coastal line areas belong to the public and in this matter public benefit should be looked for (pp. 5, 14).

In December 2010, the draft envisaging amendments in the coast line law also involving with Galataport appeared. According to this, it was decided that in shore filled areas the provisions conserving cultural and natural assets will not be implemented (İstanbul'un Mega Projeleri, n.d.). Thus, by excluding the Board for Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets from the process, with the amendment, it was made possible to open the road for all kinds of constructions that may be built on shore filled areas of the coast lines for attracting investment, and transformation of the

area for the needs of capital became easier. The project became a hot issue on the agenda starting from the first day it was announced. Various professional organisations, such as the Istanbul Branch of Chamber of Urban Planners of the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA), Metropolitan Branch of the Chamber of Architects, UCTEA Chamber of Construction Engineers raised objections about the projects over the grounds that the historical texture in the area shall be degraded as historical buildings will be demolished and new constructions will be built, use of the coast line will be restricted and there were disputable zoning plans and tender processes. However, due to the legal regulations and amendments, implementation of the project for sustaining capital accumulation could not be prevented. Thus, with the latest tender made by the Privatisation Administration in May 2013, under the framework of transferring the operation right for a certain period and conditions, the operation rights of the project were granted to Doğu Holding AŞ for 30 years, which submitted an offer of 702 million dollars (*Galataport İhalesi Sonuçlandı*, 2013).

With Galataport project, all buildings in the area covering the coast line of 1.2 kilometres, extending from Karaköy Dock to Mimar Sinan University Fındıklı Campus, are asked to be restored for touristic and commercial purposes or demolished and new ones to be built in place of them. The region is aimed to be converted into a complete touristic attraction centre by changing the previous texture of the port area with the hotels, restaurants and all other commercial enterprises to be built on the coast line (Yılmaz, 2014). Hence, the words of the Chairperson of the Board of Directors of TMA about the process, “*İstanbul Port will be just the same with the Barcelona Port*” shows the aim in the transformation of the port (Aytalar, 2005).

Beyoğlu (Pera) region, where also the Galataport project is located, is a region which represents the historical and cultural heritage of Istanbul as it hosts various numbers of art galleries, exhibition halls, museums, theatres and cinema halls and due to its proximity to touristic venues in addition to the fact that it has historical buildings of hundreds of years. Thus, the potential of the region to attract domestic and foreign visitors was always very high. When the cultural concentration in the area, where the project is built, is considered, it is seen that Galataport project has been constructed in a “selected” region of the city, and with the project, obtaining economic earnings over both the city and culture is aimed. Thus, it is declared in the web site for promoting the project that, Galataport, together with the cultural and historical buildings around it, will be an ideal venue for organising culture-art activities such as open air exhibitions, art installations and concerts and it will be kept vivid with various activities like culture-art, design and fashion during the whole year and become an attraction point both for Istanbulites and tourists. It is also underlined that Galataport will become the culture, art and design destination of the region, as it will host Istanbul Modern Art Museum and Istanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum (*Hakkımızda*, n.d.). Just like the “price” of a brightly packed commodity would be higher, this is also true for a branded city (Taşbaşı, 2014, p. 25). In this sense, the Galataport project is an expression of the city branding process by creating a marketable urban image in the framework of entrepreneurial urban strategies. In this process, culture is openly introduced to the circuit in order to contribute to the production of a new urban image, as a commodity having a market value.

With the project, what is aimed are creating a tasteful, chic and pleasant image, by reviving the old port, which lost its function following the deindustrialisation process, with functions like trade, finance, entertainment, culture-art, consumption and

tourism, and attracting more investors and tourists to the city thanks to this image. However, commodification of one of the most valuable regions of Istanbul by privatisation, its opening to capital accumulation and gaining material earnings from it, should be presented with some justifying discourses. So it is frequently underlined that the port is promised to serve to 25 million visitors, nearly 7 million tourists and 1.5 million ship passengers each year” and it will also contribute to economic growth. On the other hand, ways are also searched for marketing the project with arguments such as, it will play an important role for the city to reach its rightful position in terms of cruise tourism and to open this unique coast line to public access (*Hakkımızda*, n.d.). However, it is a quite optimistic approach that the area will be a public space for all people when the operation rights of the port area are transferred to a capital group for 30 years. Although it is argued that with the project, the city will be connected to the sea and the coast line that was closed for 200 years will be opened to all, what is produced is a commodity with a market value under the control of capital. In this sense, although the urban poor are not directly excluded, the poor are indirectly prevented, since this is a venue packaged and designed in an agleam and chic manner for consumption and spending pleasant time. Thus, it is possible to tell that the transformation that will occur in the port area with the Galataport Project is only shaped in favour of capital and upper classes.

3. IDEOLOGY AND CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY IN NEWS PRODUCTION PROCESS

Media plays an important role in the reproduction process of the dominant ideology. Individuals are informed about the social events and facts outside their own experiences mostly through the media. However, media's way of transferring the events is quite decisive in that information process. Media is shaping the consciousness, ideas, emotions and even daily lives of individuals by presenting a certain framework of meaning to the society. Thus the individuals evaluate the social events and facts within the framework of meaning that is provided by the media. The "reality" that is constructed in the media aims to make the dominant ideology and relations of production to be accepted by the society and to sustain them. And this is overlapping with the realities and interests of the dominant class. Hence, the ideas, values and beliefs of the dominant class can be transferred to the society through the media and they can be reproduced and become dominant.

This study is defending the opinion that the content and discourse that is produced in the urban transformation news reports by the journalist, as the organic intellectual, is legitimizing the capital-oriented transformation of the city and thus, the relations of production are reproduced. So the main concern of the study is related to the fact that the reality that the media constructs by presenting the fact of urban transformation within a certain framework of meaning overlaps with the interests of the dominant class and serves the continuity and reproduction of the dominant relations. Today, when domination of capital over the media is crystal-clear, the media also regarding the urban transformation is making production in a manner to represent the worldview and politics of the class which is dominant over the economy and thus

playing an important role for obtaining massive support and consent for the dominant ideology.

The spheres of culture and ideology have important weight in the continuity of capitalist relations of production. In addition, in order to understand the forms of functioning of media as “ideological apparatuses”, the media organisations should be connected to the positions of the large scale commercial enterprises in the capitalist economy and these relations should be historically examined (Golding & Murdock, 2008, pp. 30, 31). In this context, in the coming sections of the study, first the theoretical approaches that shed light for analysing the news production process shall be dealt, and then the functioning process of media as an area of capital in the capitalist system shall be analyzed along with conceptualisation of ideology from Marx to Gramsci.

3.1. Theoretical Approaches in News Studies

Various numbers of theories and approaches have been posed from the beginning of the communication science to today. When the theories and approaches presenting different arguments from each other are examined, it is seen that they are divided in two groups, as the “liberal pluralistic approach” and the “critical approach”. Distinct theoretical definitions have been made about the media under the framework of these two approaches and studies that look at the mass communication from different windows have contributed to the literature.

While the foundations of the first of these approaches go back to the communication studies made in the US, the second is mainly based on the studies with Western European origins. The research made within the framework of liberal pluralistic approach dealt with the issue of “media impacts” and as a result of these

researches, it was concluded that the media has “strong and limited” impacts. And the main question of the critical approaches was shaped over the “ideological functions” of media. Also, some research has concentrated on the question of how the media content is received (read), provided that they took the ideological functions of media at their centre (Özer, 2006, p. 41). According to the liberal approach whose main area of interest is using the communication channels efficiently, communication is the process of influencing the cognitions and behaviours of the individuals. And the critical approach considers communication as the production and alteration of meanings rather than thinking it as a process since it does not have a linear nature (Fiske, 2003, p. 61).

3.1.1. Liberal pluralistic approaches

The liberal political thought developed as a consequence of the individual coming to the forefront by the collapse of the Medieval Christian philosophy and the emphasis made on the importance of individuality. And the basis of the liberal press approach goes back to figures such as Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Smith, who accept the liberal thought (İnal, 1996, p. 13). Although the foundations of the liberal pluralistic approach in the media are based on the liberal political thought, which has an important place in the history of Western thought, this approach became the dominant one in the field of communication in the US by the 1920s and 1930s. This approach which started to dominate the communication studies corresponds to the liberal pluralistic social theory, liberal democracy approach and the dominant social structure of the US. The US-style liberal pluralistic research tradition, where the media is functionally used in order to protect the liberal pluralistic social values, deals with communication with the functionalist approach of the social scientists. Communication, for the functionalist approach, is functional especially in capitalist

social division of labour, organisation of production and regulation of the economy. In this sense, within the liberal pluralistic approach, research aiming collecting quantitative data about social control, persuasion and behavioural changes are conducted. When such research is made, connections with the social, ideological, political, cultural and economic system in which communication is located are not established. Consequently, the aim of the media, the messages it transmits to the receiver and their impacts are abstracted from all social processes (Yaylagül, 2006).

The traditional functionalists see the media as a unifying force that maintain consensus by underlining the common values for the entire society. In this approach, which acts with the opinion that “the press is the mirror of the society”, the media, as a structure open to the participation of all and informing the people about the social issues, is thought to have an important role in shaping of the pluralistic democratic society (Tılıç, 2009, p. 58). In this sense, in the functionalist pluralistic approach, which assumes that the news report is neutral and it one to one reflects the reality, the media, while on the one hand being called as the fourth force of democracies, on the other hand, it is thought to be a watchdog which checks the practices of the political power, cares for the common interest of the society and informs the people. At the same time, in this approach, the media is evaluated as an indispensable instrument in the organisation of different interests coming together, announcing the voices of the pressure groups and transfer of different views and ideas to the society in a neutral manner (İnal, 1996). On the other hand, this approach emphasizes that there is no dependency relations between the political power-media, and this relationship is completely an independent one (Tılıç, 2009, p. 61). Gurevitch et al., (Tılıç, citing Gurevitch 2009, p. 61) in their study, titled, *Culture, Society and the Media* explain the liberal pluralistic approach as follows:

The pluralists see society as a complex of competing groups and interests, none of them predominant all of the time. Media organisations are seen as bounded organisational systems, enjoying an important degree of autonomy from the state, political parties and institutionalised pressure groups. Control of the media is said to be in the hands of an autonomous managerial elite who allow a considerable degree of flexibility to media professionals (journalists) (...) and audiences are seen as capable of manipulating the media in an infinite variety of ways according to their prior needs and dispositions.

The founders of the liberal school have an optimistic approach which assumes that reality can be achieved through pluralism. According to them, free articulation of different and opposing views in media becomes possible thanks to diversity and pluralism. It is thought that if all kinds of views can take place in media, unrealistic, mistaken views shall not be accepted by the society and the communication channels transferring them shall be unsuccessful. What is desired to be indirectly told by this idea is that, the freely expressed ideas can freely compete with each other in media which is seen as a kind of public sphere. It is thought that thanks to the conditions of free competition, what is “unreal” may be differentiated from what is “real”. At this point, all kinds of formations leading to monopolization are absolutely rejected as it is obscuring the way for reaching truth (Kaya, 2009, pp. 78, 79).

According to Alemdar and Erdoğan, the theories that are developed in connection to the liberal pluralistic approach can be united on mainly three points (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 1990, p. 15): adaptation of the human beings to their living environment and if needed to be made adopted; the inclination to protect and revive the existing social structure and institutions; the view that the best way for the non-

industrialised countries to prefer is the capitalist economic and political system. Thus, in this approach, every thing outside of and criticizing the capitalist framework are kept outside of the focus point. Structural inequalities, labour exploitation, conflicts of interests between the classes or groups and relations of domination are made invisible (p. 172). In this sense, it is possible to tell that liberal pluralistic approaches justify the existing liberal social order and enable its strengthening and continuity. And the main objection of the critical approaches that will be explained in the coming section is that the media is making production not for the general interests of the society, but for the interests of the dominant classes. Thus, in the critical approaches, the view that the media, in contrast to the claims of the liberal pluralistic approach, reflects the reality not as it is, but in a distorted manner is prevailing.

3.1.2. Critical approaches

In researches which accept critical approaches that present opposite views against the empiricist approaches of the liberal pluralist theories, the concepts used by the liberal pluralist theories are either not used or used for criticizing. The areas of interest of the critical theories show diversity, extending from the national and international political economy of media to the relationship of dominant, opposite ideologies and consciousness management. With this regard, the critical communication theories and researches contain rich and comprehensive approaches rather than a one that is imprisoned in definite and rigid boundaries (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2005, p. 231). In more clear words, with critical approaches in the communication studies gaining weight, the necessity also to include the structural factors, communication systems and historical context into the investigations emerged and different perspectives could be developed in the field (Yaylagül, 2006, p. 38).

The critical approaches first developed by the researchers in England and Continental Europe who aim to analyze the ties between communication and social power, are based on the Marxist critique of the industrialised capitalist societies. The critical researchers who are inspired by different disciplines like history, psychology, sociology, literature studies and semiotics, tried to examine the role played by the media in the survival of the Western capitalist societies. The critical researchers who absolutely reject the neutrality and objectivity claims of the liberal pluralistic approach, clearly accept the assumptions about the society and humanity with a Marxist basis in their own research (Fejes, 1994, p. 252).

In the critical approaches, which see the claims of objectivity and neutrality as ideological myths, it is opposed to the approach that the media protects the right of the people to be informed, freedom of press and expression, and democratic principles. The media is tried to be understood regarding its place and function in the social form and relations of production (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 1990, p. 170, 171). The critical approaches consider mass communication as producing and distributing industries. With the concept of production not only material production but also production of ideas, consciousness, law, religion, politics and all social organisations, in short total production of the social life is meant (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2005, p. 237).

In critical media researches, it is assumed that the media produces not for protecting the general interest of the society, but for caring for the interests of the dominant class and the claim of the liberal approach that “the news is reflecting the reality” is rejected. According to Alemdar and Erdoğan, all dominant classes have to present their own interests as the common interest of the society in order to attain their objectives. And they do this by presenting their own ideas as universal and only valid

ideas. In this respect, the dominant ideas are the products of a certain form of production and they are the reflections of the worldviews and interests of the dominant forces in the society (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 1990, p. 178). In research made within the critical studies, it is emphasized that the media produces by considering the class interests of those who own and who control media, and a certain consciousness which enables to make such interests invisible is produced and spread. Starting from this angle, it is possible to tell that the news reports as a product of media also have ideological character.

In critical approaches, no analysis of psychological behaviours and message content are applied in order to identify and reinforce the impact of the message like in the liberal approaches. The main consideration of the critical approach which does not see communication as a process, is the fact that the ideologies perform their objective of becoming dominant through media messages and construct their own social realities. In this sense, the issues of how the dominant ideologies are produced and distributed and how they are consumed by individuals are within the content of critical studies. At the same time, in critical studies which also includes studies which consider media as an economic organisation and focus on the ownership structure and relations in media, the issue of how the ideological process functions and what are its mechanisms are taken into consideration. In this sense, analysis of the relations and interactions among the political power, ideology, culture and media has a central position in critical studies. Fejes (1994) has divided the critical studies into three, as the structural approaches, political-economic approaches and cultural studies.

The methodological backbone of this study is constituted by the political-economic approach which problematizes the ownership structure and relations of

media organisations. However, issues such as construction and functioning of ideology and reproduction of the status quo and hegemony in news reports should also be mentioned. Therefore, it is believed that putting the separation between the political-economic approach and cultural studies is important in the study.

The most important difference between the the political-economic approach and cultural studies in the media studies is that the political-economy presents a more holistic, concrete and realistic perspective compared to the cultural studies with its emphasis upon the organisational functioning of media. The tradition of cultural studies has been interested in the investigation of culture as a sphere where the class struggles, domination and social inequalities, ideology and resistance are reproduced in contemporary capitalist societies. The cultural studies which are interested in the question of how the real world is constructed through the language and meanings and how it is represented (presented), has tried to understand culture over the practices of individuals for making sense and representation (Yaylagül, 2006, pp. 111-116).

According to the tradition of cultural studies, the use of media which constitutes the most important part of daily life practices, has a very important function for shaping the consciousness of the individuals and domination of the ruling ideas on the general society (p. 101). In this sense, it is possible to tell that the researchers within the tradition of cultural studies see the media as ideological apparatuses that spread the views and ideas of the ruling class to the society. The culturalists try to materialize their views by applying to the conceptions of Althusser's "ideological state apparatuses" and "repressive state apparatuses" and Gramsci's "hegemony" (p. 117). In the tradition of cultural studies, it is possible to tell that the ideas posed by both scholars, in respect to identifying the relationship between the

linguistic processes and construction of social power, have been determining (İnal, 1996, p. 58).

And in the political-economy approach, starting from the idea that the class control over the mental production and distribution processes stems from the fundamental dynamic of the capitalist form of production, which Marx has mentioned in *The German Ideology*, it is believed that for an adequate analysis of mass communication it is necessary to include in the analysis the general economic conditions where this class based control is performed (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2005, pp. 373, 374). Starting from this perspective, in the political-economy approach, it is possible to tell that the focus is on the relationship which the media establishes with the economic and political structure while it is performing the production and distribution of the cultural product in order to spread the dominant ideology.

The political economy of media focuses on the media-power relations that develop along with the ownership and possession structure of the mass communication media and how this relations are reflected on to the texts of media (Güngör, 2018, p. 145). It is possible to tell that the most important role of the media, which has an ideological function in legitimizing, reinforcing and reproduction of power relations is to enable the society to be controlled by the political power by hiding the class interests and conflicts. The political economy approach which tries to understand the relationship of the capitalists with media tries to understanding the leading affect of the economic and ideological relations on media along with class struggle and class exploitation.

There are criticisms regarding the cultural studies that it is over-emphasizing ideology and neglecting media ownership and control, i.e. the bridge between culture

and political economy is neglected (Garnham, 2008, p. 119). The political economic approach is problematizing the capitalist production dynamics by emphasizing the economic basis rather than underlining the ideology over the media texts (Dursun, 2001, p. 20). In this sense, it is possible to tell that it directs its main interest to the material environment and relations and in this sense, bases its analyses on a historical process. While the political economic approach concentrates on the production, distribution and consumption processes of the cultural commodities, it evaluates media as an integral social structure within the framework of the social power relations. With such an analysis, it also allows focusing on the specific nature and ideological aspect of the cultural commodities.

Golding and Murdock see the analyses that do not carefully look at the economic dynamics which shape production in mass communication, which ignore the economic functioning of media and consider them simply as ideological apparatuses as inadequate; and mention the importance of the relationship between the cultural elements and economic structure. According to them, it seems not possible to adequately explain the process of construction of ideology in the media texts without taking the general economic dynamics into consideration (Golding & Murdock, 2008, pp. 23-38). Garnham also stated that the reductionist approaches which support simple economic determinism or ideological autonomy are failing to analyse and explain the relations between the economy and the ideology. For this reason, when making mass media analysis, the relationship between the two planes, as the material process of production and the sphere of ideological struggle should be included in the evaluation (Garnham, 2006, pp. 173, 181).

It is possible to tell that in today's societies, media economically have become a big industry. This study has a general acceptance that media cannot be analyzed by being abstracted from economic control, ownership relations and class relations. Consequently, the concepts of ideology and discourse shall not be taken within a central and autonomous context as in the cultural studies.

3.2. The Relationship of News, Ideology and Discourse

3.2.1. From classical Marxism to Gramsci: Ideology and hegemony

Ideology is a concept which is intensely used in various fields of the social sciences from communication to political science. There are numerous studies on the concept, from that day to our day, which was first coined by Destutt de Tracy at the end of the 18th century. Despite this great interest in the studies of ideology, the concept has become the vaguest and most disputable one in social sciences. Although its various interpretations were made, no clear definition of it has been given.

Van Dijk, in his article, *Discourse and Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (2003) stated that ideologies have something to do, “with systems of ideas, and especially with the social, political or religious ideas shared by a social group or movement” (p. 15) In the broadest sense, ideology, which means a set of ideas about struggle and control in the society, shows how the dominant powers in the society function in order to legitimize values and concepts, and gives ideas on how the world in reality functions and how it must function. Such ideas often function within symbols and practices (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2005, p. 237).

Various definitions were made regarding the concept of ideology, as one of the most disputable concepts of social sciences, also within the Marxist thought, and these

definitions created numerous debates. In almost all works of Marx, his ideas that are associated with ideology show difference. This caused derivation of different meanings from the thoughts of Marx on ideology. According to Eagleton, a group that extends from Hegel and Marx to Georg Lukács and some late Marxist scholars, rather engaged with “in the sense of ideology as the idea of true and false knowing, illusion, distortion and mystification”. In addition to this, another tradition of thought with a sociological inclination was engaged with the “functions of ideas in social life” rather than their reality or unreality (Eagleton, 1996, p. 19). According to Barrett these differences are based on *“not what Marx has told on ideology but what Marx might tell – or what he actually intended to tell- on the basis of different interpretations of these theories as a whole”* (Barrett, 2000, p. 11).

According to Sancar, in contrary to the claims of the idealist philosophy, Marx tried to explain, with his thesis that the foundations of the making of consciousness should be searched in the social practices of the human being, that the cause of the illusion in the social thought does not stem from deficient or false information, but from the relations between the social practice and consciousness of the human being. In this sense, it is possible to tell that a major part of Marx’s ideas on ideology as a type of social consciousness is based on the polemics between the idealist and materialist philosophical approaches and the efforts of Marx for drawing a boundary line between the two (Sancar, 2014, pp. 11, 12). Similarly Barrett too emphasized that Marx’s evaluation on *“consciousness does not determine life but life determines consciousness”* *“is the most famous articulation of what is understood as the materialist attitude regarding ideology- that the material phenomena determine the ideological phenomena”* (Barrett, 2000, p. 15). At this point, it will be useful to return to the views of Marx and Engels in their work, *The German Ideology* (1992) on the

relationship between the historical life of human beings and their consciousness (p. 47):

Men are the producers of their conception, ideas, etc. Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life-process. If in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside-down as in a camera obscura, this phenomenon arises just as much from the historical life-process as the inversion of objects on the retina does from their physical life-processes.

Eagleton mentions that, the theory of ideology of Marx and Engels that is materialized in *The German Ideology* is involved with the logic of “alienation and inversion”. If human institutions and forces can pass through such a process of inversion, so can the consciousness itself. The consciousness is indeed connected to the social practice. However, the German idealist philosophers fetishized consciousness as a “thing” by separating it from these practices and so caused misinterpretation of the material reality by a process of inversion. Understanding the ideas as autonomous things causes them to be de-historicized and naturalized. For the Young Marx, this is the secret of ideology (Eagleton, 1996, p. 109).

Sancar mentions that the relation of inversion Marx tried to define with the metaphor of *camera obscura* has often been interpreted as “false consciousness” but considering that definition of Marx on ideology as false consciousness causes some debates (Sancar, 2014, p. 13). According to David McLellan, Marx did not ever use the concept of “false consciousness” in any of his texts (Sancar, citing from McLellan 2014, p. 18). Eagleton also stated that Marx never used the concept of “false consciousness” and this expression is rather a distinction belonging to Engels.

In this context, Eagleton is saying that, the concept does not mean that a whole set of ideas is false, but it might be used in order to explain that such ideas function as to sustain the domination of a repressive political power and those who advocate them may not be aware of this phenomenon (Eagleton, 1996, pp. 50, 132). Sancar who tells that Marx mentions ideology as reflection of reality in a different context, states that ideology is not an illusion about reality but a sign, an appearance of reality on the consciousness. This definition means reflection rather than illusion. Reflection of the material conditions constitutes the ideological phenomena (Sancar, 2014, p. 14).

Another aspect of Marx's ideas that might be related to the concept of ideology again appears in *The German Ideology*. In their famous work Marx and Engels tell the following (Marx & Engels, 1992, p. 64):

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.

Marx and Engels, with the above paragraph emphasize that the economic level (infrastructure) influences the superstructure where consciousness, ideas and culture are located. The dominant class who owns the material forces of production has an important role in the formation of the material reality and social consciousness. The dominant ideas which serve the reproduction of the interests of the dominant classes are spread to the society through ideological mediums of production and become the dominant ideas in the society. Hence, the individuals cannot become conscious of

their own interests. The consciousness is thus shaped according to the interests of the dominant class and the dominant form and relations of production can be continued.

Another aspect of Marx's understanding of ideology appears in the *Preface* to his book, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (2011). Here Marx, defined ideology by using the metaphors of infrastructure and superstructure (p. 39).

The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. (..) With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic — in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of production. (pp. 39, 40).

Sancar has emphasized that Marx with these phrases defines ideology as a sphere that may be explained along with the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, where human beings become conscious of the conflicts they experience and where they are positioned in a “struggle” which is created by this

consciousness; and ideology should not be understood as the personal opinions of the individuals but the social consciousness that is constituted by the contradictions of the material life (Sancar, 2014, p. 17). Eagleton too Marx with these phrases left the references made to “misleading” forms, the definition ideology is expanded not only the dominant class but all human beings, and in this sense, it means class struggle conducted at the level of ideas (Eagleton, 1996, p. 121).

We may see the economic aspect of Marx’s conception of ideology in the context of the concept of “commodity fetishism”. According to Eagleton, Marx in his famous article commodity fetishism Marx defines ideology as “reification of life (p. 94):

The earlier theme of alienation is here extended: men and women fashion products which then come to escape their control and determine their conditions of existence. (...) By virtue of this “commodity fetishism”, real human relations appear, mystifyingly, as relations between things; and this has several consequences of an ideological kind. First, the real workings of society are thereby veiled and occluded: the social character of labour is concealed behind the circulation of commodities, which are no longer recognizable as social products. Secondly; (...) society is fragmented by this commodity logic: it is no longer easy to grasp it as a totality, given the atomizing operations of the commodity, which transmutes the collective activity of social labour into relations between dead, discrete things. And by ceasing to appear as a totality, the capitalist order renders itself less vulnerable to political critique. Finally, the fact that social life is dominated by inanimate entities lends it a spurious air

of naturalness and inevitability: society is no longer perceptible as a human construct, and therefore as humanly alterable.

Sancar, in his explanation on the concept of Marx's commodity fetishism, stated that the consciousness that arise as an illusion of the knowledge of material relations is not related to the problem of false or deficient knowing, but in the contrary, it is the inevitable correspondent of the inversion of the social practice itself in the consciousness. Alienation of the human beings to the products of their own labour creates an inversion of the social practice itself. Thus, the labour process, presented as free choice, rules the human beings by transforming into a relation of exploitation and domination. Here, there is a second inversion of the consciousness. Transformation of labour into a relation of exploitation is perceived with a second inversion of the consciousness as a contract entered on equal and free terms. This is the inevitable illusion of the consciousness. What is distorted is not the consciousness but the social practice (reality) itself. Sancar thinks that Marx did not define all kinds of social ideas as ideology. For an idea to be ideological, it should have a characteristic that prevents it to be perceived by the consciousness of the individuals, and for this reason it must conceal the contradictions within the material forms of practice. In this situation, it becomes possible to define ideology as the idea which inevitably serves the interests of the dominant class and can reproduce their material interests (Sancar, 2014, pp. 19-23). In this context, now it is seen that ideology is not about consciousness, but beyond that, it stays at the basis of the daily economic transactions of the capitalist system (Eagleton, 1996, pp. 127, 128).

Although Marx does not have a comprehensive study in which he directly deals with the concept of ideology, his thoughts that are associated with the concept of

ideology have been handled by various writers and created different interpretations and debates. In this context, it is possible to tell that Marx's thoughts influenced many names succeeding him and became the focus point of the studies on ideology. Sholle states that the subject of ideology has a central position in the development of Marxist theory and more specifically when he examines media, in the studies of those who accept this theory. According to Scholle, in order to explain various phenomena in advanced capitalist countries, today's Marxists should more often apply to the concept of ideology (Sholle, 1994, p. 211).

It seems that the debates made on the concept of ideology have concentrated in the second half of the twentieth century. In this period, capitalism has gone out from the devastation created by two world wars and a series of socialist revolution attempts in Europe. In this context, shifting the axis of the analysis on why capitalism was a system that cannot be easily overthrown, from the characteristics of the economic system of capitalism to its reproductive potential through political and ideological processes is important. With this regard, in addition to underlining the social contradictions that are created by the production practices of capitalism, answers are searched to the questions how capitalism now rules the masses without using open violence and brutality and it obtains the consent of the ruled classes. These questions bring us to the "theory of dominant ideology". According to this, it is not sufficient to analyse capitalism simply as a system of exploitation which appropriates the surplus-value. The fact that capitalism goes out of the crises that stem from its conflicted and contradictory nature by reviving itself, i.e. the mechanisms that enable its continuity should be analysed. These mechanisms which act as "cement" among the elements of the system and that enable the reproduction of the system are formed by what happens at the political and ideological levels (Sancar, 2014, pp. 27-30).

According to Ransome, since the Second World War the capitalist system does not maintain its continuity only over economic practices, but in addition, it reinforces its rule by folding the masses ideologically and obtaining their consent. It is seen that in such circumstances where capitalism continues its existence basing on the threshold of consent, there was an increased interest in the studies of Italian thinker and political philosopher Antonio Gramsci, who is known by his thoughts on the relation between infrastructure and superstructure and ideology (Ransome, 2011, p. 21). Gramsci pulled attention to the forms of power that makes state coercion invisible, even unnecessary and formulated the theory of dominant ideology at an early date. The capitalist system owes its continuity to the dominant ideology. By virtue of this, it may escape crises. Formation of a dominant ideology within the systems means formation of hegemony. The form of power emphasized by Gramsci can only be possible to be established through ideology and formation of hegemony. Gramsci tried to formulate the relationship between the “civil society” and “state” in order to analyse this form of power (Sancar, 2014,, pp. 30-32).

Gramsci questioned how the capitalist system can manage to survive despite its crises, how the ruling class obtains the consent of the ruled at all levels through the “organic intellectuals” associated to it in the civil society and how it establishes its hegemony over the ruled. According to Gramsci, who developed the concept of hegemony by underlining the superstructure, the superstructure is constituted by two different levels, as the “political society” and “civil society” (Gramsci, 1986).

What we can do, for the moment, is to fix two major superstructural ‘levels’:

the one that can be called ‘civil society’, that is the ensemble of organisms

commonly called ‘private’, and that of ‘political society’ or ‘the State’. These

two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of ‘hegemony’ which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of ‘direct domination’ or command exercised through the State and ‘juridical’ government. The functions in question are precisely organisational and connective (p. 318).

It is possible to tell that in his above-mentioned views, Gramsci mentions a contradiction between the levels of superstructure. Accordingly, while the state is a sphere of power based on oppression and violence and aims to hold the entire society under its domination; the civil society faces us as a sphere of cultural hegemony based on cultural direction and consent. The contradictions in question are considerably functional in the continuance and reproduction of power. In Gramsci’s thought, hegemony also has political, moral and cultural functions and it is established through the institutions within the civil society. The class which wants to become dominant also has to obtain the leadership at the political, moral and cultural levels in addition to the economic sphere and establish alliances with different social forces. Gramsci materialized his thought with the concept of “historical bloc” (Sancar, 2014).

The “historical bloc” has two main components, as the base and superstructure. Yetiş, emphasizes that Gramsci’s concept of “historical bloc”, tells that *“necessity of including the economic processes at the structural instance on the one hand, and the political institutions, ideological formations, belief systems or cultural forms on the other hand at the superstructural instance into the analysis*, and states that Gramsci with this concept tried to place the structure-superstructure formulation in Marx’s works in a context that is not mechanical-causal (Yetiş, 2009, p. 137). In this context, it is possible to tell that Gramsci made a theoretical critique of the mechanical-causal

forms of historical materialism and then feeling the need for extending the fields in the Marxist tradition that are occupied by politics, performed his own analysis. According to him, what was really tried to be said by Marx in what he wrote in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* on infrastructure and superstructure was that social-economic conditions alone do not produce political changes, but they prepare the conditions where change would be possible. What is vital for the emergence of such changes is the power relations that are obtained in the political arena, opponents' strategies of counter struggle and the strength of the political alliances and their level of consciousness regarding the struggle within the ideological sphere (Forgacs, 2010, pp. 229, 230).

According to Gramsci, ideology is the consciousness of the classes within a material practice, that they form through defining their positions in that practice and struggle. Sancar tells that for Gramsci it was possible to save his model from reductionism with the concept of "historical bloc". It is possible to define the "historical bloc" as the concrete unity specific to a certain moment that is constituted by the forms of consciousness that are determined by the struggle – in Gramsci's thought the political and ideological struggle- between material social practices and possible ideological forms (Sancar, 2014, pp. 36, 37). The historical bloc based on the mutual interaction of the superstructure and infrastructure means maintaining unity around a certain social structure. Reproduction of hegemony by the dominant classes through the relations and its ideas established here is possible by obtaining the cultural, political and economic domination. Consequently, the struggle for domination is carried out by establishing the historical bloc and hegemony within the civil society.

“Hegemony” is without doubt the most important of the concepts that was formerly used within the Marxist literature but employed by converting it by Gramsci. Hegemony, as it is used in the Marxist literature, meant the class alliance of the proletariat with the other exploited sections in the common struggle raised against the oppression of bourgeoisie (Anderson, 1988, p. 36). Eagleton has mentioned that the concept of hegemony expanded and enriched the concept of ideology and contributed it “a material structure and political sharpness” (Eagleton, 1996, p. 166). In this sense, it was possible to define the concept with Gramsci “a practice of domination of the dominant class” (Sancar, 2014, p. 33). Thus Portelli, states that Gramsci considered the concept of hegemony, “political and ideological ruling over the other classes” (Portelli, 1982, p. 19).

According to Barrett, who states that the concept of hegemony is the organising centre of Gramsci’s thought on politics and ideology, hegemony is best understood as “organisation of consent”, i.e. construction of dependent forms of consciousness without using violence or coercion (Barrett, 2000, pp. 64, 65). In this sense, the concept of hegemony is the “political strategy” which the dominant class uses for continuing its power and obtaining consent of the ruled. And in this regard, it cannot be thought separate from the hint of “struggle”, probably that does not exist in ideology (Eagleton, 1996, pp. 166, 167). With the concept of hegemony, now ideology is a type of practice that derives from among the social practices that have material foundations. In other words, ideology has become a practice that is reshaped every day in the society and that is experienced every moment through various mediations (Sancar, 2014, p. 43).

In Gramsci's thought, establishing hegemony is the spread of its own worldview as an entirety to the society by the dominant class, its universalization of its own interests by pretending them as if they are the same with the ones of the society and establishing leadership in moral, political and intellectual sense. During this process where social control is maintained, although the institutions in the civil society like the family, education, religion and media have a more central function, the capacity of the state to maintain order and discipline which Gramsci calls "coercion" also continue their existence in the establishment of hegemony. The liberal bourgeois state may have to use coercion from time to time. This is one face of power, but since this harms the ideological credibility of the state, the political powers prefer to stay "naturalized" and invisible with obtaining consent (Eagleton, 1996, p. 167).

According to Anderson, Gramsci did not establish the relationship between the state and the civil society just only in one style. Gramsci talked about at least three different positions, a position where the state is the opposite of the civil society, a position where it completely includes and surrounds the civil society and another position where the state and the civil society are one and same thing (Anderson, 1988, pp. 27, 28). In this context, Gramsci mentioned the separation between the political society and the civil society, but the state includes both of them. Thus, the state becomes a composition of the civil society (consent) and political society (coercion); i.e. hegemony reinforced by coercion (Gramsci, 1986, p. 186).

Although hegemony rests upon the composition of coercion and consent, it is possible to tell that consent is the leading one. In this sense, Hall stressed that hegemony is not only gained in production and the economic sphere but the state, politics and especially superstructure are the "areas where hegemony is achieved" and

hegemony should be organised here. Hegemony is achieved by holding the ruled classes within the superstructure and such structures operate with ideology. This means the following: “Definition of the reality” that is in favour of the dominant classes and institutionalized in the spheres of civil life and state, causes for the ruled classes, the emergence of the “lived reality”. Thus, the ideology protecting the interests and objectives of the dominant classes carries out its function of being “cement” successfully in the social order. Realisation of this function becomes possible to a certain extent, not since the mental content of the lives of the ruled classes are shaped by the dominant classes (thus, they too live in their own ideologies), but since the dominant classes frame the competing definitions in their own worlds and include all options of definitions of reality into their own perceptions (Hall, 1994, p. 191).

Gramsci is a thinker who investigated the organisation of ideology and culture and its spread to the society as a reflection of class struggle (Hall et al., 1985, p. 6). Hegemony developing within the class struggle and depending on the political and ideological consciousness of the social classes cannot be thought separate from ideology and culture. Hegemony enables “organisation of consent” by presenting itself as naturalised and universalised through language and discourse. In the capitalist system, domination over society is not only carried out by coercion. The continuation of dominance of the capitalist system becomes possible by making the dominant ideology the “common sense” of the society and obtaining the social consent. Capitalist system but can only be saved from the crises and continue its domination. In this context, it is possible to tell that Gramsci’s thoughts has a characteristic that allows understanding the role that is played by the mass communication tools as

ideological apparatuses during the process of obtaining social consent and establishing hegemony by forming the “common sense”.

3.2.2. News, ideology, discourse and the fiction of reality

As it was mentioned in the previous sections of the study, there are two main approaches about evaluation of news reports, as liberal pluralistic approach and critical approach. When looked from the liberal view, the parties of the events in the news report are taken in a balanced manner within the framework of the principles of neutrality and objectivity. However, it is possible to tell that the discourse of neutrality creates a paradoxical situation. When the events are told to the readers, there is always the potential of change and differentiation. The concepts of neutrality and objectivity are used in order to cover this (Dursun, 2001, pp. 128, 129). And the critical approach based on the questioning of liberal approach focuses on the ideological influence of media by underlining that the events that are told in the news are biased and an ideological narrative that serves the interests of the dominant classes are constructed. In the critical approach, the central focus of the analysis made about the news is how the ideological process function in the news and what are its mechanisms. The critical approach, which considers the media as a field where the dominant ideology is reproduced through language, meaning and discourse, presents a considerably broad perspective for understanding the narrative structure of news.

The common use of the concept of news in daily life points out the latest and most recent information about real events, persons or things that are happening somewhere in the world (Dursun, citing from van Dijk, 2001, p. 123). However, when information production is carried out in media in general, and in the news in particular, also certain meanings and discourses are produced. In this context, it is

possible to tell that there is a close relationality between the key role that media plays in the production of meanings and discourses, and ideology. Dursun has stated that a way of evaluating ideology as a material practice passes through associating it with language, meaning and discourse (Dursun, 2001, p. 57).

It is possible that ideologies are mobilized and transferred to the social reality, i.e. reproduced, through the language, meaning and discourse in the news reports texts. The “reality” that is constructed in this transmission is not neutral and objective in contrast to the claims of the liberal pluralistic paradigm. Since, presentation of reality is made through language; and it is not possible for a news narrative that is constructed through language to be neutral and objective. In the text of the news report, it is aimed to transfer meanings through language and to make individuals to adopt and support them. Meaning has a structure that reflects the interests of certain persons and groups; with meaning, an ideology pointing out to the dominant discourse is also transferred to the individuals. Thus, the news media is in a position of an instrument reproducing the reality within the framework of certain meanings and discourses rather than being a “mirror that one to one reflecting reality”. Starting from here, it is possible to tell that in this structured ideological process, in which media reproduces the definitions of the dominant ideology, it is possible to evaluate also the news as ideological representation of reality and strategic textual discourse (p. 123).

According to Dursun (p. 46), taking the concepts of discourse and ideology together, allows an important point of departure for investigating the roles of the media texts and news reports as media texts in the establishment of social power. And Oskay stated that ideology is one of the spheres that is in interaction with the sphere of discourse and emphasized that the society enters in mutual interaction with other

spheres that rest on language and thinking, through the mediation of the sphere of discourse. Therefore, it is quite difficult to tell that discourse is an objective formation or it is independent from power relations. On the contrary, discourse is a sphere which is determined by the form and relations of production which are markers of the existing social conditions and containing class conflicts and contradictions in its body; it is not a homogenous formation. According to Oskay, who states that the power has a nature that reproduces its own way of interpretation and ideology in all social practices, considering the discourse in the context of conflicts makes possible to see it as a sphere of ideological struggle. Power, by efficiently using the mass communication tools as ideological apparatuses, holds the points that are the main determinants of the sphere of discourse in its hands and shapes the discourse of the social. Hence, it reproduces its own ideological discourse in all social discursive practices (Oskay, 2003, pp. 9, 10).

Van Dijk, by referring that the social power is indirect and functions through the “minds” of the people, emphasizes that for implementing social power, control should be established over the cognitive conditions like the desires, wishes, plans and beliefs of the individuals. Individuals for this or that reason may accept to do things like it is desired by the dominant ideology or follow the law, rules or “consensus” in “agreement” with the dominant ideology in order to show an attitude along with its interests or reach an agreement on certain subjects. In modern capitalist societies, majority of the forms of social power in the society functions through such kinds of “mental control”. These forms of power typically may be implemented through persuasion or other discursive communication forms. Since, the implementation and protection of social power pre-requires an ideological framework. This framework which is constituted by the fundamental cognitions of a social group about interest is

mainly achieved, approved or changed through communication and discourse (van Dijk, 1994, pp. 273, 274). In this context, it is possible to tell that discourse has an important role in massive adoption of the dominant ideology and execution, protection and legitimization of power.

Van Dijk, stating the importance of the instrumental role which discourse and communication have in formation and transformation of ideology, underlined that one should also focus on who and through which processes the ideological reproduction tools or institutions like media are controlled (pp. 279, 280). The elements which are influential in discourse production and control in the media that is in the position of an instrument that enable the transfer of the ideas of the ruling class and their ideology to be adopted by the masses, are very important in explaining with whom and for what purposes media is used. This functional role, which media in general and news reports in particular have, illustrates the importance of possessing and controlling those instruments in question.

The thoughts of Marx on the function of press in the society are based on his view that the class who owns the means of material production also owns the means of mental production and can control the distribution what is produced by them. Marx made his examination on the basis of the material characteristics of the instruments of communication. The technological structures and material relations in the mass communication are indicators of its material structure. However, unlike the other material products, the products of the mass communication also produce consciousness, cognition and ideology (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2005, pp. 247-249). In this framework, it is possible to tell that “reality” in the news reports is constructed depending on the material forms and relations of production. For this reason, it is

important as well as it is necessary to analyse media and the news reports produced in the media without abstracting them from society's existing form of production and relations of production. And this requires an understanding outside the approaches that are attributing autonomy to language and discourse.

Herman and Chomsky (2012) argued that the elites whose domination are felt in the news media can be able to control the society by presenting events from a certain perspective and thus, enable the existing order to continue. The propaganda model that is developed by Herman and Chomsky explains how the political powers produce and protect social consent through mass communication tools. Strong economic and cultural elites select manipulative news reports that are suitable for publication by using certain news filters. As stated by Herman and Chomsky, “*(these filters) they fix the premises of discourse and interpretation, and the definition of what is newsworthy in the first place, and they explain the basis and operations of what amounts to propaganda campaigns*”(pp. 72, 73).

Schiller too, by evaluating the media as an industry in the form of capitalist production, states that the monopolistic structure of media and its owners influence the selection of information. So he argued that the reality that is presented in the news media is the reality of the media owners and those who control it and in this sense, the products that are produced in media have an ideological character serving implementation of the interests of the system (Schiller, 2005).

Schiller (2005, p. 75), saying that the question, “*Who assumes the duty of spreading information to the society and hence, which objectives are served?*” should be answered, and gives replies this question by saying that information production is controlled by the governmental units by using bureaucratic channels. According to

Schiller, this information produced by the state also very clearly illustrates the “motivations, inclinations and needs of the system”. However, information production process is performed “within the measures which the government itself wishes” and consequently, the government itself decides “*which of the terms included in the treasure of information, in which manner, how long and with which doses to be presented to the public*” and this decision is implemented (pp. 57, 58). In this context, information produced has a character that points out the dominant discourse and every event that is presented to the society in the context of dominant discourse is perceived by the individuals as familiar rather than being doubted and questioned.

In a circumstance, where media is surrounded by capital, it is not possible to talk about a design within the framework of neutrality and objectivity principles of liberal pluralistic paradigm, since media in general and the content of the news reports in particular are due to the dominant class (Taşbaşı, 2015, p. 913). The fact that media has its activities within the capitalist system and is dependent on capital groups causes news report as a product of media to have an ideological character. The news media, while on the one hand has the function of informing the society about events, on the other hand, enables production of the dominant meaning within a certain cultural and ideological framework and presentation of the fiction of “reality” that is constructed along with this dominant meaning to the society. For this reason, media appears in front of us as an instrument that serves the functioning of the dominant political power’s ideology.

3.2.3. The function of the journalist as an organic intellectual in the reproduction of reality

Gramsci connects the fact that capitalism goes out of its constant crises by always gaining strength and sustaining its continuity, to its capacity to rule and direct by obtaining the consent of the masses without only applying violence or coercion. According to Gramsci, the dominant class may protect its powers either by using force or by producing consent of the society or by using both of them together. However, no dominant structure can be able to make the society to obey existing relations only by using force through institutions such as the military, police, judiciary and prison; having control over the cultural and ideological apparatuses is also quite important for the establishment of political power. In this context, Gramsci focuses on the role that politics and culture play in the continuity of the capitalist relations of production starting from the fact that the spheres of politics and culture were not given much importance in the studies of Marx. According to him, in class societies the political and cultural spheres are important for the maintenance and continuance of domination (Yaylagül, 2006, pp. 96, 98).

In Gramsci's thought, state is an apparatus which serves the exercise of the rule of the dominant class. The elite minority owns the state, its organs and mass communication tools; and it executes control by these over the majority (p. 97). The dominant class by virtue of this power it possesses puts the entire social sphere under the influence of the dominant ideology by locating its own worldview and idea within all practices of daily life as dominant ideology. Hence, the hegemonic ideas of the dominant class become the real life of the society.

The point on which Gramsci focuses is that the dominant class in a position of an elite minority, establishes hegemony over the ruled within the framework of

dependence and obedience, by virtue of the power of ideology to politically mobilize the social classes (Subaşı, 2018, p. 495). The dominant class which wants to maintain continuity of the existing order by reinforcing its power in an advanced capitalist system must establish hegemony and produce consent in order to hold the society under control and determine their ways of thinking and acting.

Media, which is among the institutions where the dominant ideology can be systematically reproduced, plays an important role in obtaining social consent in capitalist societies (Dağtaş, 1999, p. 343). Gramsci's concept of hegemony concretely illustrates that media is an instrument which transmits the values and opinions of the dominant class. In media, the events and facts that are newsworthy are always dealt with the perspective of the dominant class. For this reason, media is against all kinds of events and elements that are against the dominant structure, its values and interests and that constitute threats against the dominant order. It reflects the capitalist relations of production as "common sense" and general interest of the society by accepting them as natural order (Yaylagül, 2006, p. 101).

Chomsky told that media do serve to "*a social objective*", however different this objective may be, and argued that the real aim of media "*to educate the minds of the people, to show a virtuous loyalty to their governments and to the regulations of the social, economic and political order in the broader sense*". According to Chomsky, media constitutes the "vigilant watchdogs" which protect the dominant classes from the threat of conception and participation of the people, and for this reason it reflects not the interests of the public, but of the state and the dominant class (Chomsky, 2012, p. 22). Media is often the instrument of influencing the minds of individuals through information and directing them, and forming social a perception in a certain direction through production of consciousness. The objective here is to

manage the individuals along the interests of the dominant classes by keeping them to act and think in compliance with the existing order. Thus, when considered in terms of the ownership structures and relations, it is not possible to separate the interests of the media institutions from that of the dominant classes.

It is possible to consider how, in what ways and by whom the process of influencing individuals and consciousness production are performed through mass communication tools, as an area where ideology is reproduced due to economic organisation, under the light of Gramsci's identifications about intellectuals. The dominant class must create its own intellectuals in order to ideologically influence the ruled classes through manipulation and disinformation in the daily lives of the individuals. In this context, it is possible to tell that there is a close relationship between the intellectuals and the class they represent, and this relation is strong and very organic. In Gramsci's thought, the intellectuals perform a quite functional duty within the superstructure for the dominant class. This duty of the intellectuals is seen in the activity they perform within the superstructure in order to make the class they represent homogenous and hegemonic (Portelli, 1982, pp. 98-102). Thus, these layers of intellectuals work for the class they represent to be hegemonic and homogenous not only in the economic sphere but also in the spheres of politics and society (Gramsci, 1967, p. 17).

Since the dominant class wants to hold the rule of society as a whole, the main function of the intellectuals appears as the exercise of hegemony of the exploiting classes on the exploited classes through the channel of the systems of ideology they organise (Anderson, 1988, p. 41). For Portelli, Gramsci for this reason calls intellectuals "officers of superstructure". This function of the intellectuals contribute

to the unity of the dominant class and its hegemony within the historical bloc (Portelli, 1982, p. 103).

Gramsci defines the persons who are influential in the process of making the interests, ideas, worldview, and cultural and moral values of an elite minority to be accepted by the majority based on consent, as “organic intellectuals” (Gramsci, 1967). For Said, Gramsci’s organic intellectuals are the ones that are used for organising the interests of the dominant class, and for obtaining more power/control power. In this regard, a person who tries to obtain the consent of the individuals or direct their ideas is an organic intellectual for Gramsci (Said, 2013, p. 21). Organic intellectuals are persons who actively participate in social life and who create the consciousness of the working class in favour of the dominant class in the political, cultural and economic fields; who organise, build and persuade them (Eagleton, 1996, p. 171). Thus, this type of intellectuals is always in constant struggle of changing the minds of people and expanding the markets; unlike the traditional intellectuals who often stay in the same place for long years such as the teachers and religious officials, organic intellectuals are always mobile and in constant formation (Said, 2013, p. 20, 21).

The persons whom Gramsci refers as organic intellectuals are the ones who are created by the system itself in order to continue the hegemonic structure of the existing system and who function as cement between the dominant classes and the society with their opinions. In this context, the media professionals who work as journalists in mass communication media are also organic intellectuals who spend effort in order to spread the interests, worldview and ideas of the dominant class to the whole society based on consent and to make them the common sense of the society, and serve the establishment and maintenance of hegemony. In the thought of Gramsci

who handles ideology as a matter of struggle, the organic intellectuals have an important role to play in the ideological fight (Barrett, 2000, p. 38). The organic intellectuals, who are positioned as mental labour, spread the ideology of the dominant class through daily language to the society. They serve the bourgeois class to become the dominant bloc by enabling the ideas that are articulations of the dominant classes to be accepted by the society and to be conceived as common sense in order to prevent a class consciousness to form among the working class (Yaylagül, 2006, p. 98). In this sense, it is possible to tell that the journalist as the organic intellectual provides the ideological framework that is required for the bourgeois class to establish its social power as the dominant bloc to individuals through communication and discourse, and is the carrier of the dominant ideology through daily language.

The objective of the organic intellectual in the position of a spokesperson of the dominant class is to enable to mobilise the dominant ideology as a social practice through the discourse that is produced in the newspaper news and thus to create a new social reality. In this context, the organic intellectuals who exist for serving the interests of the class they are tied, and represent their worldview and politics, put in front of the reader a reality that is compliant to the interests of the dominant class, hiding class contradictions by reproducing the social and political reality through the news discourse. The reality in question is constructed by presentation of the subject handled in the news within a certain ideological framework. Thus, the consciousnesses of individuals are shaped within the framework of the dominant meaning presented by the journalist and this influences the way of the society to look at the world and sense it. This job of influencing is performed without using coercion, based on production of consent as Gramsci underlines with the concept of hegemony. For this reason, the individuals are not often aware of the situation. With such kind of

consciousness production, the values system which the dominant class wants to prevail in the society is spread to the entire social sphere and the society is made to support all of these at a massive scale and approve it without questioning.

Lefebvre, in his work, *Production of Space* (2014), states that the concept of hegemony brought by Gramsci allows analysing the action of bourgeoisie involving with space. At this point, Lefebvre questions whether it is possible to establish hegemony without touching space and argues that hegemony is exercised through space (p. 41, 42). If the place where the daily “occurs” and which mediates establishment of hegemony is (urban) space, all historical blocs must produce their own daily lives as attached to their own (urban) space in order to establish and preserve hegemony (Çavuşoğlu & Strutz, citing from Goonewardena, 2018, p. 201). In the self-specific conditions of Turkey, it seems that space has been used as a significant method of producing consent and making the power of the state and at the same time class relations visible and felt throughout the 20th century. Although spatial politics are a method that have been used for long in order to reinforce hegemony, it is an important fact standing in front of us that the Justice and Development Part (JDP/AKP) which is continuing its power since the beginning of 2000s, builds its neoliberal hegemony completely by using space (Çavuşoğlu & Strutz, 2018, p. 201).

By 2000s, the old formulas, such as “distributing new construction licences” for building neoliberal hegemony were not anymore sufficient for the JDP, and production of new spaces was required. JDP identified its own strategy as creating and distributing new spaces that have not been commodified until that day for this aim. Under this scope, spaces under and over the buildings, i.e. underground and sky, military areas, former industrial sites, public lands including hospitals, schools and

universities, forest areas, historical neighbourhoods, slums and even the rural areas such as the meadows and grasslands were commodified through very comprehensive legal changes (p. 206) and were one by one served to capital under the name of mega projects.

Worldwide rise of neoliberalism and introduction of large scale urban transformation projects that are called mega projects are processes that function along with each other. It is possible to evaluate these types of projects as the reflection of neoliberal hegemony over the city. Such kind of projects which create large urban rents by appearing in front of us as dominant urban policies of today are ones that protect the interests of capital. Thus, it is seen that rising rents are shared among the dominant classes. Galataport Project is also an example of the urban imagination that stems from JDP's neoliberal hegemony. The project in question was implemented not only to enable capital accumulation but also to contribute to the reproduction of neoliberal hegemony within the existing historical bloc. It is possible to evaluate Galataport Project, which is a one of public-private cooperation, as the product of a broad consensus maintained among the central and local administrations and capital groups, investors, financiers and entrepreneurs. However, for the existing historical bloc to be continued, such kind of projects needed to obtain the support of the society. Therefore, such kind of projects is put in front of the society accompanied by certain hegemonic discourses. It is seen that media in general and the newspaper report in particular play a key role in spreading the hegemonic discourses in question in the general society and making them accepted by it.

It is possible to tell that the organic intellectual who successfully hides under what conditions did the events and facts that are the subject matter of the news report occurred, has the function of propaganda for continuing dominant capitalist relations

and their acceptance at massive levels. Thus, establishing ideological and political hegemony through newspaper reports is a process that functions on a material basis. The dominant class makes symbolic attempts through its organic intellectuals in order to prevent beforehand any shocks that may happen in the material basis. The dominant class is the one that dominates the economy. With the reality constructed in the news about the spatial transformation of the city, maintenance of the capitalist mode of production and relations are ensured and the class contradictions arising from them are made invisible and legitimate, thanks to the organic intellectuals who fulfil the duty of mobilising/directing the ruled in accordance with the ideology of the class that dominates economy. Thus, journalists, as organic intellectuals, try to disconnect the individuals from the reality they live, for the continuity of dominant capitalist relations. In this sense, journalists are the persons who determine the dose of disconnection from reality through language, meaning and discourse in the news text in favour of the dominant class. It is possible to say that the greater the severity of disconnection of the individuals from reality, the more successful capitalism can be. Only in this way can the plans and projects of the dominant class be legitimized, adopted and supported by the society. In other words, neoliberal urban hegemony can maintain its social dominance by constantly reproducing itself.

4. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS ABOUT GALATAPORT ISTANBUL PROJECT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF IDEOLOGICAL PRODUCTION

In this study, newspaper news reports are considered as communicative activity that legitimizes spatial transformation and produces a discourse that serves the reproduction of dominant relations. It is argued that the discourse produced by the journalist as an organic intellectual is used as a tool to legitimize the capital-oriented transformation of the city and to produce social consent. For this reason, in the study, the critical discourse analysis method proposed by van Dijk will be applied to the news reports about the Galataport Istanbul Project in the *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* newspapers, respectively, in line with the macro and micro structural analysis.

In this chapter of the study, first, the critical discourse analysis method developed by van Dijk will be briefly explained, and then the news reports within the sample will be analyzed in line with this method.

4.1. Critical Discourse Analysis of Teun A. Van Dijk

As stated in the previous chapters of the study, the concept of news and discourse has a close relationship with ideology and language. Therefore, addressing the news in discourse practices where social power is established cannot be considered separate from the theoretical efforts for the problems of "media", "influence", "power", "language" and "ideology" (İnal, 1996, p. 29). It would not be mistaken to say that van Dijk's studies have significant position in the field of communication sciences in terms of establishing a link between discourse and power relations. In the discourse analysis applied by van Dijk, the reflections of the power relations formed in the society on the news texts are examined by critical discourse analysis. While focusing on the issue of how the discourses of institutions and organizations with power are produced in news texts, van Dijk criticized the unequal representation of

minorities and immigrants in news texts, by sensitively approaching the adverse conditions of all communities that are minorities in the society where he lives (1996, p. 74). In this sense, critical discourse analysis relies on a clear socio-political stance. Although not at every stage of its theoretical formation and analysis, critical discourse analysis has ultimately a political nature. The political goal here is to try to replace the domination and inequalities in society with a critical understanding. In this context, it is critically analyzed how the political elites in particular practice, maintain, legitimize, allow or ignore inequalities and injustices (Evre, 2009, pp. 136, 137). As Özer also points out, critical discourse analysis has emerged as a discipline that detects and analyzes the abuse of power which has become widespread in private and public discourse, and also tries to problematize the status quo (Özer, 2018, pp. 26-28).

Theoretical approach of van Dijk, as one of the leading theorists of critical discourse analysis, examines the discursive dimensions of abuse of power, domination, inequality and injustice in the social and political contexts by essentially linking discourse, cognition and society. In this respect, van Dijk's model focuses on the role that discourse plays in reproducing domination or challenging domination. The concept of domination here is defined as the use of social power by elites, institutions or groups in a way that leads to social inequality. At this point, critical discourse analysis attempts to analyze the structures, strategies, or other characteristics of the text, speech, verbal interaction, or communication event in the process of reproducing domination (Evre, 2009, p. 139).

Van Dijk's method draws attention to the relationship established between the structures of discourse and the structures of power and argues that the structures of this cognitive power can be found in discourse. In this sense, power emerges as a characteristic of a relationship among the social groups and mainly forms in the

interaction within communication (Sancar, 2014, pp. 140, 141). Van Dijk, who argues that the media has a unique role in the production and reproduction of power structures, points out how power emerges among the social groups through language and communication, and how it is reproduced through the minds of individuals (van Dijk, 1994). In this context, van Dijk's model is quite favourable in terms of revealing the structure of the news and, more importantly, the ideological presentation of the news (Özer, 2011, p. 82).

According to van Dijk, elites such as the journalists, writers, artists, academics, directors play an important role in the reproduction of power through discourse. These groups have relative freedom to make decisions about discourse types within their domains of power and hence have relative power, and they determine the headings, style or presentation of discourse. They can form the agendas of public debate, decide which topic is meaningful, and can make arrangements about the amount and type of information, and especially who can be described publicly and in what manner. Therefore, these groups are seen as manufacturers of public knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, norms, values, morals and ideologies. Therefore, the symbolic power of these groups is also accepted as an ideological form of power (van Dijk, 1994, pp. 276, 277). The news media, with such a news production scheme, reproduces the (p. 303) dominant ideology by deciding which news actors will be reintroduced to the public, what and how will be told about them.

According to van Dijk (2007, p. 166), another aspect of discourse analysis is *"to define text and speech through theories developed to explain various levels and dimensions of discourse."* In this sense, discourse analysis recognizes that text and speech are of an extraordinary complex structure and requires *"separate but also interconnected examinations of phonetic, graphic, phonological, morphological,*

syntactic, micro and macro semantic, stylistic, super-structural, rhetorical, pragmatic, disquisitorial, interactionist and all other structures and strategies” (2007, p. 166)

Therefore, while discourse analysis is made, this should not be limited to "textual" analysis alone, but on the one hand, it should take into account the perceptual, social, cultural and historical "contexts" of these structures while on the other hand, adding the relationships between the structures of text and speech to the analysis (p. 167).

Özer points out that van Dijk deals with the news narrative in two different types of linguistic analysis, "synthetic" and "semantic", by also mentioning the importance of contextual factors that shape the basic structure of news discourse. While the syntax of the news is the grammatical structures of the preferred sentences, semantics refers to the meaning of words, sentences, that is, the whole discourse. In this context, van Dijk's analysis model is examined under two headings: "macro structure" and "micro structure" (Özer, 2011, p. 83). Özer explains van Dijk's model as follows: Macro structure has two sub-headings: thematic and schematic analysis. In the thematic structure, the headings, entrance to the news (the spot, the first paragraph or the first sentence of the news text in the absence of a spot), the photo should be looked at. And in the schematic structure, status and interpretation sections are included. The status section is divided into the narration of the main event, results, background and context information, and the interpretation is the evaluation of news sources and parties of the event. In the micro structure, syntactic analysis, which involves with the active-passive and simple-complex nature of sentence structures, regional adaptation, which involves with the levels of causal/functional/referential relationship, word choices and the rhetoric of the news consisting of the photographs, credible information, statistical information, and the statements of eyewitnesses are examined (Özer, 2011, p. 85).

4.2. Critical Discourse Analysis About the News on Galataport Istanbul Project in Hürriyet and Sabah Newspapers

In order to form the sample of this study, Hürriyet Newspaper due to its ownership structure and Sabah Newspaper, which have organic relations with the political power as well as is a mainstream newspaper, were selected from the research universe consisting of mainstream newspapers published on a national scale. The news included in the sample were determined by the "non-probability purposive sampling" method. In this context, in order to show the process that started with the awarding of the project tender to Doğu Holding in a holistic manner, the news published on the websites of both newspapers between 2013-2020 and referring to the Galataport Istanbul Project in their headings, spots and sub-headings were thoroughly surveyed. When 111 news reports obtained as the result of the surveying were evaluated within themselves, one news report was selected from each calendar year and included in the analysis in order to avoid repetition. Thus, 8 news reports were examined from Hürriyet newspaper (see App. A for Turkish versions of Hürriyet Newspaper News) and since there was no published news about the Galataport project on the website in 2017, 7 news reports were examined from Sabah newspaper (see App. B for Turkish versions of Sabah Newspaper News).

4.2.1. Review of Hürriyet newspaper

I. Galataport Counts Days

In the following section the news dated February 5, 2020 and titled "Galataport Counts Days" is analysed (Coşan, 2020).

A. Macro Structure

The news dated February 5, 2020 has the heading: *"Galataport Counts Days"*. It seems difficult for the reader to make inferences easily since the information is reduced by not including decisive information about the event in the heading.

The spot of the news, which has a very long text, is as follows: *"Construction process continues at full speed in Galataport, which is preparing to meet its first cruise ship on April 5, 2020." As Hürriyet, we entered the port construction, where the passengers would be welcomed at the 'underground' with a special system after the ship is docked. Galataport Istanbul General Manager Erdem Tavas said that all of the undertakings will be fulfilled until April 5 and the port section will be put into service."* Looking at the entrance to the news, it is understood that the event subject to the news is summarized here.

The news given entirely to promote the project has a total of 10 sub-headings. These are respectively, *"1 Billion Dollar Economy"*, *"There May be Brands Coming to Turkey for the First Time"*, *"Crew Spends 70 Euros, Cruise Tourists Spend 50 Euros"*, *"Figen Ayhan: 350 Thousand Tourists Will Come in 180 Ships in 2021"*, *"Passengers Arriving at Port Are Being Taken Underground"*, *"What Kind of Road Will Be Followed Underground"*, *"35 Meters Walls With 1.2 Thickness Under the Ground"*, *"Erdem Tavas: With Historical Hour 90 Cm Extended We Have a Museum Square"*, *"300 Million Euro Hotel Will Not Be Closed by Ships"*, *"Do Workers Have Problems"*

in Wage Payments?" . It is seen that the sub-headings have the function of sectioning the text within themselves with different themes discussed. In the sub-heading where information about the wage payments of the workers is shared, about the claims that the workers cannot get their wage payments, a non-detailed statement of Galataport General Manager Tavas as *"(...) I can clearly say that there is no such thing as workers not getting their wages in a place where so many workers are employed"* is included. It is seen that a unilateral narrative is preferred without sharing sufficient information about the subject from the workers, who are one of the parties to the claim that there are problems in wage payments. The superficial handling of this situation is an ideological preference that pushes the workers who carry out the construction into the background and makes them insignificant. In addition, the fact that this information is given at the end of the text shows that the primary purpose is to promote and advertise the project.

Two photographs are used in the new (see Figure 1, Figure 2). In one of the photos, while there is an image showing the latest status of the project, in the other photo, the images of the Galataport Istanbul managers who visited the construction site with the reporter of Hürriyet Newspaper are shared.

Figure 1

The Image Showing the Latest Status of the Galataport



Note. Taken from (Coşan, 2020).

Figure 2

The Image Showing the Latest Status of the Galataport with the Project Managers



Note. Taken from (Coşan, 2020).

The main event is that the construction works of the project, which will open the port section with the fulfilment of all of the undertakings until April 5, 2020, continue at full speed. The main event is presented through the statements made by the managers of Galataport Istanbul regarding the construction process. In this respect, it is possible to say that the narration of the main event to the reader is far from a critical language and thus it is aimed to shape the consciousness of the reader in a certain direction. The news is presented in the framework of a background information that in the project, which was tendered in 2013 and delivered in 2014, the first concrete pouring process was carried out in April 2018.

The source of the news is stated as Burak Çoşan, a reporter of Hürriyet Newspaper. However, information and comments shared on the event subject to the news are generally based on the statements of Galataport Istanbul managers. There are no other comments in the news as a party.

B. Micro Structure

In general, in the news, which includes simple sentences, the active and passive structures are used together. While the sentences related to the actions that need to be emphasized effectively regarding the main event are established in an

active structure, it is seen that the sentences containing information obtained by the reporter about the project are given in a passive structure.

Some of the active sentences used in the news are as follows: "Erdem Tavas said that the port section will be put into service by fulfilling all of the undertakings until April 5.", *"Galataport management, (...) told that all of the undertakings will be fulfilled by April 5."*, *"The management defines this as 'we have built an airport underground '"*, *"We have built an underground cruise terminal for the first time in the world '"*, *"We created a temporary customs area, we made this with a cover system. '"*, *"The old dock was on piles, and we took the terminal building under the sea, not under the ground."* Examples of passive sentences in the news are as follows: *"When the entire project is completed, the annual number of visitors is expected to be 25 million. It is estimated that 7 million of this will be foreign tourists and 1.5 million will be cruise tourists."*, *"70 percent of the settlements for the stores in the area have been completed, agreements have been made with 30 percent."*, *"35 percent has been allocated for eating-drinking."*, *"The majority of the commercial sections will be opened in 2020"*, *"That place is being turned into a museum square."*

By not establishing a causality link in the news, only the information that is thought to be curious about the latest status of the project and what it will contain is listed. Considering the functional relationship in the sentences, the following expressions are seen: *"This is not only a cruise port; we are also creating a living space. There are 52,000 square meters of retail, 43,000 square meters of office space. The area is divided into two as Paket Postanesi and Salıpazarı. Traditional and modern shopping will be combined in 70 stores at the Paket Postanesi. Settlements in 70 percent of the stores in the area have been completed, and agreements have been made with 30 percent. 35% section is allocated to eating and drinking. The vast*

majority of commercial sections will also be opened in 2020." Here, it is seen that the general expression "living space" in the first sentence is expanded in the following sentences and the sentences are functionally connected to each other.

When the news is examined in terms of referential relationship, it is understood that there are many expressions depicting that the project is a "mega project". For example, *"When the entire project is finished, the annual number of visitors is expected to be 25 million. It is estimated that 7 million of it will be foreign tourists and 1.5 million will be cruise tourists. The project, which does not only include a port, also includes eating and drinking areas, offices and retail spots. It is seen that, a semantic structure is created with the expressions in the sentences such as, "When the project, which also contains museums and squares, is completed, it is stated that it will create an economy of 1 billion dollars a year"* and it is aimed to tell the reader the touristic, commercial, economic and social contributions that will emerge when the project is completed.

When the rhetoric of the news is looked at, it is seen that only Galataport Istanbul managers' statements were included as eyewitnesses. Presenting the news on the basis of the information received from them is an element that aims to increase its credibility. In the news, images taken while the journalists who have their signatures under the Hürriyet Newspaper news were visiting the construction site are shared. In the images, it was intended to tell the reader that the construction process continued at full speed. Thanks to these images, it was also aimed to increase the credibility of the news. In general, it is possible to say that the news text is built to emphasize the positive contributions of the project and its aspects that differ from other ones.

II. First Ship on April 5th

In the following section the news dated August, 27, 2019 and titled "First Ship on April 5th" is analysed (Coşan, 2019).

A. Macro Structure

The news dated August, 27, 2019 has heading: *"First Ship on April 5th"*. When the heading is read, it is understood that information about the event is reduced, and it is difficult for the reader to make inferences about the event due to the limited information provided.

The spot of the news is as follows: *"The first ship will arrive at the Galataport Istanbul cruise port, which was tendered in 2013 and started to be constructed by taking over the port area in February 2014, in April 2020. The project, which was constructed with an investment of 1.7 billion dollars, will provide employment to 5,000 people. 1.2 kilometres of coastline, which was closed to the use of citizens for many years, will serve both tourists and citizens."* Looking at the spot, it is seen that the event subject to the news is announced here.

The news, which has a long text, has 8 sub-headings. These are respectively *"1.7 Billion Dollars Investment"*, *"Terminal Underground"*, *"It Will be the New Socialization Area "*, *"Employment for 5 Thousand People"*, *"Configuration for 1.02 Billion Euros Loan"*, *"3 Meters of Valves Will Be Opened"*, *"We Can Enter Tender also for Yenikapi"*, *"Half of Hotel Investment is From Peninsula"*. It is seen that the examined sub-headings functioned as partitioning the narrative of the text within itself, thus reflecting the content and theme of the text. In addition, it is possible to say that the headings that present a summary of the text, together with entrance to the news, cause the reader to be introduced with the subject within a certain framework.

Five photographs are used in the news (see Figure 3, Figure 4, Figure 5, Figure 6). In the first of the photos, an image showing the stores within the scope of the project and people spending time there was shared with a cruise ship approaching the shore. In the second photo, the images of Doğuş Group Chairperson and CEO Ferit Şahenk, Doğuş Group Deputy Chairperson Hüsnü Akhan and Bilgili Holding Chairperson Serdar Bilgili, who informed journalists about the details of the project at the introductory meeting of Galataport Istanbul Project, are included. In the third photo, images of the presentation on the model for introducing the project to the press members are included. In the last two photos, there are images that reflect the location, size, architectural structure, aesthetics and its relationship with the coast.

Figure 3

The Simulation of the Galataport Project



Note. Taken from (Coşan, 2019).

Figure 4

The Model of the Galataport



Note. Taken from (Coşan, 2019).

Figure 5

The Simulation of the Galataport Project

Note. Taken from (Coşan, 2019).

Figure 6

The Simulation of the Galataport Project

Note. Taken from (Coşan, 2019).

The main event in the news is sharing of the details about the project with the press members at the briefing held with the participation of Doğuş Group and Bilgili Holding managers of Galataport Istanbul cruise port, where the first ship will dock in April 2020. The main event is narrated to the reader through the opinions and comments of the capital owners. As the background information on the event, it is mentioned that the tender for the project for the 1.2 km coastline, which was closed to the public for 200 years, was organized in 2013 and the port area was taken over and construction started in February 2014. However, no detailed information is provided to the reader regarding the developments from the beginning of the construction process until 2019, when the briefing took place. In this sense, it is possible to say that the news is not presented in a context where the reader can develop his/her own perspective.

The source of the news is stated as Burak Çoşan, a reporter of Hürriyet Newspaper. As the parties of the event, no one other than Doğuş Group and Bilgili Holding managers is consulted.

B. Micro Structure

The news text is generally established on the basis of the statements made by the managers of Doğuş Group and Bilgili Holding at the briefing. The fact that the statements made are given directly in the sentences caused the sentences to appear complex and long. Active and passive structure is used together in the news. It is understood that the dominant discourse is intended to be narrated to the reader with active sentences. In addition, it is possible to say that a more effective narrative is established with active sentences. In this sense, while the quoted sentences by Doğuş Group and Bilgili Holding managers were established in an active structure, the sentences that the reporter told the information obtained during the meeting were used in a passive structure.

The following sentence can be given as an example of the active sentences used in the news: *"Şahenk who stated that, 'For the first time in the world, a cruise port that will host 1.5 million cruise visitors a year, including the crew, in the part of the city rich in history and culture, where passengers will be met underground, customs and duty-free areas can be separated in a variable manner", told, "Galataport Istanbul, which is positioned as a 'main port', will bring mobility to cruise tourism in a wide geography from the Mediterranean basin to the Black Sea. It will host 25 million people per year, 7 million of which are foreign tourists."* Examples of passive sentences in the news include: *"In the project implemented with an investment of 1.7 billion dollars, employment will be provided to 5 thousand*

people.", " (...) it was announced that 64 ships will come to the port during 2020 and in 2021 145 in the total with the reservations made so far.", "It is aimed that 500 ships will dock in Galataport cruise port in 2022.", "While 1.2 million cruise tourists are expected to be hosted , it is stated that this number will be 1.5 million with the ship crew."

It is seen that a causal relationship is established between the sentences. For example, in one of the statements made by Doğuş Group's CEO Ferit Şahenk, the reason why they entered the tender in 2013 was shown as bringing the unique coastline to all Istanbulites and all visitors to the city. However, the reason why the project will provide employment to approximately 5 thousand people has been associated with the opening of cafes and restaurants, stores that will host many domestic and foreign brands and hotels within the scope of the project. Finally, it is seen that the reason why Doğuş Group and Bilgili Holding are interested in projects such as Galataport is explained as they show interest in these projects for Turkey and because these will serve Turkey.

In terms of functional relationship, *the following sentences draw attention: Istanbul will be a much more contemporary city after Galataport. The biggest effect of the project is that the socialization obligation of the people of Istanbul in closed shopping malls will end and the project will enable them to socialize with their families in the middle of history and art."* Here, it is seen that the sentences are functionally connected to each other and the opening of the general phrase "a contemporary city" in the first sentence is made in the next sentence. In this context, it is emphasized that both the city and the city residents would gain from the project, and the project was launched as a project that promise prosperity to the society.

From the point of view of the referential relationship, it is seen that the statements reflecting the current function of the space as a commodity that can be bought and sold by being transforming in favour of capital. For example, *"Galataport Istanbul will have many different functions from culture-art to gastronomy, from tourism to shopping. The total area allocated for the stores and eating-drinking units is approximately 52 thousand square meters. The office areas, on the other hand, have a leasable area of approximately 43 thousand square meters in this area, which has been a financial, insurance and banking centre throughout history"*. With such projects, contributions of the projects in terms of economic, commercial, touristic, cultural and social gains to Istanbul and Turkey are tried to be emphasized.

Considering the word choices, it is seen that the project is defined as "a diamond for Turkey and Istanbul" by Ferit Şahenk and "a masterpiece" by Doğu Group in the briefing. Direct quotation of these statements by the reporter shows the attitude of the newspaper. It is possible to say that the world view and ideology of the capital owners are represented in the news with such definitions.

It is seen that the news is generally established through the statements of Doğu Group and Bilgili Holding managers who undertook the Galataport Istanbul project in order to increase persuasiveness. However, this situation is a manipulative preference that aims to differentiate individuals' perceptions, change their opinions and produce their consent by influencing them. In addition, it is noteworthy that Doğu Group and Bilgili Holding as project partners are introduced as people who think about the well-being, common interest and welfare of the city's residents. In this manner, the mind world of individuals was intervened and power was exercised on them. As a matter of fact, social consent is tried to be obtained with the information that the project was implemented with an investment of 1.7 billion dollars, the first

cruise ship will arrive at the port, which is planned to be opened in April 2020, on April 5, 2020, and 64 ships will arrive during the year and a total of 145 in 2021, and 1.2 million cruise tourists are expected to be hosted during the year. In this sense, it is possible to say that the news has a rhetoric that affirms the project and heralds the benefits it will bring in the future.

III. Its Demolition Was With Reactions! And Here Is Its Final Image

In the following section the news dated *February 24, 2018* and titled “Its Demolition Was With Reactions! And Here Is Its Final Image” is analysed (*Yıkılması tepki toplamıştı!*, 2018).

A. Macro Structure

The news of February 24, 2018 has the heading, “*Its Demolition Was With Reactions! And Here Is Its Final Image*” It is understood that determinative information such as what, when, where, by whom, why, is not included in the heading, and thus it is difficult for the reader to develop a complete understanding of the event as soon as he/she reads the heading.

The spot of the news is as follows: “*The Salıpazarı Cruise Port project, which is known by the public as Galataport, continues at full speed. While it was seen that the works are accelerated in the section where there was a historical passenger hall that caused reactions during its demolition, it was learned that the warehouse no. 4 would be also demolished after the Istanbul Modern building included in the project to move to Beyoğlu in the coming days.*” It is seen that the spot, which is designed as a summary of the news text, is presented in a structure that can be associated with the news headline. Information reduction also continued here, and no information was shared on the reactions to the destruction of the historical passenger hall. In the news,

there are two sub-headings that divide the narrative of the text within it as "*Istanbul Modern Building will also be demolished*" and "*Giant Passenger Ships are planned to be hosted*".

A few photographs are used in the news (see Figure 7, Figure 8). The photographs used include aerial images showing the status of the project. When the photo gallery under the spot was clicked on, 51 photos again taken from the air in the new opening tab showing the latest status of the construction works are seen. It is possible to say that the photographs used constitute integrity with the meaning intended to be narrated to the reader in the news.

Figure 7

The Aerial Image of the Galataport Building Site



Note. Taken from (*Yıkılması tepki toplamıştı!*, 2018).

Figure 8

The Aerial Image of the Galataport Building Site



Note. Taken from (*Yıkılması tepki toplamıştı!*, 2018).

As the main event in the news, it is mentioned that the works have accelerated in the area where the historical passenger hall building whose demolition created reactions is located, and that the warehouse no. 4 where Istanbul Modern is located will also be demolished and replaced in the coming days. It is seen that the main event is presented in the spot, but the details of the event are included in the news text. The event is reported without giving the reasons of those who reacted to the demolition process of the historical passenger hall building. In this way, reproduction of the dominant discourse is contributed. It is possible to say that the news is presented in a context that does not allow the reader to develop his/her own perspective, lacking criticism. The source of the news is stated as Doğan News Agency (DHA) established by the media group to which the newspaper belongs. Comments of the parties are not included.

B. Micro Structure

Considering the sentence structures, it is seen that they are not generally complex. Sentences are generally established in a passive structure. Examples of passive sentences include: “(...) *It was learned that the warehouse no. 4 would also be demolished.*”, “(...) *The works on the 1.2-kilometre coastline have started at the end of 2016.* ”, “ (...) *the demolition of old buildings and warehouses has been completed.* ”, “ (...) *Historical Karaköy Passenger Hall was among the demolished buildings.*”, “ *It is stated that the warehouse where the Istanbul Modern building is located would also be demolished and replaced with a new one.* ” In this sense, the passive sentences give the impression for hiding who did the actions related to the main event.

Throughout the news, the demolition works of historical buildings within the scope of the project were mentioned, but a strong causality connection was not established in the narration of these events to the reader. At the end of the news text, it is understood that the causality is established through the contributions of the project in the sentences under the heading of "Giant cruise ships are planned to be host". It is stated that, after the demolition process and the works are completed, the terminal to be built will be more than twice the size of the old terminal, giant ships with a capacity of more than 6 thousand passengers can approach the port and Tophane Square within the scope of the project will be one of the biggest squares of Istanbul. In this sense, it is possible to talk about the existence of a narrative in the news that normalizes the fact that historical buildings are demolished and replaced with ones "in accordance with the original".

It was seen that a narrative based on functional relationship was established between the sentences. For example, the sentence *"Works on the 1.2-kilometre coastline from Karaköy Dock to Mimar Sinan University Fındıklı Campus started at the end of 2016"* was elaborated as follows: *"First, the demolition of old buildings and warehouses where single and two-storey passenger admission and passport procedures were carried out in the Karaköy region of the port has been completed. Historical Karaköy Main Passenger Hall, which was planned to be renovated and strengthened, previously, was also among the demolished buildings. (...) "*

It is seen that persuasiveness and credibility are established through photographs in news rhetoric. What is desired to be narrated to the reader in the images is that the construction works continue at full speed. Eyewitness testimony is not used in the news. The fact that in the news text it was emphasized that historical buildings were demolished and they will be replaced by new ones, shows that the

news was constructed unilaterally and with normalizing elements by breaking the context of the event. The photos are also compatible with this situation.

IV. Seal to Galataport

In the following section the news dated April 25, 2017 and titled "Seal to Galataport" is analysed (Erbil, 2017).

A. Macro Structure

The news dated April 25, 2017 was published with the heading "Seal to Galataport". Although there is not enough information in the heading consisting of two words, it is understood that the event subject to the news was announced. On the other hand, it is thought that the shortness and clarity of the information in the heading is in a nature that would attract the attention of the reader and enable the continuation of the news to be read.

The spot of the news is as follows, *"Construction has been stopped in the Galataport project, whose tender, project, lawsuits and construction have turned into an unresolved mess for 12 years. Istanbul Cultural Heritage Conservation Board No. 2, in its examination of decided that the method of demolition and the renovation project was not compliant to the project submitted about the 'Paket Postanesi' and 'Karaköy Passenger Hall' and filed a criminal complaint. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality has sealed the construction due to the practices contrary to the project."*

Looking at the spot, it is understood that the cause of the information presented in the heading is intended to be given to some extent, but although there is information sharing about the suspension of construction works, it is seen that the actors of undue destruction and renovation are not mentioned.

The news has four sub-headings as *"Legal Action has been Initiated"*, *"External Walls Weakened"*, *"Rationale of the Municipality"* and *"1.2 Billion Euro Loans Received"*. It is seen that the content of the text is tried to be summarized with the sub-headings and reduced information is used in this direction. When the heading, spot and sub-headings are read together, it is understood that there is a course from the general to the specific in the text.

Three photographs are used in the news. In the first of the photos, images showing the relationship of the area where the project will be carried out with the sea and the cruise tourist's ships approaching the shore are shared (see Figure 9). In the second photo, the photo of the resolution text explaining the criminal elements as a result of the examination made by the Istanbul Cultural Heritage Protection Regional Board No. 2 of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is shared. In the third photo, the sealing report prepared after the examination made by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is included. It is thought that the photographs used reflect the content of the news.

Figure 9

The Aerial Image of the Project Area



Note. Taken from (Erbil, 2017).

The main event in the news is the decision of Istanbul No. 2 Cultural Heritage Protection Board, as a result of its examination about the Galataport project, that the method of destruction and modification in the Paket Postanesi and Karaköy Passenger Hall was not found in compliance to the submitted project and IMM's act of sealing the construction due to practices contrary to the project and filing a criminal complaint. Regarding the main event, the background information that Galataport has turned into an unresolved mess for 12 years from its tender, project, lawsuits to the construction process. In addition, the facts that the Passenger Hall and Paket Postanesi were registered as cultural assets that should be protected by the Conservation Board, but these buildings were destroyed in violation of the restoration project approved by the Board on June 9, 2016. No information has been shared to inform the reader about the persons responsible for all these events. In addition, all details about what the sealing process will lead to, what path will be followed from this stage, and how the project, which has been turning into an unresolved mess for 12 years, will proceed from now on, have been left unanswered. The source of the news is stated as Ömer Erbil, a reported of Hürriyet Newspaper. No one's statement was included as a party to the event subject to the news.

B. Micro Structure

In general, in the news, which includes simple sentences, the active and passive structures are used together. While a more effective narrative is established for the action that takes place with active sentences, it is thought that the subject who performs the action in passive sentences is perceived by the reader as ambiguous.

When the relationship between the sentences is examined, it is seen that the causality connection is established. The reason for the suspension of the construction

by the Conservation Board and the sealing of the construction by the IMM has been shown as the demolition of the buildings of Karaköy Passenger Hall and Paket Postanesi was not in accordance with the submitted project by the company. It was expected that the reader would make an inference about the reason why these buildings, which were registered as cultural assets that should to be protected, could be demolished improperly.

The fact that the project could not be concluded and became a problem was emphasized with the phrase “unresolved mess” mentioned in the sentence “(...) *construction was stopped in the Galataport project, which has been turning into an unresolved mess for 12 years*”. However, it seems unclear whether this statement is used to support the project or to criticize the process. However, it is seen that the narration of the event to the reader was made with expressions such as “detected”, “revealed”, and “determined”, “wanted”.

In the news rhetoric, sharing the decision of the Conservation Board and the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality's Building Vacation Minutes as a photo is an element that increases credibility and persuasiveness. In the news text, it was seen that the eyewitness statement was not included in any way by preferring general sentences such as “*6 board members visiting the construction area under the chair of the City Planner Ahmet Kaya have detected practices contrary to the project.*” In general, in the news text, it is seen that the problems arising in the project, which started the demolition processes, are narrated to the reader in a simplified manner.

V. 4.5 Billion Worth of Signatures for Galataport

In the following section the news dated August 31, 2016 and titled "4.5 billion worth of signatures for Galataport" is analysed (*Galataport için 4.5 milyarlık, 2016*).

A. Macro Structure

The headline of the article dated August 31, 2016 is "*4.5 billion worth of signatures for Galataport*". When the headline given with a general expression is read, it is seen that there is information reduction by not including the identifying information about the time or place and who are the performers of the action.

The spot of the news is as follows: "*Signature ceremony was held for financing in the Galataport project carried out in partnership with Doğuş Group and Bilgili Holding.*" It is seen that the main event is presented in the spot and the information reduction in the headline continues also in the spot.

The news has six sub-headings. These are respectively, "*It is aimed to be completed in the last quarter of 2018*", "*Employment for 9,500 people*", "*Foreign investment of 500 million liras from Hong Kong*", "*Bilgili: Istanbul's social life will change*", "*Şahenk: Turkey's most important real estate project*", "*What did the bank managers say?*". The headings used reflect the main theme of the news. The main theme is based on the scale of the financing provided to the Galataport project and the investments to be made in the region where the project is located and the values that the project will add to the country. It is seen that the sub-headings examined functioned to divide the narrative of the text within themselves, and the reader is directed to evaluate the news within the framework of a certain understanding by information reduction and editing. With the information given in the headings, it is

aimed to create a positive meaning about the project in the mind of the reader. For this reason, the reader is introduced with the event subject to the news with the perspective and ideology of the dominating.

One photograph is used in the news (see Figure 10). The photo shows a cruise ship docked on shore. It is seen that the photograph used forms integrity with the theme to be presented.

Figure 10

The Aerial Image of the Project Area



Note. Taken from (*Galataport için 4.5 milyarlık*, 2016).

In the news, the main event is presented as the signature ceremony for the financing of the Galataport project and the provision of 1.02 billion Euros in financing with the participation of six domestic banks. It is thought that the size of the financing support given to the project is an important element that is effective in the reporting of the event and reflects the newsworthiness. No background information is provided for the main event. In general, it is seen that the news is presented over arguments that the project carried out in partnership with Doğuş Group and Bilgili Holding will create value at home and abroad, carry Turkey to the place it deserves in cruise tourism and make the coastline, which has been closed for 200 years, accessible to the public. In this sense, it is seen that the news is presented within a positive framework about the project.

The source of the news is not specified. It is thought that the news text was produced and edited within the framework of the information obtained by the reporter working in the newspaper. The opinions and comments of the managers of Doğu Group and Bilgili Holding and the managers of banks such as Ziraat Bank, Yapı Kredi Bank, Finansbank were included as the parties to the event.

B. Micro Structure

In general, since the statements of the managers of Doğu Group and Bilgili Holding and the managers of banks such as Ziraat Bank, Yapı Kredi Bank, Finansbank are given by directly quoting them in the news text has led to the appearance of some sentences in a long and complex structure. It is seen that active structure is used throughout the sentences. Active sentences show that the news is built on the discourses of the dominating. However, a more effective narrative was established with active sentences.

It is seen that a causal relationship is established between the sentences. In this sense, the importance of the project has been explained by associating it with the values it will add to the country in terms of tourism, trade, job opportunities, culture-art and social life. For example, the following sentences can be given *in terms of functional relationship*: "The Galataport project will make significant contributions to the tourism of the country with its field of activity and investment. With 7 million foreign visitors, 3 million cruises a year, we expect it to contribute to tourism an income of 5 billion TL. We expect 20-25 million domestic visitors to come to Galataport. We anticipate employment of 5 thousand people during the construction and 4 thousand 500 people when the project is completed." Here, it is seen that the

general expression in the first sentence is expanded in the following sentences, and the sentences are functionally connected to each other.

When the word choices are examined, it is seen that the narration of the main event to the reader was made with impartial expressions such as "said", "spoke", and "has spoken". However, in addition to the fact that the area where the project will be carried out is a port area, its evaluation as a new "living space" is an ideological choice that reveals the transforming function of the historical port. At the same time, the project is introduced as "the most important real estate project of Istanbul", a project that will change the whole social life of Istanbul". The newspaper directly included these statements that belong to Akhan and Bilgili.

In the news, it is seen that the statements of Doğu Group and Bilgili Holding managers and the managers of six domestic banks were included as eyewitness statements. The fact that the news text is built on their opinions and comments increases its persuasiveness and credibility. However, this shows that the event is presented in a dominant framework, lacking criticism. In this context, it is aimed to create positive meanings for the project in the mind of the reader with the arguments such as that the project will make a significant contribution to the tourism of the country, create job opportunities for thousands of people, cause foreign investment of 500 million TL to come to the country, open the coastline which has been closed for 200 years to the public, positively affect the social life of Istanbul, and provide financing support and ease of payment for the project by six domestic banks. In general, the news is constructed with a language and content that affirms the project and heralds the benefits it will bring. It is possible to say that a narrative that justifies and normalizes such a great intervention in the city is preferred.

VI. Council of State Prosecutor too Says 'Against the Public Interest' in Galataport Case

In the following section the news dated October 9, 2015 and titled "In the Galataport case, the Prosecutor of the Council of State also said that it was 'against the public interest'" is analysed (Çapa, 2015).

A. Macro Structure

The news dated October 9, 2015 has the heading: *"In the Galataport case, the Prosecutor of the Council of State also said that it was 'against the public interest'"*. By summarizing in the heading, the event subject to the news is tried to be narrated to the reader. However, due to the limitation of the information presented in the headline, it does not seem possible for the reader to easily infer to what the Council of State finds it contrary to the public interest and who are the other parties who are the filed the lawsuit with the opinion that the project is contrary to the public interest.

The spot of the news is as follows: *"In the case before the 6th Chamber of the Council of State about the cancellation of the zoning plans of Salıpazarı Cruise Port Area known as 'Galataport' by the public, Prosecutor of the Council of State agreed with the expert. The prosecution which stated that the plans were not in the public interest and included the argument that the whole area will be closed to the public due to the privatization of the 1 kilometre-long coast" also included in the expert report."* Although it is understood that the main event is framed and the content of the news text is reflected in the spot, which is constructed in a structure that completes the information in the headline and can create associations in the mind of the reader, it is seen that the information about when and by whom the case was filed is not shared.

The news has three sub-headings that divide the narrative of the text as "*No Compatibility with the Public Interest*", "*Ambiguous Expressions are Included*", "*The Coastline is Closing Due to Privatization*".

As a photo in the news (see Figure 11), an image reflecting the historical texture of the region where the project will be carried out was shared with a cruise ship docked on the shore.

Figure 11

The Image of Urban Skyline of the Project Area



Note. Taken from (Çapa, 2015).

As the main event, it is mentioned that in the case before the Council of State regarding the cancellation of the zoning plans of the project, the Public Prosecutor of the Council of State too agreed with the expert and declared opinion on the grounds that the whole area will be closed to the public by the privatization of the 1 kilometre long coastline the plans were not compatible with the public interest and this opinion was also included in the case file. As the background knowledge, it is mentioned that the Chambers of Architects, Urban Planners and Civil Engineers of UCTEA went to the Council of State in 2012 to file a lawsuit with the Council of State for the cancellation of the plans of the project. In addition, it is stated that also in the expert report prepared on April 3, 2015, it was stated that the plans of the project were not in accordance with the principles of urbanism, planning principles and public interest.

The source of the news was shown as Ezgi Çapa, a reporter of Hürriyet Newspaper. As the parties of the event, it is seen that the comments of Council of State Prosecutor Halil Kamil Yüksel are included. However, there are no direct comments from Yıldız Technical University and Istanbul Technical University faculty members who wrote the expert report that the prosecutor referred to when giving his opinion. In addition, although UCTEA Chambers of Architects, Urban Planners and Civil Engineers, which filed a lawsuit with the request of cancellation of the project, appear to be the party to the lawsuit, the opinions and thoughts of any chamber member are not included anywhere in the news text.

B. Micro Structure

In general, it is seen that the sentences are not in complex nature. The combined use of active and passive sentences makes one to think that the journalist who produced the news causes confusion about which side she is on.

In the news text in general it was emphasized that in the lawsuit filed at the Council of State with the request of cancellation of the project plan, the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office concluded that the project was not compatible with the public interest by referring to the expert report, although the region was a protected area, the plan in question did not comply with the terms of the zoning plan for conservation purposes and there were many ambiguous statements. However, it seems that a strong causality connection has not been established in relation to the litigation process that allows the reader to grasp the pros and cons of the project.

Eyewitness testimony is not used in the news. A vague narrative has been established regarding the consequences of the project design, which is problematic in many respects, not to be approved by the Council of State. It is seen that the news text

consists of the statements made by the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office regarding the case and these statements are given directly in quotes. It is possible to say that these statements are not sufficient for the reader, who is not naturally well-informed about the developments in the whole process, to comprehend the process and make inferences.

VII. Explanation on Galataport

In the following section the news dated August 19, 2014 and titled "Explanation on Galataport" is analysed (*Galataport ile ilgili açıklama*, 2014).

A. Macro Structure

The news dated August 19, 2014 has the heading: "Explanation on Galataport". When the headline is read, it is understood that the information is reduced by not including the decisive information about the action, and it is difficult for the reader to make inferences about the event as soon as the headline is read due to the limitation of the information presented.

The spot of the news is as follows: *"While the EIA meeting of the Galataport project could not be held with the protests today, a press statement about the project came from the company."* It is possible to say that the spot is presented in a nature that complements the news headline and can create connotations. However, it is seen that information reduction continues also in the spot. When the spot is read, although information as to by which party the statement is made is included, decisive information such as which exactly is the company, where and when the press statement is made, and who the protesters are not shared with the reader. It is understood that the reader had to evaluate the news within a limited framework.

Figure 12

The Remotely Image of the Project Area

Note. Taken from (*Galataport ile ilgili açıklama*, 2014).

A photo showing the area where the project will be carried out was used in the news (see Figure 12). As the main event, the fact that a press statement is made by the company about the Galataport project, whose EIA meeting could not be held accompanied by protests is mentioned. In the presentation of the main event, it is seen that the statement made by Salıpazarı Liman İşletmeciliği ve Yatırımları A.Ş. regarding the content of the project and the arrangements planned to be made in the area are included. In the news the background information about the main event is not clear. It is thought that the information given is not sufficient for the reader to grasp the background of the event. It is seen that the news is not presented in a context that allows the reader to determine his/her own perspective. The press statement made by the company was reported without including the reasons and results of the protests. In this manner, reproduction of the dominant discourse is contributed.

The source of the news is not specified. It is thought that the news text was produced and edited within the framework of the information obtained by the reporter working in the newspaper following the press statement of the company. There are no other comments as the parties of the event. In the news text, it is considered that the quality of the news would change if the opinions of the actors described as the persons who prevented the EIA meeting were included.

B. Micro Structure

The sentences in the news are simple and short. In general, it is seen that the passive structure is used. Examples of passive sentences include: *"The project site, which is currently used as a customs and warehouse areas and closed to the public, will also be implemented with different service points with Galataport", "(...) An area of more than 60,000 square meters will be organized as a public square, coastline boulevard, walking paths and green area."* In the sentences in question, it is seen that the information given by the company about the content of the project is narrated to the reader with passive sentences. On the other hand, in the sentences such as *"Galataport will be the new culture and art centre of Istanbul.", "The Children's Science and Discovery Museum, which is designed as the first in Turkey and the largest in the geography, will also come to life in Galataport."*, it is possible for the reader to perceive those who will perform the action as ambiguous. In this way, it is possible to say that the newspaper aims to draw attention to the object, that is, the project itself, rather than the subject.

No strong causality connection is established in the news. Although it was stated that the EIA meeting of the project could not be held due to the protests, the reader was not given enough information about the protests in question. In general, information about the content of the project was listed, and a kind of promotion about the project, even whose EIA meeting has not been yet concluded is provided.

Considering the functional relationship between the sentences, *the following expressions are seen: "Galataport will be the new culture and art centre of Istanbul. The museum, which will be renovated in cooperation with the Istanbul Modern management, will continue to serve art lovers in the same location with its wider*

exhibition capacity and more functional areas. (...) In Galataport, art will find a place for itself both inside and outside and it will be the gateway to the city's culture." Here, it is seen that the opening of the phrase "Istanbul's new culture-art centre" in the first sentence is made in the following sentences, and the sentences are functionally connected to each other.

In terms of the referential relationship, it is seen that the news includes expressions that bring global city projects to mind. On the other hand, the emphasis on the fact that the EIA meeting could not be held because of them, without including information about who the protesters were and what they said, shows that the protesters were fictionalized as perpetrators trying to prevent a project that would contribute to the city. *"The cruise port, which will be located in the project area, will continue to be the gateway of Istanbul and Turkey to the world from the sea at world class standards. The new terminal, which will be built underground in order to continue uninterruptedly connecting the people and tourists with the Bosphorus over the ground, will also be supported by underground car parks that will serve both tourist buses and taxis and those who come to the area."* It is understood that a meaning construction is build with the above phrases and the project's meanings for the city, country and even the world is intended to be narrated to the reader.

When the rhetoric of the news is looked at, no eyewitness statement was found. Credibility is established on the basis of the information shared about the press release made by Salıpazarı Liman İşletmeciliği ve Yatırımları A.Ş. In general, it is possible to say that the news has an affirmative language and content since it is emphasized that the area where the project will be carried out can host cultural activities more intensively with its increasing capacity than before and that tourists coming to the country through the port built at world standards will be welcomed.

VIII. Master of the Ports

In the following section the news dated May 17, 2013 and titled "Master of the Ports" is analysed (*Limanların efendisi*, 2013).

A. Macro Structure

The headline of the news dated May 17, 2013 is "*Master of the Ports*". Due to the limitation of the information in the headline presented with a general phrase, when the headline is read, it is not understood what the event subject to the news is, and the details of the event are found in the news text. However, it is thought that a fiction made from above with a commanding headline such as "the master of the ports" reflects the theme of the news. It is possible to say that the force of Doğu Holding, which has made a name for itself with its marina investments in recent years as a master, is emphasized.

The spot of the news is as follows: "*Doğu Holding, which is led by Ferit Şahenk, who submitted the highest bid with 702 million dollars, won the tender of Salıpazarı Port Area across the Haydarpaşa Port. In the first tender in 2005, the price was 4.3 billion dollars, but the tender was cancelled. There are 5 important reasons behind this reduction.*" It is seen that the spot, which is designed as a summary of the news text, is presented in a structure that announces the event subject to the news and reflects the content of the news text.

The news has nine sub-headings. These are, respectively, "*Started with \$375 Million*", "*Increased by \$1 Million*", "*Project to Add Value to the Value of Istanbul*", "*Can Be Paid in Instalments*", "*Why the Tender Was Reduced From \$4.3 Billion to \$702 Million*", "*Torun: I am Not Worried*", "*Returned from the Council of State*", "*Why Its Name Is Not Galataport*", "*Filling in the Sea*". It is understood that the sub-

headings examined have the function of dividing the narrative of the text within itself. It is seen that the content of the text is tried to be summarized with the sub-headings designed to create instant reactions in the mind of the reader, but information is reduced while doing this.

One photograph is used in the news (see Figure 13). It is understood that the photograph constitute integrity with the theme to be presented. In the photo given right after the headline, the image of the coastline where the port project subject to the news will be made is included.

Figure 13

The Image of the Coastline Where the Port Project



Note. Taken from (*Limanların efendisi*, 2013).

As the main event in the news, it is mentioned that the tender of Salıpazarı Port Area of Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri A.Ş., which was tendered by the Privatization Administration (ÖİB), was awarded to Doğu Group managed by Ferit Şahenk, the highest bidder with 702 million dollars. In the transfer of the main event to the reader, it is seen that the company, which has attracted attention with its recent marina investments, will operate one of the most important ports of Istanbul and invest \$400 million in the port with the winning of the tender is emphasized. In this sense, it can be said that the event is narrated from the side of the class that dominates the economy, lacking any criticism, and the reader's consciousness is desired to be shaped in a certain direction.

As background information in the news, it is mentioned that the project was tendered for the first time in 2005 and the tender, for which 4.3 billion Euros was bid, was cancelled by the Council of State in 2006. In addition, it is told that while the first tender was organized with the "build-operate-transfer" model, the second tender was organized with the "granting of operating rights" method and the fact that no housing could be built in the port to be built reduced the price. However, it is seen that information on the grounds why the Council of State cancelled the tender and whether the said reasons were eliminated in the second tender is not mentioned anywhere in the news. As such, it is understood that the news is not presented in a context where the reader can develop his/her own perspective.

The source of the news is not specified. It is thought that the news text was produced and constructed within the framework of the information obtained by the reporter working in the newspaper following the tender. As the parties of the event, the opinions and comments of Doğuř Group's CEO Hüsñü Akhan, who answered the questions of journalists after the tender, and Aziz Torun, Chairperson of the Board of Directors of Torunlar GYO, which was eliminated from the tender, were included.

B. Micro Structure

In general, it is seen that there are simple and short sentences in the news. Active and passive structure is used together in the news. It is seen that the sentences containing the statements of Hüsñü Akhan, the CEO of Doğuř Holding, and Aziz Torun, the Chairperson of the Board of Directors of Torunlar GYO, were established in an active structure, and it is understood that the force of the dominating ones is intended to be narrated to the reader with a preference in this direction. On the other hand, it is seen that some sentences related to the details of the tender, the scope of the

project and the construction process are passive. This suggests that the reporter wants to narrate the information about these processes to the reader without taking responsibility, as if in an impartial way.

In the news, it is seen that the causality connection related to the main event is established on the basis of the values that the project will add to Istanbul. In this context, the reason why Doğu Group is willing to operate one of the most important ports of Istanbul for 30 years is emphasised as they will be presented to the public with a project that will add value to the value of Istanbul, a brand city.

In the news, the sentences which comes after the sub-heading sentence, *"The Sea will be filled", "Salıpazarı Port Area will be built in the area starting from Karaköy dock and up to Mimar Sinan University. (...) 127,811 square meters of structuring and 99,256 square meters of construction are planned within the scope of the project. (...) Accordingly, about 76% of the project will be the port, 11% cultural facilities, 12% recreation areas and 1% roads. Two-storey car parks may also be built under the recreation area* "seem to be causally connected to each other. Here, a narrative based on functional relationship is established by summarizing.

In terms of referential relationship, it is possible to say that the city is reflected as a commodity that can be bought and sold within the framework of entrepreneurial strategies by referring to concepts such as "brand city" and "brand value". In addition, it is possible to say that these qualifications are preferences that reveal the basic beliefs and ideologies of the actors who manage the process. As a matter of fact, it is seen that Akhan's statement that "we know that there will be a return that will also satisfy us when we look at the commercial dimension of the event" is directly included in the news.

In the news, it is seen that the statements of Hüsnü Akhan and Aziz Torun were directly included as eyewitness statements. This shows that the persuasiveness and credibility of the news is ensured by narrating the dominant perspective. In addition, the inclusion of numerical data on the tender process and the content of the project in many parts of the news increase the persuasiveness and credibility within the news rhetoric. In general, it is possible to say that there is a narrative that legitimizes and normalizes the privatization of an important area of the city by transferring the right to operate to a capital group for 30 years.

4.2.2. Review of Sabah newspaper

I. Near-End in Galataport Project to Become Istanbul's New Gateway to the World

In the following section the news dated June 9, 2020 and titled "Near-end in Galataport Project to become Istanbul's the new gateway to the world" is analysed (*İstanbul'un dünyaya açılan*, 2020).

A. Macro Structure

The news dated June 9, 2020 has the heading: *"Near-end in Galataport Project to become Istanbul's the new gateway to the world"*. When the headline is read, what is the event subject to the news is understood, but due to the limited information presented in the headline, it is not known exactly when the project will end.

The introduction/spot of the news is as follows: *"Galataport Project, one of the largest coastline projects in the world, is at near-end. The works in the Galataport Project, which will touch all areas of life from tourism to culture, art, gastronomy to shopping, continues uninterrupted. In the project, which slowed down for a while due to the Covid 19 virus pandemic, the works accelerated again with the normalization*

process. The project, which will provide access to the Karaköy coastline after 200 years, is aimed to be completed within one year." Looking at the spot of the news, as in the headline, there is no clear date given for the completion of the project. Another point that draws attention in the spot is that reasons are provided for the fact that the project has not yet been completed yet. It was emphasized in the spot that the Covid 19 pandemic interrupted the construction process and that the works accelerated with the normalization, in other words, it was aimed to create a meaning that if the pandemic did not occur, construction works would have been at a better point.

The news has three sub-headings: *"The Starting Point of the Cultural Road Project"*, *"They will face with Istanbul's, Beyoğlu's Historical Richness"*, *"Here is Service to 16 million Istanbulites"*. It is understood that the sub-headings examined have the function of dividing the narrative of the text within itself. In addition, it is seen that the news text is summarized by making a certain fiction in the sub-headings and it is understood that, when the sub-headings are read together, they reflect the main idea and content of the text. With the phrases such as the "new gateway to the world" and "service to Istanbulites" in the sub-headings, intervention in the urban space was tried to be legitimized/normalized and the well-being, common interest and welfare of the society were emphasized. In this sense, it is possible to say that the sub-headings shape the reader's consciousness in a certain direction regarding the event subject to the news without even reading the text, and in this respect, they are loaded with ideological meanings.

Several photographs were used in the news (see Figure 14, Figure 15, Figure 16). Some of these include images from the construction site where Beyoğlu Mayor Haydar Ali Yıldız and the workers are located. It is understood from the photos that the Mayor received information from the workers about the construction process. In

other photographs, there are simulation images that reflect the size, architectural structure, aesthetics and locational features of the project.

Figure 14

The Simulation of the Galataport Project



Note. Taken from (*İstanbul'un dünyaya açılan*, 2020).

Figure 15

The Image of Construction Works



Note. Taken from (*İstanbul'un dünyaya açılan*, 2020).

Figure 16

The Simulation of the Galataport Project



Note. Taken from (*İstanbul'un dünyaya açılan*, 2020).

The main event in the news is the final status of the project, where the construction works slow down due to the pandemic, but is now approaching the end. The main event is presented through the evaluations of Beyoğlu Mayor, who visited the construction site of the project, shared with journalists regarding the project. Although the main event is included in the headline, in the spot and in the first sentence of the news after the spot, the presentation of the event lacks a critical language. In general, it is aimed to emphasize that it is a project that will contribute to the country. It has been shown that the project is a one that takes into account the common benefit of the society through themes such as contributing to economic development and the image of Istanbul and increasing tourism income.

The news mentioned as background information that Galataport, which is one of the largest coastline projects in the world, will provide access to the Karaköy coastline after 200 years. In this respect, the event is given in its simplest form within a certain framework and is not presented in a context where the reader can develop his/her own perspective.

The source of the news has been cited as the Ihlas News Agency (IHA), but the information that is the subject of the news is based on the Mayor's comments and opinions. The reporter shared information about the project in line with the information received from the Mayor. Comments of other persons or institutions are not included as the parties of the event.

B. Micro Structure

Looking at the sentence structures, the sentences are generally simple and it is understood that the active structure is used throughout the sentences. Since the sentences are active, it is understood that the information about the event is given in

the simplest form. In addition, it is understood from the active sentences that the news is constructed on the discourses of the news source, whose opinions are included in the news.

It is seen that a causal relationship is established between the sentences. For example, the reason why Galataport is a very important place as the first encountering place is shown as the tourists will encounter the historical riches of the city, which has hosted different civilizations and cultures, through the cultural path. In terms of referential relationship, it is understood that the phrases reflecting commodification are included. For example, while talking about the importance of the project, it is emphasized that it will be a "gateway" to cultural and historical riches, that it will be "the starting point" of Beyoğlu Cultural Road Project and that it will become one of the "emerging new values" of Istanbul and the economic gains to be obtained through the tourism, trade and service sectors are mentioned as the returns of this situation.

In the news, it is seen that the event was narrated to the reader with expressions such as "he used his expression" and "he continued his words as follows". In addition, the project is characterized as a "service" to Istanbul. With this qualification, it is possible to say that the worldview of a certain group/class is represented. The newspaper directly included such statement of Mayor Yıldız.

It can be argued that it is aimed to increase the persuasiveness of the news by quoting the Mayor's opinions and comments in the news. In general, it is possible to say that the news has an affirmative content and language, and is constructed with elements that normalize and legitimize the intervention made in the city. The photos are also compatible with the themes discussed in the news.

II. Galataport to Increase Istanbul's Number of Cruise Tourists from 20 Thousand to 1.5 Million

In the following section the news dated November 17, 2019 and titled "Galataport to increase the number of Istanbul's cruise tourists from 20 thousand to 1.5 million" is analysed (*Galataport İstanbul'un kruvaziyer*, 2019).

A. Macro Structure

The news dated November 17, 2019 has the heading: "*Galataport to increase the number of Istanbul's cruise tourists from 20 thousand to 1.5 million*". Although there is not enough information in the headline about how the event will take place, it is understood that the event subject to the news is announced to some extent with news fiction. It is thought that the information that the number of tourists will increase tens of times will attract the attention of the reader and will enable the continuation of the news to be read.

The spot of the news is as follows: "*Galataport Istanbul, where the first ship will arrive in April 2020, will make the number of cruise tourists, which has decreased by up to 20 thousand, more magnificent than its old days.*" When the spot is read, it is seen that the affirmative meaning desired to be created in the mind of the reader is strengthened in harmony with the heading.

The news has two sub-headings: "*All stakeholders related to the sector are waiting for the opening of Galataport Istanbul*" and "*Both Istanbul and Beyoğlu will win*". When the sub-headings are read together with the introduction of the news, it is understood that they are in the nature of announcing the event subject to the news and reflect the news text. In addition, it is possible to say that the sub-headings that divide the narrative of the text within it, shape the reader's consciousness in a certain

direction without reading the whole text, and therefore are loaded with ideological meanings.

A single photo was used under the heading in the news. The photo shows a cruise ship docked on shore. The main event in the news is that when the Galataport Istanbul Project becomes operational, it will bring Istanbul to the number of cruise tourists it deserves and thus make significant contributions to the regional economy. It is possible to say that the main event is presented in the heading and in the news introduction, but the details of the event are narrated through the opinions and comments of Nizam Hışım, Chairperson of the Board of Directors of Beyoğlu Beautification and Protection Association, in the news text, and therefore the presentation of the main event is lacking a critical language. In general, it has been emphasized that the project will increase tourism revenues, bring vitality to the regional economy, particularly in the tourism sector, and bring Istanbul to its rightful place with the cultural and artistic opportunities it contains.

As background information, it is mentioned that the number of cruise tourists of the city decreased every year since 2015 and decreased to 20 thousand. In this sense, it is possible to say that the news is founded on the contribution of tourism revenues to be obtained by the project to the country and regional economy, and therefore it is not presented in a context where the reader can develop his/her own perspective.

The source of the news is shown as Anatolian Agency (AA). However, the entire news consists of the statements made by Nizam Hışım to the AA correspondent regarding the project. There is no comment of other persons or institutions as the party to the event in the news.

B. Micro Structure

The sentences in the news are generally simple and short. In general, it is seen that the active structure is used. It is understood from the active sentences that the news is constructed on the discourses of the dominating.

It is seen that a causal relationship is established between the sentences. The reason why both Istanbul and Beyoğlu will win thanks to cruise visitors has been shown as the fact that the tourists will eat, drink and shop in Beyoğlu. In addition, the facts that the shopkeepers in the district will also make a significant profit with the project and the vitality of the regional economy have been associated with the fact that Istiklal Street is a destination for tourists. It is possible to say that it is a conscious preference to emphasize such gain and revenue in order to produce social consent for the project. In terms of functional relationship, while the sub-heading sentence "All stakeholders related to the sector are waiting for the opening of Galataport Istanbul" is a general sentence, it is seen that its opening is made by giving examples in the following sentences and by choosing an appropriate phrase. Similarly, it is seen that a general statement is included in the sub-heading sentence "Both Istanbul and Beyoğlu will win" and its opening is made in the following sentences. This shows that the sentences are functionally connected to each other.

In the news, expressions such as "it will be one of the symbols of the city", "it will change the face of cruise tourism" which Nizam Hışım used when describing the project are directly mentioned. These qualifications are thought to represent the dominant discourse. However, it is seen that the narration of the event to the reader is made with expressions such as "reported", "emphasized", "pointed out", "and recorded the following".

Inclusion of the statements of Nizam Hışım, Chairperson of the Board of Directors of Beyoğlu Beautification and Protection Association in the news in general, is an element that increases the persuasiveness of the news. In addition, it is seen that the news text includes the number of cruise tourists coming to Istanbul in 2014 and 2015 in order to increase credibility. In general, it is possible to say that the news has a heralding content and language for the future and is constructed with elements that legitimize the project.

III. Foreign Investors Showed Great Interest in Beyoğlu's Projects

In the following section the news dated 23 March 2018 and titled "Foreign Investors showed great interest in Beyoğlu's projects" is analysed (*Yabancı yatırımcılar Beyoğlu'nun*, 2018).

A. Macro Structure

The heading of the news dated 23 March 2018 is as follows: "*Foreign Investors showed great interest in Beyoğlu's projects*". When the heading is read, it is thought that the content of the main event is reflected to some extent to the reader. Due to the limited information presented in the heading, it seems difficult for the reader to make inferences about where and when the event took place and who are those showing interest.

The spot of the news is as follows: "*Beyoğlu attracted the attention of international investors at the MIPIM Real Estate Fair, which it attended for the third time this year. Galataport, Haliçport, Taksim 360, Okmeydanı, Piyalepaşa Istanbul and Örnektepe projects, which are shown among the biggest projects in Turkey, has managed to be among the most popular projects of the fair.*" When the spot is examined, it is understood that information is given about the

event in harmony with the heading and the presentation of the main event is started here through summarization.

The news has six sub-headings: *"Investors' Great Interest in Projects in Beyoğlu"*, *"Beyoğlu Announces Its Name with 25 Projects and 25 Investors"*, *"Galataport Project Will Provide Employment to 4500 People"*, *"Haliçport's Investment Cost 850 Million TL"*, *"Sütlüce-Örnektepe Project Will Be an Example for Turkey"*, *"Okmeydanı Will Be Turkey's Largest Project"*. When the sub-headings are read together, it is understood that the content and theme of the text are reflected, but there is also a trend from the general to specific between the sub-headings. For example, when the heading is read, it is stated that foreign investors show great interest in the projects in Beyoğlu, while it is seen that affirmative information about these projects is given under sub-headings. In this sense, it is possible to say that it is tried to form a basis for the news text by summarizing the sub-headings. In addition, it can be said that the information in the sub-headings causes the reader to be introduced with the event subject to the news from the perspective of the dominating, and therefore, ideological meanings are included in the sub-headings.

In the news, the image of Beyoğlu Mayor Ahmet Misbah Demircan, who participated in the MIPIM Real Estate Fair, in front of the models of the large projects he presented to domestic and foreign investors, was used as a photo (see Figure 21). It is possible to say that the photograph used corresponds to the meaning intended to be narrated to the reader in the news.

In the news, as the main event, it was mentioned that foreign investors showed great interest in Beyoğlu's showcase projects such as Galataport and Haliçport in MIPIM, which is one of the largest real estate fairs in the world, held in Cannes,

France in 2018. It is seen that the main event is presented through the information obtained by the reporter about the descriptions of Demircan who participated in the fair and the contents of the projects introduced at the fair. In this sense, it is possible to argue that the news presented around the dominant discourses aims to shape the consciousness of the reader in a certain direction.

The background information presented about the event is limited to the participation of Beyoğlu Municipality in the fair for the third time. In general, the emphasis on the increase in foreign investment coming to the country through the mentioned "crazy projects" in the news leads the reader to think within the dominant framework. Therefore, it is seen that the news is not presented in a context where the reader can develop a critical perspective. The source of the news is not specified. There are no comments of the parties other than the Mayor of Beyoğlu.

B. Micro Structure

In general, both active and passive sentences were used in the news that included simple and short sentences. While the sentences narrating the opinions and comments of the Mayor of Beyoğlu are generally established with an active structure, it is seen that the passive structure such as "(...) it is *aimed to set an example*", "(...) it is *planned to be made*", "(...) it is *foreseen to be settled*" is used in the sentences introducing the projects subject to the news in the following sections of the news text. While a more effective narrative about the event is established with the active sentences, the subject who will perform the action in the passive sentences is perceived by the reader as uncertain.

Considering the relationship between the successive sentences, it is possible to say that the causality connection related to the main event was not established

sufficiently and that the interest of domestic and foreign capital in Turkey's urban transformation projects was emphasized and the city was reflected as a commodity that could be bought and sold under the name of "crazy projects" and "showcase projects". On the other hand, qualifications such as the "crazy projects" and "showcase projects" can be considered as preferences that reveal the basic beliefs and ideologies of the actors who are in and involved with the process. In terms of functional relationship, it is understood that sentences are functionally connected to each other by giving examples from the projects to be made by choosing an appropriate expression in order to narrate the intense interest shown in Beyoğlu's projects to the reader in the news.

Eyewitness statements were not used in the news except for the Mayor. However, the fact that Beyoğlu has participated in MIPIM Real Estate Fair to promote its urban transformation projects in the international arena and that the fair was very successful for Turkey is an element that increases the credibility. In this sense, it is possible to say that the news is presented within the dominant framework by considering the economic dimension of the subject.

IV. First Dig to Galataport

In the following section the news dated February 5, 2016 and titled "First dig to Galataport" is analysed (Öztürk, 2016).

A. Macro Structure

The news dated February 5, 2016 bears the heading of "*First dig to Galataport*". Information was reduced by not including decisive information about the event, and information was given about the commencement of the construction works of Galataport Istanbul Project with the phrase, "first dig".

Spot of the news is as follows: *"In Turkey's largest and most prestigious project for maritime tourism, Galataport, works have started. Beyoğlu Mayor Demircan said, "Despite all the obstacles, our pride project is coming to life".* Looking at the spot, it is understood that information about the event is given in accordance with the heading and presentation of the event is made here. However, the fact that the project is defined as *"Turkey's largest and most prestigious project for maritime tourism"* shows that the justification for starting the construction of the project is presented, while the fact that Beyoğlu Mayor Demircan's words *"Despite all the obstacles, our another pride project is coming to life"* are included as a party of the event shows that the event is simplified and generalized, and its economic-political, social, cultural, historical aspects, causes and consequences are hidden. With this kind of framing, it is emphasized in the spot that the project will make positive contributions to the country, and it is seen that it is aimed to create a meaning that only the common interest and welfare of the society is considered by ensuring that it is implemented despite all obstacles.

The news has a sub-heading such as "Turkey's pride". Here, it is seen that the meaning established in the spot is continued, and it is understood that the main idea and content of the text is directly reflected. In the news, in the photo just after the heading, bearing the phrase *"The first dig to Galataport, one of Turkey's pride projects,* images that show the Mayor visiting the construction site with the accompanying team are included (see Figure 17). The phrase above the photo is a continuation of generalization and simplification.

Figure 17

The Image of the Beyoğlu Mayor from the Building Site



Note. Taken from (Öztürk, 2016).

The main event subject to the news is the commencement of construction works in the Galataport project. It is seen that the content has been established with the claim that the project subject to the news will make positive contributions to the country, city and region. However, the background information on the main event was not sufficiently provided. With this project, which was stated to be tried to be prevented, it was claimed that the historical peninsula and the Bosphorus would meet with world tourism, and that not only Beyoğlu, but also Istanbul and Turkey would benefit from this situation. Concrete information about how these will be realized, why it is wanted to be prevented or the arguments of those who want to prevent it are not included. In this sense, it is possible to say that the event is simplified and narrated to the reader within the dominant framework, and therefore it is not presented in a context where the reader can develop his/her own perspective.

The source of the news is stated as Sabah Newspaper reporter Erhan Ertürk. However, the information and comments on the event subject to the news are generally based on the opinions and views of the Mayor Demircan. The reporter shared the information obtained from the statements made by Demircan. However, the opinions and comments of the parties opposing the project were not included in the news.

B. Micro Structure

Considering the sentence structures, the sentences are generally simple and short and the active structure is used throughout the sentences. In this way, it is understood that the information about the project is given from the perspective of the dominating in its simplest form. In the passive structured sentences, "*However,; after the positive EIA report given by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization for Galataport, the works accelerated*", the passive sentence did not include any information about the people who carried out the work and those who enabled it to accelerate, and the workers who played an active role in the construction process were not mentioned either.

When the relationship between the sentences is examined, it is seen that the causality connection related to the main event in the news is established based on the arguments such as that when the Galataport project is implemented, the region will be prosperous and will benefit the city in many ways. In the news, it is seen that there is also a functional relationship that means that the expression in a sentence is opened in the next sentences. For example, the interpretation of the sentence stating that the works accelerated after the EIA report was made in the following sentences, which included information about the content of the project and stated that the project would lead to positive developments in the tourism sector. In terms of the referential relationship, sentences such as "*They also opposed Emek Cinema. Fortunately, now the pro-we don't want community send messages for Emek Cinema saying 'how beautiful it is'.*" Here, with the phrase "pro-we don't want people", which is used to define those who oppose and want to prevent transformation projects such as Galataport, a meaning that justifies the current dominant approach has been tried to be created by generalizing and marginalizing those who have opposite words. In

addition, it is seen that the said legitimizing meaning is strengthened with the sentence *"despite the obstacles, this project also started with the insistence and determination of our President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan"*.

While the definitions such as "giant project", "pride", "largest and most prestigious project", "pride project", "historical rescue project", "operation revival of an idle neighbourhood", "Istanbul's gateway from the sea" are used for Galataport, the fact that the parties opposing the project are described as "pro-we don't want people" shows the manner the parties of the event are defined in the sentences. In this sense, the people referred to by the word "pro-we don't want community" have been tried to be defined as the actors who prevent the development of the country and the city by standing against the central and local governments.

In general, the fact that the news has a flow that includes the explanations made by the Mayor of Beyoğlu about the project is an element that aims to increase persuasiveness. The fact that the news text is constructed on the contributions of the project to the city and the country, and that the parties supporting the project are framed as devoted people who think about the well-being, common interest and welfare of the society shows that the news has a language and content that affirm the project and herald the benefits it will bring.

V. *Galataport Flies You*

In the following section the news dated May 7, 2015 and titled "Galataport flies you" is analysed (Alakent, 2015).

A. *Macro Structure*

The heading of the article dated May 7, 2015 is "*Galataport flies you*". In the heading given with a general phrase and without sufficient information, it is aimed to create an affirmative meaning in the mind of the reader that the project will contribute to the city and the country by giving a clue about the future with the emphasis on "flying".

In the spot of the news, the statistical information, "*Cruise tourism set its sights on Galataport. Royal Caribbean General Manager Bülent Tatlav said, 'When Galataport comes to life, the sector will grow by 100 percent'*", it is seen that the affirmative meaning to be given in the heading about the benefits of the project is intended to be further strengthened. In this context, it is possible to say that it is aimed to legitimize and normalize the intervention to be made in the urban space in the mind of the reader with headings and the spot, in other words, the reader's consciousness is ideologically reproduced.

The article, which consists of an interview made with Royal Caribbean General Manager Bülent Tatlav, has two sub-headings as "*Spends 5 Times More*" and "*Preference Rate is 85%*". In this context, it is seen that the reason for the expression "Galataport flies you" is included in the sub-headings and therefore, when the sub-headings are read together, it is understood that the content and theme of the text are reflected.

In the photo used under the heading in the news, in addition to the images showing the location of the project and a cruise ship docked on the shore, an image reflecting the modern architecture in accordance with today's consumption patterns was used in the small blurred square on the photo, in contrast with the texture of the area where the project will be carried out. In addition, it is seen that ideological production was made with the expressions "Cruise tourism set its sights on there" and "project to fly Turkey" on the photo (see Figure 18).

Figure 18

The Image Showing the Location of the Project



Note. Taken from (Alakent, 2015).

Considering the presentation of the main event in the news, the news introduction draws attention. The main event is that although Turkey's share of cruise tourism decreases by 7% every year, the cruise tourism sector will grow by 100% with the completion of the Galataport Istanbul Project. The main event was presented on the basis of the statements of Tatlav, General Manager of Royal Caribbean, the world's largest cruise tour company, about the Galataport project, about Turkey's place in cruise tourism and the potential it has. In this respect, it is possible to say that the presentation of the event is far from being critical and is narrated to the reader through the eyes of the dominating.

The background information presented in the news about the main event is that Turkey, which has a high potential in cruise tourism, has no ports to meet this

potential, so its share from the sector is decreasing every year. In this context, the news is based on the contribution of tourism revenues to be obtained by the project to the economy. Throughout the news text, there is a narrative that emphasizes that the failure to construct a port such as Galataport has adversely affected Turkey's place in the cruise sector and that Galataport is a project that will bring Turkey to the point it deserves in the sector. As such, it is understood that the news is not presented in a context where the reader can develop his/her own perspective.

Although the source of the news is shown as Betül Alakent, the reporter of Sabah Newspaper, the source of the information subject to the news is based on the opinions of Tatlav, who made statements about the project during the interview.

B. Micro Structure

In the news, which includes simple and short sentences, it is noteworthy that the active structure is generally used. The fact that the sentences are active shows that the news based on the discourses of the dominating is emphasized from the perspective of the dominating in relation to the event.

When the relationship between the successive sentences is looked at, it is understood that there are causal connections between the sentences. For example, the reason why Turkey's share of cruise tourism decreases by 7% every year is given in the next sentence, where it is stated that there are not enough ports. In terms of functional relationship, it is seen that the opening of the sentence "Istanbul is now a brand city in the world" in the news text is made in the next sentences by referring to the examples for the reader. In this regard; Galataport is of great importance. It has to be completed as soon as possible. In fact, I think that even Galataport will not be enough and a second port will be needed. Because there are more than one port in

cities such as Barcelona and Copenhagen in the world. Istanbul urgently needs to be turned into a 'homeport'. If these are made, cruise tours will fly. "It is understood that there is an ideological expression in the above sentences that continue.

Considering the word choices, it is possible to say that it is an ideological preference to make emphasizes such as "Galataport flies you", "project to fly Turkey", "cruise tours will fly if these are made" and to describe Istanbul as a "brand city". Here, it is seen that only the economic gains to be obtained are taken into consideration in relation to the project, and therefore the world view and ideology of the dominant class are represented.

The fact that the news consists of an interview with Bülent Tatlav, General Manager of Royal Caribbean, is an element that increases persuasiveness and credibility. Inclusion of the opinions of one of the leading figures in the cruise tourism sector in the news mainly reinforces the idea that the project will be a one that will revive the tourism sector in the mind of the reader. In order to increase persuasiveness, it is noteworthy that in addition to numerical data, examples are given from the ports of "brand cities" such as Barcelona and Copenhagen. In this sense, it is possible to say that the news has a language and content that unilaterally heralds the positive contributions of the project.

VI. *Galataport Statement by Öib*

In the following section the news dated October 15, 2014 and titled "Galataport Statement by ÖİB" is analysed (*ÖİB'den Galataport açıklaması*, 2014).

A. *Macro Structure*

The news dated October 15, 2014 is a short news article has the heading: "*Galataport Statement by ÖİB*". It is seen that information was reduced by not including decisive information about the event in the heading. Therefore, it is thought that it is difficult for the reader to make inferences about the event as soon as reading the heading.

The spot of the news is as follows: "*ÖİB has reported that no decision has been made to stop the execution of the zoning plans related to Salıpazarı Cruise Port Area.*" When the spot is read, it is understood that the event subject to the news is announced and the content of the news text is reflected.

There is only one photo under the heading in the news (see Figure 19). In the photo, there are images resembling the simulation of the project to be made in Karaköy and Salıpazarı region across the historical peninsula.

Figure 19

The Simulation of the Galataport Project



Note. Taken from (*ÖİB'den Galataport açıklaması*, 2014).

As the main event in the news, it was mentioned that no decision was made to stop the execution of the zoning plans of the project, but the reasons of the lawyers who filed a lawsuit for the suspension of the execution were not mentioned anywhere in the news text.

As the background information, it was mentioned that UCTEA Chamber of Urban Planners Istanbul Branch, UCTEA Chamber of Architects (Istanbul Metropolitan Branch), UCTEA Chamber of Civil Engineers (Istanbul Branch) filed a lawsuit with the request of cancelling the zoning plans and suspension of the execution of the project, and the Council of State decided to reject the request for the suspension of the execution with the decision dated 17 April 2014. In addition, it is mentioned that despite the rejection of the request to suspend execution, relevant decision was interpreted in a manner that would lead to misleading the public and was reflected in the press with the statements of "execution of the Galataport zoning plan was suspended" as of October 13, 2014.

The source of the news is not specified. In the news, the parties of the event were specified as ÖİB, UCTEA Chamber of City Planners Istanbul Branch, UCTEA Chamber of Architects (Istanbul Metropolitan Branch), UCTEA Chamber of Civil Engineers (Istanbul Branch), but only the written statement of ÖİB was mentioned as a commend from the parties.

B. Micro Structure

In the news where active sentence structures are used, it is seen that sentences are complex rather than having a simple structure. The sentences were generally kept long. Many legal concepts and terms have been used due to the statement made by the

ÖBİ and the decision of the Council of State regarding the legal process was mentioned.

In the news text, the developments regarding the suspension of the execution of the zoning plans of the Galataport project were included in various places, but no strong causality connection was established regarding the lawsuit process.

There is no testimony of witnesses in the news. Information about the legal process is shared. It does not seem possible for the reader to make inferences easily about the event and the meaning of the event, Based on this information. What is desired to be narrated to the reader is that there is no obstacle for the project to continue. In this sense, it is possible to say that the news text was unilaterally constructed by being ruptured from its context.

VII. *Galataport Flies Karaköy*

In the following section the news dated February 20, 2013 and titled "Galataport Flies Karaköy" is analysed (*Galataport Karaköy'ü uçurdu*, 2013).

A. *Macro Structure*

The news dated February 20, 2013 has the heading, "*Galataport Flies Karaköy*". It is seen that the heading does not include explanatory information about the event. Although it is difficult for the reader to make inferences about the event with the information in the heading, it was aimed to implicate that the project provides an economic advantage to the region with the emphasis on "flying".

The spot of the news is as follows: "*Approaching Galataport tender has raised the real estate prices in Karaköy. Prices for buildings for sale and rent are already skyrocketed. According to experts, Karaköy will soon be one of the most expensive districts of Istanbul.*" It is understood that in the spot, the event subject to

the news was announced by summarizing and it formed basis for the news text. The news has four sub-headings as follows: *"Prices are saturated"*, *"Buildings Will Be Turned into Hotels"*, *"Rent increased by 60 Percent"*, *"What Happens in the Area?"* that divide the narrative of the text within it. With the information given in the sub-headings, a positive meaning is tried to be created about the project in the mind of the reader. For this reason, the reader is introduced with the event subject to the news with the perspective and ideology of the dominating.

No photographs were used in the news. As the main event, it is mentioned that the upcoming Galataport project has already increased the real estate prices in Karaköy and the advantages waiting for the region with the commissioning of the project are stated. It is seen that the main event is presented in the news introduction, but the details of the event are explained through the opinions of real estate experts in the following sections of the news text. In this respect, the manner of presenting the event is far from being critical.

In the news, it was mentioned that the area has been making premiums for a long time since the expectations about the project were constantly on the agenda, as background information. It is argued that the project has led to hotel investment demands that historical buildings and former business houses will be transformed into hotels by capital owners, and that sales will be made above the market price with such developments. However, the property speculation in question has generally been shown as a situation for the benefit of everyone. Therefore, it is possible to say that the news is presented in a context that will lead to the perception that Galataport is a project that needs to be supported in the mind of the reader.

The source of the news is not specified. The comments and opinions of TSKB Deputy General Manager of Real Estate Assessment, Hüsniye Boztunç and Re/max Turkey Marketing and Operations Director Gökhan Karahan were included as the parties of the event.

B. Micro Structure

In general, it is seen that the sentences are not in complex nature. Active and passive sentences were used together. While the sentences in which the Deputy General Manager of TSKB Real Estate Evaluation and Re/max Turkey Marketing and Operations Director explain the advantages of the project for the area are established with an active structure, it is seen that the passive structure is used in some of the sentences in which the transformation in the area is explained. This situation also shows that the news text is constructed from the perspective of the dominating within the framework determined by them.

The causality connection in the news is established through the approaching Galataport tender. With the approaching tender, it is stated that the area made premiums and the rental values increased. Towards the end of the news text, it is seen that the opening of the sentence "hotel investment demands are coming to the area" is narrated to the reader by giving examples of the investments planned to be made in the area and the capital groups that will make them in the following sentences. In this sense, it is possible to say that a narrative based on functional relationship is established in the news.

Considering the word choices, the increase in real estate prices in the area with the approaching tender has been described as "mobility". It is emphasized that the area would gain "premiums" with the incoming "investment demands". This situation

shows that the transformation is simplified and narrated only through the economic benefits that the project will provide to "certain groups". Therefore, it is possible to say that word choices are compatible with the worldview and ideology of the dominant class. On the other hand, it is seen that during the narration of the event to the reader, expressions such as "expressed", "said", "gave information" were used.

The rhetoric of the news is based on convincing and persuading the reader that the developments in the area with the project will contribute to the city and the regional economy. As a matter of fact, including the opinions of real estate experts is an element that provides persuasiveness and credibility. As comments of the parties in the news, no information is given about the opinions or expectations of the people of the region, and a unilateral narrative is preferred.

5. CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

When the history of cities is examined, it is possible to evaluate the emergence of modern cities as a spatial reflection of the production relations. However, industrial-based production relations of the modern age have caused urbanization to become the dominant spatial form worldwide. In order to comprehend the spatial forms that emerged in the urbanization process, which gained momentum with industrialization, it is important to take into account the social and economic production relations of the period. Therefore, in order to comprehend today's urbanization processes, an analysis is needed on the axis of today's social and economic production-consumption relations. The economic crisis that marked the world in the 1970s caused a global economic transformation in the capitalist system. As of this period, global capital circulation has started to take place through the cities, and the cities, which have an important potential in terms of both labour force and capital, have become the centre of capital accumulation.

With globalization, the fact that capital and investments gained freedom of movement led to the deindustrialization process in the cities, and industrial production shifted from the centre to the periphery. As a result of this, the urban economies have assumed a service sector-oriented structure. In this sense, it is possible to say that the deindustrialization policies of the 1980s deeply affected the physical environment, socio-cultural and economic structures of the cities. As of this period, instead of cities, which are the centre of industrial production, cities that stand out with their consumption identities have started to emerge in order to meet the needs arising from the changes in the production relations. In other words, spatial production has been increasingly identified with consumption. Since the global capital demands to produce new spaces that encourage consumption and to equip them with different functions

that can be attractive to international investors. In this sense, it is possible to say that the production and reproduction relations in urban space develop along with the fields of investment of capital. This situation has led to the production of urban space as a commodity.

One of the steps taken to adapt the city to global capital is mega projects implemented with huge investments made by cooperation between the public and private sectors. As a matter of fact, when the 2001 crisis broke out in Turkey, where economic policies in accordance with the rules of neoliberalism started to be implemented as of the 1980s, neoliberal economic policies were used as a solution to overcome the crisis; transformation practices, which mean privatization of the urban area and its opening up to capital accumulation, were started to be implemented consecutively with some legal changes and regulations. As a result of these implementations, the cities were buried in concrete, their historical and natural beauties were destroyed, and the cities that could not breathe emerged.

It is also possible to evaluate the Galataport Istanbul Project as a spatial reflection of neoliberal hegemony. Istanbul has always been a city that attracts tourists with its natural aspects and historical and cultural heritage. For this reason, Galataport Istanbul was constructed in an area adjacent to the historical peninsula and close to tourist attractions such as Galata Tower, İstiklal Street and Taksim Square. In this sense, in addition to the iconic structures such as Nusretiye Mosque, Tophane Clock Tower, Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque, which are included in the project, which is understood to be constructed on the historical and cultural centre of the city, it is aimed to made an important attraction centre for both domestic visitors and tourists with cultural and artistic activities such as outdoor exhibitions, art installations and concerts.

In order for the rent created by the dominant class over the urban space to be shared again among the dominant class, there is a need for affirmative opinions to circulate in the public opinion. The most effective way to do this is to encourage individuals to support such projects by influencing their mental processes through communication and discourse. This study is about how this influencing process takes place, how such projects are legitimized in the media, and how social support is produced.

Newspaper news reports included in the sample in the study were analyzed in line with macro and microstructure analyzes with the critical discourse analysis method proposed by van Dijk. Studies that treat and analyze the news as discourse question how the ideological process works and what are its mechanisms in the texts in order to comprehend the narrative structure of the news. For this, they try to explain how social power relations are reflected in news texts by establishing a relationship between discourse, cognition and society. The aim here is to reveal how social meaning is established and under which conditions reality is produced by whom.

In the study, it is accepted that the news about the Galataport Istanbul project were produced by the journalists as organic intellectuals along with certain hegemonic discourses, and the reality fictionalized in the news in question had an effect on social consciousness. More precisely, it is argued that the content and discourse produced in the news are effective in individuals losing sight of social inequalities and falling into illusions. In the news examined, it has been identified that the subject is addressed with an approach that serves to legitimize the spatial transformation and reproduce the dominant relations, that is, contributes to the maintenance of neoliberal urban hegemony. At this point, in the context of Gramsci's definition of organic intellectuals, it is seen that the journalist, who is the producer of the news text, plays an active role

in legitimizing the capital-oriented transformation of the city and producing social consent.

Considering the content and discourse produced by the journalists in the reporting of the Galataport Istanbul project, it is seen that the news is generally presented through the opinions of Doğuş Group and Bilgili Holding managers, Galataport Istanbul managers, prominent people in the real estate and tourism sectors and the Mayors. In line with the dominant perspective, Galataport has been projected as a one that makes a difference, provides advantage, and causes an increase in income and profit. The fact that the manner the subject is narrated to the reader coincides with the opinions of the dominant class, which holds the capital and power, shows the nature of the journalists' perspectives. In this sense, it is possible to say that social consciousness is distorted by the journalists by producing a reality compatible with the interests of the dominant class and is intended to be shaped according to this new reality.

It is seen in the news that the causality relationship has been established on the basis of arguments such as the project is a beneficial one for all of Turkey, especially Istanbul, and as it is implemented in order to increase the well-being and welfare level of the whole society. In this context, it has often been argued in the news that the project will add value to Istanbul with its cultural values and symbols, and carry Istanbul to the place it deserves in the competition with other cities. In addition, it is seen that the project is presented as a one that will contribute to the urban culture and the urban economy and will have an impact on the progress, development and improvement of the city with the opportunities it brings. For this reason, it is frequently emphasized in the news that the economic gains to be obtained through tourism, trade and service sectors will increase thanks to the tourists and local visitors

living in the city that will arrive with the operation of Galataport as a world-class port. In this manner, a meaning is tried to be created as such projects were implemented by considering the benefit and welfare level of the whole society.

It is seen in the news Galataport is generally considered as a colourful, bright, magnificent, clean, safe and comfortable venue. This is a clear indication that the city is presented to the consumption of domestic and foreign public as a showcase. The basis of this kind of reporting is the idea of attracting the attention of domestic and foreign public opinion in order for the circulating capital to arrive to the city. As a matter of fact, Galataport is a venue equipped with the necessary functions to serve the process of articulating Istanbul to the world economy. As organic intellectuals, journalists fulfil their responsibilities in creating an image that can attract the attention of capital and tourists in order to market the project through news discourse.

It has been observed in the news the understanding that the project has economic returns covering the whole society is dominant. In addition, social benefits such as the unique coastline, which was closed for 200 years, will be brought back for the public use with the transformation and re-functioning approaches, and in this sense, the city will be connected to the sea with the project are emphasized. Presentation of the news with the argument that the society will have access to what is already it owns has been shown as one of the benefits that the project will bring to the society. Although it is true that there was no previous access to the coastline where the project is constructed, considering the nature and logic of the current access, it is possible to say that the narrative established in the news about public access to the coastline is a form of communication applied to create illusions in the minds of individuals. At the same time, with this narrative structure, a belief that access to the

coastline is possible only through such projects is tried to be spread throughout the society.

Large segments of the society are aimed to be included in the consensus relationship on the transformation of the city according to the requirements of neoliberalism through news discourse. However, it is not difficult to predict that the Bosphorus panorama will be completely closed to the public with tens of meters of ships docking, when the cruise port starts operating at full capacity. In addition, with the special cover system, which is emphasized as the most original feature of the project due to its implementation for the first time in the world, passengers would access the underground terminal. This reveals the sharp distinction between the cruise passengers and the public. On the other hand, in the parts of the project open to the public, there are luxury commercial enterprises that large segments of the society cannot be included in. Walking corridors are also planned for arriving visitors at places remaining from luxury shops, restaurants and cafes. It is possible to say that Galataport exists as a space open to those who have money rather than a public space considering these aspects.

Another point emphasized in one of the news examined is that Galataport is the starting point of the Beyoğlu Cultural Road project, which connects many important parts of the urban memory, and that the tourists who arrive can meet the historical and cultural heritage of the city by following the axis of the Cultural Road. From this point of view, it can be thought the city's memory is tried to be conserved and cultural continuity to be maintained in the city under the name of Culture Road. However, the Cultural Road Project is one of the important developments of the ongoing spatial transformation process in the Beyoğlu area, which carries the traces of Istanbul's historical and cultural heritage. The fact that spots such as Galataport,

Galata Tower, Emek Cinema, Mısır Apartment (Mehmet Akif Ersoy Museum House), Atlas Passage (Istanbul Cinema Museum), Taksim Mosque and Atatürk Cultural Centre are connected to each other and turned into an attraction centre for tourists paves the way for new spatial interventions covered in a cultural sauce. As a result, this situation commercializes cultural assets rather than conserving them, and most importantly, it weakens the interaction of the memory of the people living in the city with the space.

Especially as of the 2000s, it is seen that the development and growth of the country's economy is tried to be achieved through a construction-based accumulation model. In order for the society to support this policy, a discourse compatible with this situation should be developed in the mass media. While the media operates as a branch of industry, it also plays an important role in the ideological reproduction of the society by establishing organic relations with power. Today, when almost all media bosses also operate in different sectors such as energy, finance and construction, the journalists, as organic intellectuals, are held responsible for ensuring the ideological homogeneity of the social class it is connected to. The fact that, in the news discourses, Galataport Istanbul is identified with a strong economy, development, welfare and well-being of the society, beyond the fact the promises are achieved or not, enables this space, which is produced as rent, where the surplus value is shared among the capital owners and transformed into a means of production, to be legitimized in the eyes of the society. This situation makes it difficult for the people living in the city to perceive the space as social commons. Therefore, individuals indirectly lose their rights to property and usage in urban space.

The area where the project is constructed is an important panorama point of the city due to its location and unique view overlooking the historical peninsula. It is also

an important part of the urban identity and urban memory due to its cultural and natural values. However, with Galataport, the area has become the centre of commerce and consumption through privatization. It is possible to say that if a structuring that aims to transfer cultural assets to the future by conserving the historical port and its surroundings and takes into account the public interest, the whole society could truly profit from this. In this sense, in the news texts, the project should be handled with an approach where concerns such as maintaining the urban identity, protecting the urban memory, meeting the public needs by considering the public interest were at the forefront. Instead, in order to shape the social consciousness in line with the dominant meaning and to obtain social consent, it was preferred to create a narrative structure that affirms the project, and the economic, political and social background of the subject was tried to be hidden.

In newspaper news, issues such as what information the journalist gives or does not give when dealing with a subject and in what contexts, if any, have a decisive effect on the reader's level of consciousness and cognition. In the study, it was seen that the journalists, who were evaluated as organic intellectuals in the news about the Galataport Istanbul Project, handled the issue in an abstracted manner from the problems that it created or will create, exactly as it should have been. By developing a content and discourse that affirms such projects for a strong and developed city and even country, society is encouraged to support neoliberal urban hegemony. This result also confirms the hypothesis of the study. In this sense, it is possible to say that spatial transformation is handled with a certain systematic in the news and its social, economic, cultural and spatial cost is almost never seen.

Presenting the economic interests of the dominant class in the media as the common interest of large segments of the society causes projects such as Galataport to

be supported by large social segments in cities. Thanks to the manufactured social consent, the pressure of the neoliberal mind on the urban space is increasing, and the physical environment of the cities comes increasingly under the influence of neoliberal logic. The ruling powers, which serve the continuity of domination of the ruling class, have to reproduce the consent of the society in all cases for the continuity of the current historical block. The most effective way to do this is to use the media, as a tool, which is dependent on power for economic interests. For this reason, such projects are considered as "investments" made in the city for the people within both the power circles and the media.

The media tries to gain control over the majority by showing the interests of the elite minority as common interest. The cause and effect of this effort are always class-oriented. The reason is class-oriented, since the global urban ideal and spatial interventions made in line with this ideal are one of the functional tools that ensure the maintenance of the capitalist production relations. Mega projects such as closed luxury residential areas, skyscrapers, residences, business towers, wide highways, revitalized ports and international airport have become landmarks surrounding Istanbul. As a result, the city has turned into a commodity designed for the upper classes and tourists to have fun and have a pleasant time with its gentrified neighbourhoods and areas.

When one goes to Galataport, which is opened in October 2021, the coastline can only be visited together with private security guards. It is seen that the project, which is argued to be open to the people of Istanbul, cannot go beyond being one of the new outdoor shopping centres supported by culture and art in Istanbul. Within the scope of the project, functional areas such as restaurants, cafes, stores, office areas, parking lots, hotels, art museums and exhibition areas that encourage direct shopping

and consumption have been organized. Therefore, it is possible to say that in Galataport individuals can only exist as consumers and come together without having any social interaction with each other. Considering the representation of the urban space in the media, especially in Galataport, it is seen that this venue is marketed as a shopping centre overlooking the sea for the people of Istanbul and domestic and foreign tourists. However, this new space has two different intertwined functions: the cruise port and the shopping centre. It is not difficult to predict that there will be contradictions between the representation of the space in the media and the spatial experiences of individuals since the ships approaching the shore will completely close the sea view when the cruise port starts to operate at full capacity. The fact that the real-life spatial experiences of individuals and the representations of urban space produced in the media do not coincide may lead to significant problems and discussions. Therefore, it is thought that the study will contribute to new studies on this subject.

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Appendix A: Turkish Versions of Hürriyet Newspaper News

I. Galataport Gün Sayıyor

5 Nisan 2020’de ilk cruise gemisini karşılamaya hazırlanan Galataport’ta inşaat süreci tüm hızıyla devam ediyor. Yolcuların özel bir sistemle gemi yanaştıktan sonra ‘yer altında’ karşılanacağı liman inşaatına Hürriyet olarak girdik. Galataport İstanbul Genel Müdürü Erdem Tavas, 5 Nisan’a kadar taahhüt edilenlerin tamamının hayata geçirilerek, liman kısmının hizmete alınacağını söyledi.

İstanbul ve Turizm sektörünün uzun yıllardır açılmasını beklediği Galataport’ta son dönemece girildi. 5 Nisan’da ilk geminin yanaşacağı cruise limanında inşaat çalışmaları tüm hızıyla devam ediyor. Yaklaşık 2 bin 200 kişinin çalıştığı inşaat alanına Hürriyet olarak girip çalışmaları yerinde görme fırsatı bulduk. Galataport İstanbul Genel Müdürü Erdem Tavas, Galataport İstanbul Liman İşletme Genel Müdür Yardımcısı Figen Ayan, Galataport İstanbul Proje Geliştirme Pazarlama ve Kiralama Genel Müdür Yardımcısı İrem Yücel Kaymak ve Galataport İstanbul Proje Yönetimi Genel Müdür Yardımcısı Ali Pusat ile birlikte hem şantiye alanını gezdik hem de son gelişmeleri öğrendik. 2013’te ihalesi yapılan ve 2014’te yer tesliminin gerçekleştiği alanın ilk beton dökme işlemi ise 2018 nisan ayında yapıldı. Galataport yönetimi, 1.2 kilometrelik sahil şeridinde sahip proje alanında tüm çalışmaların planlandığı şeklinde devam ettiğini, herhangi bir aksama yaşanmadan ilk geminin yanaşacağı 5 Nisan tarihine kadar taahhüt edilenlerin tamamının gerçekleşeceğini söyledi. Projede yerin üstünde yapılan çalışmalar dışında, yer altında yapılanlar da dikkat çekiyor. Yönetim bunu “Yeraltında bir havalimanı inşa ettik” diye tanımlıyor.

1 MİLYAR DOLARLIK EKONOMİ

Projenin tamamı bittiğinde yıllık ziyaretçi sayısının 25 milyon kişi olması bekleniyor. Bunun 7 milyonunun yabancı turist, 1.5 milyonunun ise cruise turisti olacağı tahmin ediliyor. Sadece bir limanı barındırmayan proje içinde yeme-içme alanları, ofisler ve perakende noktaları da yer alıyor. Müzelerin ve meydanların da olduğu proje tamamlandığında yılda 1 milyar dolarlık ekonomi yaratacağı ifade ediliyor. 2 bin 300 araçlık bir otoparkın da yer alacağı Galataport inşaatı, Doğuş ve Bilgili gruplarının ortaklığı ile devam ederken, şirkette Doğuş Grubu'nun payı yüzde 81, Bilgili Grubu'nun payı ise yüzde 19. İhale bedeli dahil projenin maliyeti ise 1.7 milyar dolara ulaştı. İşte uzun yıllardır tartışılan, yapımı merak konusu olan, içinde neler barındıracağı merak edilen Galataport ile ilgili ayrıntılar...

TÜRKİYE'YE İLK KEZ GELECEK MARKALAR OLABİLİR

İstanbul Proje Geliştirme Pazarlama ve Kiralama Genel Müdür Yardımcısı

İREM YÜCEL KAYMAK:

- Sadece cruise limanı değil burası bir yaşam alanı yaratıyoruz.
- 52 bin metrekare perakende, 43 bin metrekare ofis alanı var.
- Alan, Paket Postanesi ve Salı Pazarı tarafı olarak ikiye ayrılıyor.
- Paket Postanesi'nde 70 mağazada geleneksel ve modern alışveriş bir arada olacak.
- Alandaki mağazalar için yüzde 70 yerleşimler tamamlandı, yüzde 30'u ile de anlaşmalar yapıldı.
- Yüzde 35'lik kısım yeme-içmeye ayrıldı
- Ticari kısımların büyük çoğunluğu da 2020 içinde açılacak.

TAYFA 70 EURO, CRUISE TURİSTİ 40 EURO HARCİYOR

Galataport İstanbul Liman İşletme Genel Müdür Yardımcısı FİGEN AYAN:

- 2020 ve 2021 için yapılan rezervasyonların yüzde 50'si Galataport'u ana liman olarak kullanacak.
- Turistler böylece İstanbul'da daha fazla kalıp, daha fazla harcama yapabilecek.
- Bir gemi tayfası ortalama 70 Euro, cruise yolcusu 400 Euro harcıyor.
- Türkiye'de turist başı ortalama gecelik harcama ise 68 Dolar civarında.

FİGEN AYHAN: 2021'DE 180 GEMİ İLE 350 BİN TURİST GELECEK

- 2020 için şu anda 61 gemi geliyor. 2021'de bu sayı 180'e çıkacak. 350 bin turist ağırlanacak.
- Kış aylarında İstanbul'a hiç gemi gelmezdi. Biz ise kış ayları için gemilere tüm konularda yüzde 60 indirim yaptık.
- Böylece gemilerin kışın da İstanbul'a gelmesini sağlıyoruz.
- Dünya sularında 350 cruise gemisi var. 100'ün üzerinde gemi de inşa halinde.
- Gemilerin boyutları giderek büyüyor. En büyüklerini ağırlayacak kapasitedeyiz.

LİMANA GELEN YOLCULAR YER ALTINA ALINIYOR

Galataport İstanbul Genel Müdürü Erdem Tavas:

- 200 yıldır cruise yolcuları dışında kimsenin giremediği 1.2 kilometrelik sahil halka açıldı.
- Dünyada ilk kez yer altına cruise terminali yaptık.
- Geçici gümrük alanı oluşturduk. Bunu da bir kapak sistemi ile hayata geçirdik.

- Açılan rampa ile gemiden inen yolcular alt kattaki terminal binasına giriş yapıyor.
- Burada 10 metrelik bir bant halkın kullanımına kapanmış oluyor.
- Geri kalan kısım istenilen şekilde halkın kullanımında oluyor.

YER ALTINDA NASIL BİR YOL İZLENECEK

- Rampa ile yer altına giren yolcu eksi birinci kattaki pasaport veya kontrol noktasına ulaşıyor.
- Sonra alt kattaki valiz alma noktasına ulaşıyor. Oradan taksi ya da otobüslere gidebiliyor.
- Ya da bir kat daha aşağı inip şehir tarafından çıkış yapabiliyor.
- Projede toplam 16 metre aşağı inildi.
- Yer altında bir havalimanı inşa ettik.
- Bavullar, kumanya alanları, forkliftler yer altında olacak.

ZEMİN ALTINA 1.2 METRE KALINLIĞINDA 35 METRELİK DUVARLAR ÖRÜLDÜ

Galataport İstanbul Proje Yönetimi Genel Müdür Yardımcısı ALİ PUSAT:

- Deniz kenarında değil aslında denizin içinde gibiyiz.
- Eski rıhtım kazıklar üzerindeydi. Biz ise terminal binasını zemin altına da değil denizin altına aldık.
- Tüm proje sınırlarını 1.2 metre kalınlığında 35 metre yükseklikte betonarme duvarla çevirdik.
- Bunu da 120 bin metrekarelik bir alan için yaptık.

ERDEM TAVAS: TARİHİ SAAT 90 CM UZADI MÜZE MEYDANI OLUŞTU

- Projedeki tarihi saat kulesi etrafındaki metruk binalar nedeniyle görülmüyordu. Bu saati görünür hale getirdik. Saat 90 santimetre uzadı. Eğik saat kulesini dik duruma getirdik.
- Burada İstanbul Modern Müzesi ve Mimar Sinan Müzeleri var.
- Orası bir müze meydan haline getiriliyor.
- Nusretiye Cami ve Kılıç Ali Paşa camileri de aynı bölgede.

300 MİLYON EURO'LUK OTELİN ÖNÜNÜ GEMİ KAPATMAYACAK

Erdem Tavas'a dünyanın sayılı noktalarında yer alan Peninsula oteli ile ilgili, 'çok yüksek fiyatlara konaklama imkanı sunan otelin önünde gemi park edecek mi' diye sorduk. Şunları söyledi:

- Dünyada 10 tane otelleri var. 3 tanesinin de inşaatı sürüyor. Biri ise İstanbul'da Galataport içinde.
- Otel 2021'de açılacak.
- 300 milyon Euro'luk bir yatırım yapılıyor. Bu yatırımda ortağız.
- Şartnamemizde de yer alıyor. Otelin önüne gemi yanaşmıyor.

İŞÇİLERİN MAAŞ ÖDEMELERİNDE SORUN YAŞANIYOR MU?

Erdem Tavas'a geçtiğimiz günlerde gündeme gelen işçilerin maaşların ödenememesi konusunu da sorduk. Tavas, konu ile ilgili şunları söyledi: "O olayı biz de araştırdık. Taşeron firmalarla görüştük. Ancak bazı işçiler maaşlarını alamadığını iddia ediyordu. Bu kadar işçinin çalıştığı yerde net olarak söyleyebilirim ki işçilerin maaşlarını alamaması gibi bir durum yok."

II. İlk Gemi 5 Nisan'da

2013'te ihalesi düzenlenen, Şubat 2014'te liman sahası devralınarak yapımına başlanan Galataport İstanbul cruise limanına ilk gemi Nisan 2020'de yanaşacak. 1.7 milyar dolarlık yatırımla hayata geçirilen projede, 5 bin kişiye istihdam sağlanacak. Uzun yıllardır vatandaşların kullanımına kapalı olan 1.2 kilometrelik sahil şeridi, hem turistlere hem de vatandaşlara hizmet verecek.

TÜRKİYE ve İstanbul turizmi için çok büyük öneme sahip olan, İstanbul Karaköy'deki Galataport İstanbul cruise limanı Nisan 2020'de açılıyor. İlk cruise gemisinin 5 Nisan 2020'de yanaşacağı limana 2020 boyunca 64, 2021'de ise şu ana kadar yapılan rezervasyonlarla toplamda 145 geminin geleceği açıklandı. 2022 yılında Galataport cruise limanına 500 geminin yanaşması hedefleniyor. Yıl boyunca 1.2 milyon cruise turistinın ağırlanması beklenirken, Gemi mürettebatıyla bu sayının 1.5 milyon olacağı ifade ediliyor. 1.2 kilometrelik uzunluğa sahip sahil şeridinde çalışmalar devam ederken, Doğuş Grubu Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı ve CEO'su Ferit Şahenk ve Bilgili Holding Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Serdar Bilgili'nin katılımıyla gerçekleştirilen toplantıda proje ile ilgili ayrıntılar paylaşıldı.

1.7 MİLYAR DOLAR YATIRIM

Doğuş Grubu ile Bilgili Holding ortaklığında gerçekleşen Galataport İstanbul projesini "Türkiye ve İstanbul için bir pırlanta, Doğuş Grubu için ise bir ustalık dönemi eseri" olarak tanımlayan Şahenk, "Şehrimizin en büyüleyici noktalarından biri uzun yıllardan bu yana bizlere kapalıydı. Galataport ile birlikte güzel İstanbul'umuza bambaşka bir açıdan daha kavuşmuş oluyoruz. 2013 yılında o zaman ki adıyla Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer Liman ihalesine girerken de ana amacımız tarihi yarımadanın bir uzantısı olan, Boğaz'ın bu eşsiz sahil şeridini İstanbullulara ve şehrin tüm

ziyaretçilerine kazandırmaktı. Tam 200 yıldır halka kapalı olan 1.2 km’lik sahil şeridi halka açılıyor. İhale bedeli dahil toplam 1.7 milyar dolarlık bir yatırımla gerçekleştirdiğimiz Galataport, 2020’de kapılarını açıyor” diye konuştu.

TERMİNAL YERALTINDA

Dünyada ilk defa yolcuların yerin altında karşılanacağı, gümrüklü ve gümrüksüz alanların değişken şekilde ayrılabilmesi, şehrin tarihi ve kültürel açıdan zengin kısmında mürettebat dahil yılda 1.5 milyon cruise ziyaretçisini ağırlayacak bir kruvaziyer limanı inşa ettiklerini ifade eden Şahenk, “Bir ‘ana liman’ olarak konumlanan Galataport İstanbul; Akdeniz çanağından Karadeniz’e kadar geniş bir coğrafyada da kruvaziyer turizmine hareketlilik getirecek. Yılda 7 milyonu yabancı turist olmak üzere 25 milyon kişiyi ağırlayacak” dedi.

YENİ SOSYALLEŞME ALANI OLACAK

BİLGİLİ Holding Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Serdar Bilgili de konuşmasında “5 yıl süren zorlu bir mücadeleden geçtik. İstanbul Galataport’tan sonra çok daha çağdaş bir şehir olacak. Projenin en büyük etkisi İstanbul halkının kapalı AVM’lerde sosyalleşme mecburiyetinin bitip tarihin ve sanatın ortasında aileleriyle birlikte sosyalleşmelerini sağlayacak bir proje olmasıdır” dedi.

5 BİN KİŞİYE İSTİHDAM

DOĞUŞ Grubu Yönetim Kurulu Başkan Vekili Hüsnü Akhan, “Galataport İstanbul, kültür-sanattan gastronomiye, turizmden alışverişe kadar pek çok farklı fonksiyona sahip olacak. Mağaza ve yeme-içme birimleri için ayrılan kiralanabilir alan toplamı yaklaşık 52 bin metrekare. Ofis alanları ise, tarih boyunca finans, sigorta ve bankacılık merkezi olmuş bu bölgede yaklaşık 43 bin metrekarelik kiralanabilir alana sahip. Yeni terminal, dünyada ilk kez uygulanacak bir teknik ile zemin altında toplam 29 bin metrekarede kurgulanıyor. Kruvaziyer limanının, kafe ve restoranların, ulusal ve

uluslararası birçok markaya ev sahipliği yapacak mağazaların ve otelin açılmasıyla birlikte yaklaşık 5 bin kişiye istihdam imkanı sağlanacak” ifadelerini kullandı.

1.02 MİLYAR EURO’LUK KREDİYE YAPILANDIRMA

GALATAPORT projesi için bankalardan alınan 1 milyar 20 milyon Euro’luk kredinin yeniden yapılandırılması için görüşmeler yaptıklarını ifade eden Hüsnü Akhan, sözlü mutabakata vardıklarını söyledi. Son ödeme tarihinde bir değişiklik talepleri olmadığını belirten Akhan, “Son ödeme 2030’da olacak. Yeniden vadelendirme talebimiz, inşaat sürecinin uzamasından kaynaklı” diye konuştu.

3 METRELİK KAPAKLAR AÇILACAK

GEMİ ile gelen yolcular, yer altındaki terminale 3 metrelik kapakların açılmasıyla giriş yapacak. Yolcuların işlemleri yeraltında tamamlanacak. Kapak sistemi ve buna bağlı yer altındaki terminalin büyüklüğü 29 bin metrekarelik olacak. Limanda gemi olmadığı zamanlarda gümrüklü alanı ve güvenlik (ISPS) alanını ayıran kapak sistemi sayesinde sahanın yer üstü alanının tamamı, halkın hizmetinde olacak.

‘YENİKAPI İÇİN DE İHALEYE GİREBİLİRİZ’

İSTANBUL’da önümüzdeki yıllarda açılması planlanan Yenikapı Cruise Limanı ile ilgili olarak da değerlendirmelerde bulunan Hüsnü Akhan, şunları söyledi: “Ön projelendirme çalışmaları devam diyor. İhale açıldığında o günkü koşullar çerçevesinde bu ihaleye girmeyi düşünebiliriz” dedi. Ferit Şahenk de, “Biz bu projelere Türkiye için bakıyoruz. İstanbul’a çok daha fazla cruise gemisi gelmesini bekliyoruz. Rekabet olabilir. Burası da yeni yapılması planlanan liman da Türkiye’ye hizmet edecek” diye konuştu.

OTEL YATIRIMININ YARISI PENİNSULA’DAN

HONG Kong menşeli ve dünyada 9 oteli bulunan Peninsula Grubu’nun da limanda yer alacağını söyleyen Ferit Şahenk, “Onuncu otel ya İstanbul’da ya da Londra’da

açılacak. Ayrıca Peninsula sadece işletmeci olarak değil, yatırımcı olarak da İstanbul'a geliyor. 177 odalı projedeki yatırımın yüzde 50'si Peninsula tarafından yapılıyor" dedi.

III. Yıkılması tepki toplamıştı Son hali böyle görüntülendi

KAMUOYUNDA Galataport adıyla binilen Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer limanı projesi tüm hızıyla sürüyor. Yıkılması tepkilere neden olan tarihi yolcu salonunun olduğu bölümde çalışmaların hızlandığı görülürken, proje içinde yer alan İstanbul Modern binasının önümüzdeki günlerde Beyoğlu'na taşınmasının ardından 4 nolu antreponun da yıkılacağı öğrenildi.

Karaköy Rıhtımından Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Fındıklı Kampüsüne kadar uzanan 1.2 kilometrelik sahil şeridinde çalışmalar 2016 yılı sonunda başlamıştı. Önce limanın Karaköy bölgesinde bulunan tek ve iki katlı yolcu kabul ve pasaport işlemlerinin yapıldığı eski binalar ve antrepoların yıkım işi tamamlanmıştı.

Daha önce yenileme ve güçlendirme yapılması planlanan Tarihi Karaköy Ana Yolcu salonu da yıkılan binalar arasına katılmıştı. 2002 yılında Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Koruma Kurulu tarafından Korunması gereken kültür varlığı" olarak tescil edilen tarihi binanın yıkılması bazı sivil toplum kuruluşlarının tepkisine neden olmuştu. İnşaatı yapan firma tarafından aslına uygun bir şekilde yeniden yapılacağı açıklanan binadan geriye yol tarafında bulunan küçük bir kısım ayakta kalmıştı.

İSTANBUL MODERN'İN BİNASI DA YIKILACAK

Proje alanında çalışmalar hızla sürerken alan içinde yer alan İstanbul Modern'in de yeni adresi belli oldu. 4 numaralı antrepoda faaliyetlerini sürdüren İstanbul Modernin 18 Mart tarihinde Beyoğlu, Meşrutiyet caddesindeki eski Union Française binasına

taşınacağı öğrenildi. Müzenin taşınmasının ardından İstanbul Modern binasının bulunduğu antreponun da yıkılacağı ve yerine yenisinin yapılacağı belirtildi.

DEV YOLCU GEMİLERİNİ AĞIRLAMASI PLANLANIYOR

Çalışmaların tamamlanmasını ardından yeni inşa edilecek kruvaziyer gemilere yönelik terminal eskisinin iki katından daha büyük olacak. Terminal yer altına alınacak. Proje tamamlandığında İstanbul limanına 6 binden daha fazla yolcu kapasiteli dev yolcu gemileri yanaşabilecek. Projeye Tophane Meydanı'nın İstanbul'un en büyük meydanlarından biri olması planlanıyor.

IV. Galataport'a Mühür

İhalesi, projesi, davaları ve yapımı 12 yıldır yılan hikayesine dönen Galataport projesinde inşaat durduruldu. İstanbul 2 Numaralı Kültür Varlıkları Koruma Kurulu incelemesinde 'Paket Postanesi' ve 'Karaköy Yolcu Salonu'nda yıkım şekli ve iletilen tadilat projesinin uygun olmadığına karar verip suç duyurusunda bulunuldu. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi ise projeye aykırımı uygulamalar sebebiyle inşaatı mühürledi.

DOĞUŞ Grubu'nun Bilgili Holding ile ortak olduğu ve geçtiğimiz yıl yapımına başladığı Galataport projesinde 'Karaköy Yolcu Salonu' ile 'Paket Postane'nin yıkılması üzerine Cumhuriyet Savcılığına suç duyurusunda bulunan İstanbul 2 Numaralı Koruma Kurulu üyeleri, projeyi yerinde inceleyerek inşaatı durdurdu.

Kurul, inceleme sonucunda suç teşkil eden uygulamaları yazarken, 'Paket Postanesi' için şirketin verdiği tadilat projesini kabul etmediğini, 'Karaköy Yolcu Salonu'nda elle sökülmesi gereken yerlerin ise iş makinası ile yıkıldığını tespit etti. Diğer yandan İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (İBB) İmar Müdürlüğü'nün de projeye aykırı uygulamalar gerekçesiyle tadilat tutanağı ile inşaat çalışmalarını mühürlediği ortaya çıktı.

YASAL İŞLEM BAŞLATILMIŞTI

Galataport projesini yürüten Salıpazarı Liman İşletmeciliği A.Ş., Karaköy Yolcu Salonu ve tarihi Paket Postanesi binasını iş makineleri ile yıkmıştı. 1940'lı yıllarda yapılan Karaköy Yolcu Salonu 2002 yılında Koruma Kurulu tarafından 'Korunması gerekli kültür varlığı' olarak tescillemişti. 2015 yılında ise kurul, yapının koruma grubunu 1 olarak belirledi.

Paket Postanesi de 1907-1911 yılları arasında Gümrük Binası olarak inşa edilmişti. Koruma Kurulu tarafından Paket Postanesi'nin de tescili yapılmıştı. Tarihi binaların, Koruma Kurulu'nun geçen sene 9 Haziran tarihinde onayladığı restorasyon projesine aykırı şekilde yıkılması büyük tepki çekerken Kurul 8 Mart'ta sorumlular hakkında suç duyurusunda bulundu.

DIŞ DUVARLAR ZAYIFLADI

Kurul üyeleri Galataport projesini 6 Nisan günü yerinde inceledi. Şehir plancısı Ahmet Kaya'nın başkanlığında inşaat alanını gezen 6 kurul üyesi projeye aykırı uygulamaları tespit etti. Şirketin yıktığı tescilli Paket Postanesi ile ilgili kurula gönderilen tadilat restorasyon projesini reddeden kurul, mevcut durumun tespiti için güncel rölövenin getirilmesini talep etti. Kurul ayrıca yapıyı çevreleyen dış duvarların yıkım esnasında zarar gördüğünü düşünerek duvarların strüktür (yük taşıma gücü) raporlarının hazırlanmasını istedi.

BELEDİYENİN GEREKÇELERİ

KORUMU Kurulu'nun dışında İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi İmar Müdürlüğü'nün de geçen ay denetlediği Galataport inşaatı için "yapı tatil tutanağı" düzenlediği ortaya çıktı. 3194 sayılı İmar kanununun 32 ve 42 maddelerine göre inşaat mühürlenerek tatil edildi. Belediyenin tutanağına şu gerekçe yazıldı; "Söz konusu yerde yapılan mahallen tetkikte İstanbul 2 Numaralı Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma

Kurulu'nun 09.06.2016 tarih 4459 sayılı kararı ile onaylanan restorasyon projesi ve müdahale paftasına aykırı olarak dış cepheler haricindeki iç aksamalarda korunması gereken bazı yapı elemanlarının yıkıldığı tespit edilmiştir.”

1.2 MİLYAR EURO KREDİ ALINDI

GALATAPORT adıyla bilinen Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer Limanı Projesi, aslında 1995'te Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı döneminde ortaya çıktı. Karaköy'de Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri'ne ait liman sahasının yenilenmesi için ortaya çıkan proje için özelleştirilme kararı ilk defa 2002'de alındı. İlk ihale Eylül 2005'te Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri'nce gerçekleştirdi. Bu ihaleyi Sami Ofer'in ortak olduğu Royal Caribbean Cruises'un yer aldığı konsorsiyum kazandı.

Ofer-Global ortaklığı Galataport ihalesini 3.5 milyar Euro teklifle kazanırken, proje için 401 milyon Euro'luk yatırım önerdi. Ancak İstanbul Şehir Plancıları Odası imar değişikliğinin iptali için dava açtı. Danıştay 6. Dairesi bu imar değişikliğini onaylayan Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı'nın kararının yürürlüğünü oybirliğiyle durdurarak iptal etti. Plan değişikliği ile İkinci ihale Özelleştirme İdaresi Başkanlığı tarafından 16 Mayıs 2013 tarihinde yapıldı. İhaleyi Doğu Grubu 702 milyon dolarlık teklif ile kazandı.

Fiyatın düşmesinin nedeni, sürenin 30 yıla inmesi ve imar planında yapılan kat oranlarındaki değişikliklerdi. Ocak 2014'de Doğu Grubu, Bilgili Holding İLE Galataport'ta ortaklığa giderek Salıpazarı Liman İşletmeciliği ve Yatırımları A.Ş.'yi kurdu. İki grup geçtiğimiz yıl Galataport projesi için 1 milyar 20 milyon Euro değerinde finansman sağlamıştı.

V. Galataport için 4.5 milyarlık imzalar atıldı

Doğuş Grubu ve Bilgili Holding ortaklığında yapılan Galataport projesinde finansman için imza töreni yapıldı.

Törende konuşan Doğuş Grubu CEO'su Hüsnü Akhan şunları söyledi: "Ülkemizin potansiyeline inanan bir grup olarak uzun vadeli bir bakış açısıyla projeleri hayata geçiriyoruz. Özel sektörün canlılığı ve ekonominin güçlü potansiyeli gibi avantajlara odaklanan hızlı büyüme ve yatırım sürecimiz bu yıl da devam ediyor. Öncelikli stratejimiz yurt içi ve yurt dışında değer yaratmak.

2018'İN SON ÇEYREĞİNDE TAMAMLANMASI HEDEFLENİYOR

Altı yerli bankanın katılımıyla 1,02 milyar Euro finansman sağlandı. Galataport projesinin finansmanı 3,5 yıl anapara ödemesiz toplam 14 yıl vadeli olacak şekilde imzalandı. İstanbul'un tarihi açıdan en önemli noktalarından birinde yer alan projenin 2018'in son çeyreğinde tamamlanmasını hedeflemekteyiz. Bir liman sahası olmasının yanı sıra yepyeni bir yaşam alanı olması için toplam 4,5 milyar liralık yatırım yapacağız.

9 BİN 500 KİŞİYE İSTİHDAM

Galataport projesi içinde barındırdığı faaliyet alanı ve yatırım ile ülke turizmine de önemli katkılar yapacak. Yılda 3 milyon kruvaziye olmak üzere 7 milyon yabancı ziyaretçiyle Turizm gelirine 5 milyar liralık turizme katkı sağlamasını bekliyoruz. 20-25 milyon yerli ziyaretçinin Galataport'a gelmesini bekliyoruz. İnşaat süresince 5 bin kişiye, proje bittiğinde 4 bin 500 kişiye istihdam öngörüyoruz. Binaların cephelerinde şehir silüetini bozacak yapısal değişiklik olmayacak. Tophane Saat Kulesi ve Nusretiye Camii'nin olduğu bölge tarihi dokuya uygun olarak yeniden kullanıma sunulacak. 250 yıldan bu yana halkın kullanımına kapalı olan rıhtım halka açılacak.

HONG KONG'DAN 500 MİLYON LİRALIK YABANCI YATIRIM

Hong Kong kökenli Peninsula Hotels ile Karaköy tarafındaki tarihi binalar için bir anlaşma yaptık. Otel projesinde tarihi binalar korunacak ve aslına uygun halde yenilenecek. Peninsula grubu yüzde 50 hissedar olarak otel projesinde yer alacak. Projeye 500 milyon TL tutarında doğrudan yabancı yatırım söz konusu olacak. Bu marke ilk kez Türkiye pazarına girmiş olacak.

Liman tarafında dünyada ilk kez uygulanacak ve zemin altında çalışacak gemi körük sistemi hedeflemekteyiz. Terminal alanına yolcular tünel aracılığıyla ulaşacak. Pasaport ve gümrük işlemleri zemin altında çözülecek. Galataport 112 bin metrekarelik planlama alanına, 10 bin metrekarelik rıhtım alanına, 20 bin metrekarelik terminal inşaat alanına sahip. 30 bin metrekarelik alan yeşil alan olacak."

BİLGİLİ: İSTANBUL'UN SOSYAL YAŞANTISI DEĞİŞECEK

Bilgili Holding Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Serdar Bilgili törendeki konuşmasında şöyle konuştu: "Doğuş Holding turizm yatırımlarında yiyecek içecek ve eğlence sektöründe en büyüklerden bir tanesi. Galataport İstanbul'un en önemli gayrimenkul projesi. İstanbul'un tüm sosyal yaşantısını değiştirecek."

ŞAHENK: TÜRKİYE'NİN EN ÖNEMLİ GAYRİMENKUL PROJESİ

Doğuş Grubu Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Ferit Şahenk konuşmasında şunları söyledi: "Bu projenin Türkiye için çok büyük önemi var. Türkiye'ye katacağı değer bakımından çok önemli. Galataport belki de Türkiye'nin en önemli gayrimenkul projesi. Projenin finansmanı altı güzide Türk bankası tarafından sağlanması bu dönemde çok önemli. Finansmanın ölçeği, vadesi bizlerin ve finans sektörünün gücünü göstermesi bakımından önemli. Bugünkü imza töreni Türk iş alemi olarak nereden nereye geldiğimizi göstermesi açısından bir gurur vesilesidir.

Projenin iki hedefini vurgulamak istiyorum. İlk olarak 200 yıldır İstanbul halkının erişimine kapalı liman sahası kullanıma açılacak. İkinci olarak kruvaziyer turizminde İstanbul hak ettiği yere yükselecek. Galataport tamamlanma sürecinde ve hayata geçtiğinde yaratacağı binlerce iş olanağına ek olarak 500 milyon TL doğrudan yabancı yatırıma vesile olacak. "

BANKA MÜDÜRLERİ NE DEDİ?

Ziraat Bankası Genel Müdürü Hüseyin Aydın konuşmasında "Elimizden gelen gayreti gösteriyoruz. İstanbul'a Türkiye'ye güvenen herkese biz de güveniyoruz. Böyle bir projede Ziraat olarak bulunduğumuz için mutluluk yaşıyoruz" dedi.

İş Bankası Genel Müdürü Adnan Bali "Çok önemli bir proje. Tarihi doku açısından, turizm açısından önemli bir proje. Ülkenin geleceğine ilişkin en ufak bir kaygımız yok" diye konuştu.

Yapı Kredi Bankası Genel Müdürü Faik Açıkalm, "En büyük finansör olarak yer almaktan büyük mutluluk duyuyoruz. Bizler Türkiye'nin parlak ve güçlü geleceğine yürekten inanıyoruz" ifadelerini kullandı.

Finansbank Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Ömer Aras, "Olağanüstü dönemde bu olağanüstü projeyi finanse etmekten gurur duyuyoruz. Böyle bir yerin bir ikincisi yok, çok önemli. Sosyal dokusu itibariyle çok inandığımız bir proje. Biz hissedar değiştirdik, bu projeyi onlara da anlattık" dedi.

TSKB Genel Müdürü Suat İnce de "Bu projede yer almaktan onur duyuyoruz. Projenin bulunduğu bölgeye yapılacak yatırımları hayal edince ayrı bir heyecan duydum" diye konuştu.

Garanti Bankası Genel Müdürü Ali Fuat Erbil şunları kaydetti: "Biz Garanti olarak böyle güzide projede olmaktan büyük gurur duyuyoruz. Emeği geçen herkese teşekkür ediyoruz. Ülkemizin çok önemli yatırımlara ihtiyacı var. Bu sosyal, kültürel ve tarihi anlamda bir ilki temsil ediyor. Çıkacak eseri tahmin bile edemiyorum. Daha fazla projeye ihtiyacımız var, biz de bankalar olarak destek olmaya devam edeceğiz."

VI. Galataport davasında Danıştay Savcısı da 'kamu yararına aykırı' dedi

Kamuoyunda "Galataport" olarak bilinen Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer Liman Alanı imar planlarının iptaline ilişkin Danıştay 6. Daire'de görülen davada, Danıştay Savcısı, bilirkişi ile aynı fikire vardı. Planların kamu yararı taşımadığını ifade eden savcılık, görüşlerinde bilirkişi raporunda yer alan "1 kilometre uzunluğundaki kıyının özelleştirilmesi nedeniyle, tüm alanın kamuya kapatılacağı" savına da yer verdi.

Doğuş Holding'e ait Karaköy Sahili'nde otel, restoran, cafe ve mağazalardan oluşan Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer Limanı projesine ait planların iptaline ilişkin TMMOB Mimarlar, Şehir Plancıları ve İnşaat Mühendisleri Odaları tarafından 2012 yılında açılan ve Danıştay 6. Dairesi'nde görülen davada, Başsavcılığın da görüşleri dava dosyasına girdi. 30 Eylül 2015 tarihinde görüşlerini bildiren savcılık, bilirkişinin 3 Nisan 2015 tarihinde hazırladığı rapora atıfta bulunarak, planların 'kamu yararı taşımadığına' yönelik fikir bildirdi.

Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü öğretim üyeleri Prof. Dr. İclal Dinçer ve Prof. Dr. Zeynep Enlil ile İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi İnşaat Mühendisliği Bölümü öğretim üyesi Prof. Dr. Şevket Çokgör tarafından hazırlanan 94 sayfalık bilirkişi raporunda da 'dava konusu işlemin şehircilik ilkelerine, planlama esaslarına ve kamu yararına uygun olmadığı' kanaatine yer verilmişti.

KAMU YARARINA UYARLIK GÖRÜLMEMEKTEDİR

İstanbul'un en önemli alanlarından biri olan Karaköy Sahili'nde bulunan alana ilişkin planların, gelecekteki gelişmesini de saptayarak hazırlanması gerektiğini vurgulayan Danıştay Başsavcılığı, planların belirsizlikten uzak, net bir bakış açısına sahip olması gerektiğinin altını çizdi. Tanım, araç ve yöntemin 'kuşkuya yer bırakmayacak' bir şekilde açıkça belirtilmesi gerektiğinin ifade edildiği görüşte şu ifadelere yer verildi: "Esnek ifadelerle plan tanımının ve işlevini tartışmalı hale getiren plan notlarında tanımlanan ancak uygulamada karşılığı olmayan belirsiz hedefler içeren ve bu haliyle uygulamada birçok sıkıntıya yol açabilecek nitelikte olan dava konusu planlarda planlama tekniklerine, imar mevzuatına ve kamu yararına uyarlık görülmemektedir".

BELİRSİZ İFADELER YER ALIYOR

Başsavcılık makamı adına görüş bildiren Danıştay Savcısı Halil Kamil Yüksel, söz konusu imar planlarının belirsiz ibareler taşıdığına dikkat çekerek, "Planların iptaline karar verilmesi gerektiği düşünülmektedir" ifadelerine yer verdi. Savcı Yüksel'in atıfta bulunduğu bilirkişi raporunda da, belirsizliğe yönelik eleştiriler bulunuyordu. Bölge sit alanı olduğu halde, planın koruma amaçlı imar planı koşullarına uygun hazırlanmadığının belirtildiği bilirkişi raporunda, işlev ve yoğunluğa ilişkin ibarelerin belirsiz olduğu, "kullanılabilir", "yer alabilir" gibi esnek ifadelerin bulunduğu ifade ediliyordu.

KIYI ÖZELLEŞTİRME NEDENİYLE KAPATILIYOR

Öte yandan Danıştay Başsavcılığı, bilirkişi raporunda yer alan ifadeleri hatırlatarak, Özelleştirme Yüksek Kurulu plan onayında dolgu alanı yer almamasına rağmen davaya konu olan imar planlarında yol olarak belirlenen alanın dolgu alanı olarak

görülmesine dikkat çekti. Kıyı Kenar Çizgisinin belirlenmediğinin belirtildiği görüşte, bilirkişi raporunda yer alan "1 kilometre uzunluğa ulaşan tüm kıyının özelleştirilmesi nedeniyle tüm alanın kamuya kapatılması anlamına gelmektedir" ifadelerine vurgu yapıldı.

VII. Galataport ile ilgili açıklama

Bugün Galataport projesinin ÇED toplantısı protesto gösterileriyle birlikte yapılamazken şirketten proje ile ilgili basın açıklaması geldi.

Salıpazarı Liman İşletmeciliği ve Yatırımları A.Ş., hayata geçirmeyi planladığı Galataport Projesi kapsamında bölgede yapılması planlanan düzenlemeler ve projenin içerik bilgi verdi.

Buna göre Galataport ile halihazırda gümrüklü saha ve antrepo alanları olarak kullanılan ve halka kapalı olan proje sahası da farklı hizmet noktalarıyla hayata geçirilecek. Proje alanının yarısından çoğu olan 60.000 metrekarenin üzerinde bir alan, halkın kullanımına açık meydan, sahil bulvarı, yürüyüş yolları ve yeşil alan olarak düzenlenecek.

TOPLANTIYI BASTILAR

Şirket binaların arasında oluşturulan sadece yayalara açık sokaklardan, Boğaz'a görsel ve fiziksel erişim sağlanması hedeflendiğini belirtti. Projenin maksimum bina yüksekliğinin de mevcut durumdan daha düşük olacağı açıklandı. Galataport sahası içerisinde yer alan tescilli binaların restorasyonu ile tarihi binaları şehre geri kazandırılacağını açıklayan şirket meydanı süsleyen saat kulesi ve şehrin silüetinde önemli yer teşkil eden Merkez Han, Karaköy Yolcu Salonu, Çinili Han ve Paket Postanesi gibi tarihi binaların da restorasyon kapsamında olduğunu söyledi.

Şirketten yapılan açıklamada şöyle denildi:

"Galataport, İstanbul'un yeni kültür-sanat merkezi olacak. İstanbul Modern yönetimiyle işbirliği içerisinde yenilenecek olan müze, aynı lokasyonda, şimdikinden daha geniş sergi kapasitesi ve daha fonksiyonel alanları ile sanatseverlere hizmet vermeye devam edecek. Türkiye'de bir ilk ve coğrafyasının en büyüğü olarak tasarlanan Çocuk Bilim ve Keşif Müzesi de Galataport'ta hayat bulacak. Ayrıca, Galataport'un meydanları ve tüm açık alanları açık hava sergi ve enstalasyon sahası olarak kullanılacak. Galataport'ta sanat hem içeride hem dışarıda kendine yer bulacak, şehrin kültüre açılan kapısı olacak. Proje alanında yer alacak olan kruvaziyer limanı, İstanbul ve Türkiye'nin dünyaya denizden açılan kapısı olmaya, artık dünya standartlarında devam edecek. Yer üstünde halkı ve turistleri Boğaz'la buluşturmayı kesintisiz sürdürebilmek için yer altına inşa edilecek olan yeni terminal, gerek turist otobüslerine ve taksilere, gerekse de bölgeye gelenlere hizmet verecek yeraltı otoparkları ile de desteklenecek."

VIII. Limanların efendisi

Haydarpaşa Limanı'nın karşısında bulunan Salıpazarı Liman Sahası'nın ihalesini 702 milyon dolarla en yüksek teklifi veren Ferit Şahenk'in başında bulunduğu Doğuş Holding kazandı. 2005'teki ilk ihalede ise fiyat 4.3 milyar dolar olmuş ancak ihale iptal edilmişti. Bu düşüşün arkasında 5 önemli neden var.

Son dönemde yaptığı marina yatırımları ile dikkati çeken Doğuş Holding'in Türkiye'nin en önemli limanlarından birini 30 yıl süreyle işletecek. Salıpazarı'na yaklaşık 400 milyon dolarlık da yatırım yapılacaktır.

ÖZELLEŞTİRME İdaresi Başkanlığı (ÖİB) tarafından ihale edilen Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri AŞ'ye ait Salıpazarı Liman Sahası'nın ihalesinde 702 milyon Dolar ile en

yüksek teklifi Doğu Holding verdi. Son dönemde yaptığı marina yatırımları ile dikkati çeken Doğu Holding, böylece İstanbul'un en önemli limanlarından birini işletecek.

Doğu Holding, limana yaklaşık 400 milyon dolarlık yatırım yapmayı planlıyor.

İlk kez Galataport adıyla 2005 yılında ihaleye çıkan ve en yüksek 4.3 milyar Euro teklifin verildiği ihale Danıştay tarafından 2006 yılında iptal edilmişti. Dün düzenlenen ihale ile ilk ihale arasında önemli bir fiyat farkı var. Ancak iki ihaleyi birebir kıyaslamak doğru değil. İlk ihale 49 yıllığına yap-işlet-devret modeliyle düzenlenirken, yeni ihale 30 yıl süreyle “işletme hakkı verilmesi” yöntemiyle yapıldı. Yeni limanda, konut inşa edilemeyecek olması, fiyatı aşağı çekti.

375 MİLYON DOLARLA BAŞLADI

Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri A.Ş.'ye ait Salıpazarı Liman Sahası'nın 30 yıl süreyle “işletme hakkı verilmesi” yöntemiyle özelleştirilmesi ihalesi için 20 firma şartname almış, 30 Nisan'da yapılan ilk oturumda Doğu Holding, Alsim Alarko, Polimeks-Folkart-Sembol, Torunlar GYO, Global Yatırım Holding-Özak GYO-Delta Proje teklif vermişti. Özelleştirme İdaresinde Ahmet Aksu'nun komisyon başkanlığında dün düzenlenen ihalede bu 5 firma yarıştı. İhalenin nihai pazarlık görüşmesinde ilk olarak kapalı elemesiz teklifler alındı. Elemesiz turda en yüksek teklif 375 milyon dolar oldu. Ardından ilk elemeli tura geçildi ve en düşük teklifi veren Polimeks-Folkart-Sembol Ortak Girişim Grubu elendi. Bu turda, en yüksek teklif 525 milyon dolar oldu. İkinci elemeli yazılı turda ise en düşük teklifi veren Torunlar GYO elendi.

TÜRKİYE TARİHİNİN DEV ÖZELLEŞTİRMELERİ

1 MİLYON DOLAR ARTTI

İkinci elemeli turun ardından, Doğuş Holding, Alsim Alarko ve Global Yatırım Holding-Özak GYO-Delta Proje arasında açık artırmaya geçildi. Ahmet Aksu, açık artırmada başlangıç tutarı 701 milyon dolar, artırım aralığı ise 1 milyon dolar olarak açıklarken, sürenin ise bir saat olacağını söyledi. Açık artırmada ilk sırada olan Doğuş Holding, bir artırım yapmadan ilk molayı istedi. Bu sırada Alsim Alarko da mola istedi ancak, Doğuş'un moladan dönmesinin ardından molaya aldılar. İki kuruluşun da moladan dönmesinin ardından Doğuş Holding CEO'su Hüsnü Akhan, 1 milyon dolarlık artırım yaparak, teklifi 702 milyon dolara çıkardı. Bu artırımın ardından önce Alsim Alarko ardından da Global Yatırım Holding-Özak GYO-Delta Proje ihaleden çekildi. Böylece Doğuş Holding, 702 milyon dolar ile en yüksek teklifi vermiş oldu.

İstanbul'un değerine değer katacak proje

İHALENİN ardından soruları yanıtlayan Doğuş Holding CEO'su Hüsnü Akhan, İstanbul'un son 10 yılda Türkiye'nin göz kamaştırıcı performansına paralel bir marka kent olduğunu belirterek, "Biz de, bu markanın değerine değer katacak bir proje ile kamuoyunun karşısına çıkacağız" dedi. 3 yıl içinde yaklaşık 130 bin metrekare inşaat alanı olan projede hem yenilenen hem de yenibaştan yapılacak ofis ve alışveriş merkezinden oluşan bir proje yapacaklarını belirten Akhan, 350-400 milyon dolar yatırım öngördüklerini söyledi.

TAKSİTLE ÖDEYEBİLİR

Özelleştirme İdaresi'nin ödeme konusunda kendilerine peşin ve taksitli olmak üzere iki opsiyon sunduğunu ifade eden Akhan, "İlk opsiyonda tamamı peşin, ikinci opsiyonda ise yüzde 20'si peşin, iki yıl ödemesiz, 4 yıl libor+2.5 faiz üzerinden taksit

ödeme imkanı var. Tahmin ediyorum, peşin yerine taksitli ödemeyi tercih edebiliriz” diye konuştu. Akhan, İstanbul’un 2020 olimpiyatlarına adaylığı düşünüldüğünde projenin de olimpiyatlar gibi kentin marka değerine katkı sağlamasının öncelikleri olduğunu belirtti. Akhan, “Olayın ticari boyutuna baktığımızda bizi de tatmin edecek bir geri dönüşü olacağını bekliyoruz” diye konuştu.

İhale 4.3 milyar dolardan 702 milyona neden düştü

İKİ ihale arasındaki fark 3.6 milyar dolar ancak iki ihaleyi birebir kıyaslamak doğru değil. 2005 yılındaki ihale 49 yıllığına yap-işlet-devret modeliyle yapıldı. Yeni ihale 30 yıl süreyle “işletme hakkı verilmesi” yöntemiyle yapıldı. Aradaki fiyat farkını belirleyen en önemli etkenlerden birisi ise limanda konut inşa edilemeyecek olması ayrıca Önceki ihalede 2 olan emsal değer 1.5’e düşürüldü yani kapalı inşaat alanı yüzde 25 azaltıldı. 8 yıl önceki ihaleyi Musevi işadamı Sami Offer 3.5 milyar Euro’ya yaklaşık 4.3 milyar dolara kazanmıştı. İki ihalenin ödeme şartları da farklı 2005’teki ihalede ödeme 49 yıla yayılarak yıllık 87.7 milyon dolar olarak belirlenmişti. Yeni ihale ise peşin ödeme şeklinde yapıldı. Ancak ihaleyi kazanan Doğu grubunun ödemeyi 6 taksitte yapacağı belirtiliyor. 2005’teki ihalede ödemeler kiralama süresinin sonunda yapılıyordu. Bu ihalede ise başından itibaren yapılacak.

Torun: Endişe duymuyorum

İHALEDEN elenen Torunlar GYO’nun Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Aziz Torun ise, “Alamadıklarımıza üzülmiyoruz. Doğu Holding’in almasına da sevindim. Doğu’un alması nedeniyle, projenin gerçekleşmesi açısından bir endişe duymuyorum” diye konuştu.

Danıştay’dan dönmüştü

SALIPAZARI Liman Sahası için ilk ihale, Galataport adıyla 2005’te yapıldı. Yap-işlet-devret modeliyle, 49 yıllık işletme hakkını kapsayan ihalede en yüksek teklifi 4.3

milyar dolar ile Global Yatırım Holding, Sami Ofer ortaklığı vermişti. İhale, Danıştay tarafından iptal edilmişti.

Adı neden Galataport değil?

Salı Pazarı Limanı ihalesi ‘Galataport’ adıyla yapılamadı. Mehmet Ferec Balcı ve Hayati Şanlı adlı girişimciler ‘Galataport’un isim haklarını almıştı. Şanlı, bunun ticari girişim olduğunu belirtmiş, ihale aşamasında isim hakkını satabileceğini söylemişti.



Appendix B: Turkish Versions of Sabah Newspaper News

I. İstanbul'un Dünyaya açılan yeni kapısı olacak Galataport Projesi'nde sona yaklaşıldı

Dünyanın en büyük sahil şeridi projelerinden birisi olan Galataport Projesi'nde sona yaklaşıldı. Turizmden kültür sanata, gastronomiden alışverişe kadar hayatın her alanına dokunacak olan Galataport Projesi'nde çalışmalar aralıksız devam ediyor. Covid 19 virüs salgını nedeniyle inşaat çalışmaları bir süreliğine yavaşlayan projede, normalleşme süreciyle birlikte çalışmalar yeniden hızlandı. Karaköy sahil şeridinde 200 yıl sonra erişim imkanı verecek projenin bir yıl içerisinde tamamlanması hedefleniyor.

Beyoğlu Belediyesi ile Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı işbirliğinde hayata geçirilen 'Beyoğlu Kültür Yolu Projesi'nin başlangıç noktası olan Galataport Projesi'nin inşaat alanını ziyaret eden Beyoğlu Belediye Başkanı Haydar Ali Yıldız çalışmalarla ilgili bilgi aldı.

BEYOĞLU KÜLTÜR YOLU PROJESİ'NİN BAŞLANGIÇ NOKTASI

Galataport Projesi'nin İstanbul'un yükselen yeni değerlerinden birisi olduğunu belirten Başkan Yıldız, "Yerli ve yabancı turistlere hizmet etmesi bakımından, yabancı gemilerin buraya gelip buradan İstanbul'a, ülkemizi ziyaret edecek olmaları Galataport Projesi'ni fevkalade önemli kılıyor. Galataport'un bir bölümü zaten hizmet verecek aşamaya gelmişti.

Şu anda bulunduğumuz alanda İstanbul Modern'in inşaatı devam ediyor. Proje tamamlandığında İstanbul'un, Türkiye'nin ve tabii ki Beyoğlumuzun gözbebeği olacak. Galataport, Beyoğlu Belediyesi olarak Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığımız ile birlikte yürüttüğümüz 'Beyoğlu Kültür Yolu Projesi'nin önemli bir durağı, başlangıç noktasıdır" dedi.

"İSTANBUL'UN, BEYOĞLU'NUN TARİHİ ZENGİNLİKLERİYLE KARŞILAŞACAKLAR"

Galataport'un Türkiye'nin, İstanbul'un ve Beyoğlu'nun tarihi zenginliklerine açılan bir kapı olacağını dile getiren Başkan Yıldız, "Buradan gelen turistlerimiz kültür yolu üzerinden farklı inançlara, farklı medeniyetlere ve farklı kültürlerle ev sahipliği yapmış İstanbul'un, Beyoğlu'nun tarihi derinliğiyle, zenginlikleriyle karşılaşacaklar. Bu anlamda Galataport ilk karşılaşma yeri olarak çok önemli.

Galataport mimarisiyle, estetiğiyle tarihi yarımada, Ayasofya'ya, Topkapı Sarayı'na, Galata Kulesi'ne, Kız Kulesi'ne büyük bir zenginliğe sahip. Diğer bir taraftan da binlerce insanımıza, gencimize iş imkanı olacak, istihdam imkanı olacak. Burada yüzlerce işyeri de olacak. Dolayısıyla ciddi anlamda bir ticaret de oluşacak." ifadesini kullandı.

"16 MİLYON İSTANBULLUYA HİZMET BU ŞEKİLDE ESERLERLE OLUYOR"

Başkan Yıldız, sözlerine şöyle devam etti: "Biz hem Beyoğlu Belediyesi olarak hem de devletimiz olarak bu projeyi yakından takip ediyoruz. Sayın Cumhurbaşkanımız da bu projeyi yakından takip ediyorlar.

Proje tamamlandığında Türkiye'nin turizmine, İstanbul'umuza, Beyoğlu'muza ciddi anlamda katkı sunacak güzide noktalarından birisi olacak. İki kilometre kadar yürüyüş alanı ve 14 bin metrekare meydanı olacak. Halkımız tarihi ve kültürel zenginliği olan bu alana kolay bir şekilde gelebilecek.

Bir tarafında müzeler, diğer tarafında ticaret yerleriyle, kültür sanat noktalarıyla 16 milyon İstanbulluya hizmet bu şekilde eserlerle oluyor. Hepimizin gurur vesilesi olacak bir eser. Emeği geçen herkese çok teşekkür ediyorum."

II. Galataport İstanbul'un kruvaziyer turist sayısını 20 binden 1,5 milyona çıkaracak

İlk geminin Nisan 2020'de yanaşacağı Galataport İstanbul'un, şehrin 20 bine kadar gerileyen kruvaziyer turist sayısını eski günlerinden daha ihtişamlı hale getirerek.

Beyoğlu Güzelleştirme ve Koruma Derneği Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Nizam Hışım, AA muhabirine yaptığı açıklamada, Beyoğlu ve İstanbul'u kruvaziyer turistlerle buluşturacak, bu sektöre tekrar canlılık sağlayacak Galataport İstanbul'a ilk geminin Nisan 2020'de yanaşmasının beklendiğini bildirdi.

Galataport İstanbul'un, 1,7 milyar dolarlık yatırımla hayata geçirildiğini ve Karaköy sahil şeridinde 200 yıl sonra erişim imkanı vereceğini ifade eden Hışım, projenin önemli sayıda yerli ve yabancı turist çekeceğini vurguladı.

Hışım, projenin yılda 7 milyonu yabancı olmak üzere 25 milyon ziyaretçiyi ağırlayacağını belirterek, Galataport İstanbul'un kültürel ve sanatsal açıdan barındırdığı imkanlara işaret etti.

Projenin şehrin simgelerinden olacağını vurgulayan Hışım, Galataport İstanbul'un açılması sonrası İstanbul ve Beyoğlu'nun kruvaziyer turizmdeki çehresinin tamamen değişeceğini söyledi.

"SEKTÖRLE İLGİLİ TÜM PAYDAŞLAR GALATAPORT İSTANBUL'UN AÇILMASINI BEKLİYOR"

Nizam Hışım, İstanbul'un kruvaziyer turistte zirveyi 2014'te gördüğünü, 2014'te sadece Karaköy Limanı'ndan ağırlanan günübirlik ziyaretçi sayısının 444 bini aştığını belirterek, bu sayının 2015'te 387 bine gerilediğini, Karaköy Limanı'nın kapanmasıyla sonraki yıllarda sayının giderek düştüğünü bildirdi.

Türkiye genelinde son yıllarda kruvaziyer turizmin tekrar canlandığını ifade eden Hışım, şunları kaydetti:

"İstanbul'da da tekrar canlanma olsa da araştırmalara göre şehre gelen kruvaziyer turist sayısının bu yıl 20 binde kalacağı görülüyor. Sektörle ilgili tüm paydaşlar Galataport İstanbul'un açılmasını bekliyor. İlk geminin Nisan 2020'de yanaşacağı Galataport İstanbul'un, şehrin 20 bine kadar gerileyen kruvaziyer turist sayısını eski günlerinden daha ihtişamlı hale getirerek 1,5 milyona ulaştırması bekleniyor. Bu, önümüzdeki yıl olmasa da ertesi yıl gerçekleşecektir."

"HEM İSTANBUL HEM DE BEYOĞLU KAZANACAK"

Beyoğlu Güzelleştirme ve Koruma Derneği Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Hışım, Türkiye'nin ve İstanbul'un, kruvaziyer turizm için çok önemli bir rota olduğuna işaret ederek, İstanbul'un olduğu bir rotanın turistleri daha fazla cezbedtiğini söyledi.

Proje sayesinde şehre gelen turistlerin ilk ayak basacağı yerin Beyoğlu olacağını belirten Hışım, "Çoğunluğu ABD'li ve Avrupalı bu turistlerin büyük kısmı Taksim, İstiklal Caddesi, Karaköy, Galata ve Beyoğlu'nda vakit geçirecek." dedi.

Bu turistlerin Beyoğlu'na adeta çıkarma yapacağını, buralarda yiyip-içip alışveriş yapacağını anlatan Hışım, kruvaziyer ziyaretçiler sayesinde hem İstanbul'un hem de Beyoğlu'nun kazanacağını söyledi.

Beyoğlu'nun, her türlü alışverişe imkan sağlayan İstiklal Caddesi ile turistlerin uğrak noktası olacağını vurgulayan Hışım, ilçedeki esnafın da önemli kazanç sağlayacağını, bölge ekonomisine canlılık geleceğini kaydetti.

Hışım, Beyoğlu'nun 40 bini aşan yatakla İstanbul'un bu alanda en yüksek kapasitesine sahip ilçesi olduğunu belirterek, bölgenin; binlerce yıllık tarihiyle farklı medeniyetlere ev sahipliği yaptığını, yüzyıllardır yerli ve yabancıların, sanatın, tarihin, kültürün buluşma noktası olduğunu aktardı.

III. Yabancı yatırımcılar Beyoğlu'nun projelerine büyük ilgi gösterdi

Beyoğlu, bu yıl üçüncü kez katıldığı MIPIM Gayrimenkul Fuarı'nda uluslar arası yatırımcıların dikkatini çekti. Türkiye'nin en büyük projeleri arasında gösterilen Galataport, Haliçport, Taksim 360, Okmeydanı, Piyalepaşa İstanbul ve Örnektepe projeleri fuarın en çok ilgi gören projeleri arasında yer almayı başardı

Dünyanın en büyük gayrimenkul fuarlarından biri olan MIPIM Fransa'nın Cannes kentinde 250 Türk şirket ve 700 ziyaretçinin katılımı ile gerçekleşti. Bu yıl 100 ülkeden 24 bin uluslararası gayrimenkul profesyonelinin katılımıyla gerçekleşen fuara Türkiye çığırn projeleri ile damga vurdu. Fuarda, Türkiye'nin en büyük projeleri arasında gösterilen Beyoğlu'nun vitrin projeleri Galataport, Haliçport, Taksim 360, Okmeydanı, Piyalepaşa İstanbul ve Örnektepe uluslararası yatırımcıların dikkatini çekmeyi başardı.

YATIRIMCILARDAN BEYOĞLU'NDAKİ PROJELERE BÜYK İLGİ

Beyoğlu Belediye Başkanı Ahmet Misbah Demircan öncülüğünde fuara katılan Beyoğlu Yatırımcılar Grubu (BIG), 25 yatırımcı ve 25 proje ile fuara damgasını vurdu. Fuarda uluslar arası yatırımcılarla tek tek görüşerek Beyoğlu'ndaki büyük dönüşümü anlatan Başkan Demircan, yerli ve yabancı yatırımcıların dikkatini çeken çok büyük projelerinin olduğunu söyledi. Fuarda Beyoğlu ve İstanbul'a ilginin çok daha fazla olduğu gözlemlendi.

BEYOĞLU, 25 PROJE VE 25 YATIRIMCIYLA ADINI DUYURDU

MIPIM'in dünyada emlak sektörünün bir araya geldiği en büyük organizasyonlardan bir tanesi olduğunu da belirten Başkan Demircan, "Dünyanın kuzeyinden güneyine, doğusundan, batısına projelerini uluslar arası arenada göstermek isteyen herkes bu fuardaydı. Biz de Beyoğlu Belediyesi olarak Beyoğlu Yatırımcılar Grubu (BIG) ile birlikte üçüncü kez bu fuara katıldık. Taksim 360, (Tarlabaşı) Galataport, Haliçport, Okmeydanı, Örnektepe Dönüşüm, Piyalepaşa İstanbul, AKM, Maksim, Narmanlı Han, Rumeli Han, Alkazar, Koç Müzesi Dolapdere, Martı Projesi, Benasta Beyoğlu, Krea, Ege Yapı, Tom Tom Gardens ve Taksim Camii'nin de aralarında bulunduğu 25 projeyi yatırımcıların ilgisine sunduk. Çok güzel geri dönüşler alacağımızı umuyorum." ifadelerini kullandı.

GALATAPORT PROJESİ 4500 KİŞİYE İSTİHDAM SAĞLAYACAK

Yatırım bedeli 4,5 milyar TL olan Galataport'un toplam inşaat alanı 375.000 metrekare olurken; projenin toplam kiralanabilir alanları perakende ve yeme-içme alanı olarak 47.000 metrekare, ofis alanı olarak ise 43.000 metrekaredir. 20.000 metrekare Kruvaziyer terminali olan proje tamamlandığında 200 mağaza ve restoranın hizmet vermesi planlanıyor. Projenin yıllık yabancı ziyaretçi hedefi 7 milyon, yıllık

Kruvaziyer yolcu hedefi ise 3 milyon olarak öngörülüyor. İstihdam alanında da büyük potansiyel taşıyan Galataport, proje süresince 5000, işletme döneminde ise 4500 kişiye istihdam sağlayacak.

HALIÇPORT'UN YATIRIM BEDELİ 850 MİLYON TL

Ulaştırma, Denizcilik ve Haberleşme Bakanlığı Altyapı Yatırımları Genel Müdürlüğü tarafından İstanbul Beyoğlu İlçesi Camii Kebir Mahallesi'nde yapılması planlanan Haliç Yat Limanı ve Kompleksi projesi 3 otel, 2 yat limanı ve iskelelerden oluşuyor. 850 milyon TL yatırımla hayata geçirilen Haliç Yat Limanı ve Kompleksi projesinde her biri 70 yat kapasiteli 2 yat limanı, 150 DTW kapasiteli 1 adet şehir hatları iskelesi (yolcu transfer amaçlı) her biri 150 DTW kapasiteli 2 adet gemi yanaşma- yolcu transfer iskelesi ve 5 yıldızlı uluslararası otel zincirleri tarafından işletilecek nitelikte toplam oda kapasitesi 700 olan; 100 odalı Hotel 1400 odalı Hotel 2 ve 200 odalı Hotel 3 isimli 3 adet 5 yıldızlı oteller yapılacak.

SÜTLÜCE - ÖRNEKTEPE PROJESİ, TÜRKİYE'YE ÖRNEK OLACAK

Örnektepe Projesi, Beyoğlu Belediyesi ve TOKİ'nin işbirliği yaparak gerçekleştirecekleri bir pilot proje niteliğindedir. Projenin kısa zamanda tamamlanarak hayata geçmesi ve ileride gerçekleşecek yeni yapılaşmaya örnek teşkil etmesi hedefleniyor. Örnektepe'nin riskli alan ilan edilmesiyle birlikte 2,5 hektar büyüklüğünde olan alana etaplar halinde uygulamalar yapılacaktır. 1. etapta 70.424 m² inşaat (otoparklar, teknik hacimler, sığınaklar dahil) yapılması planlanmaktadır. Söz konusu inşaat alanının 34.284 m²'sinin iskan edilmesi öngörülmektedir. Bu alanın 25.491 m²'si hak sahiplerine dağıtılacak olup geri kalan kısmı yatırımcıya ait olacak.

OKMEYDANI, TÜRKİYE'NİN EN BÜYÜK PROJESİ OLACAK

Okmeydanı'nın, 13.06.2016 tarih 8949 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu kararı ile 6306 sayılı kanun kapsamında riskli alan ilan edilmesi ile bölgede çalışmalar başlatılmıştır. Riskli alan ilan edilen bölge 123,5 hektar büyüklüğünde olup yaklaşık 4.250.000 m² inşaat (otoparklar, teknik hacimler, sığınaklar dahil) yapılması planlanmaktadır. Söz konusu inşaat alanının 2.850.000 m²'sinin iskan edilmesi öngörülmektedir. Bu alanın 1.750.000 m²'si hak sahiplerine dağıtılacak olup geri kalan kısmı yatırımcıya ait olacak.

IV. Galataport'a İlk Kazma

Türkiye'nin deniz turizmi için en büyük ve prestijli projesi Galataport'ta çalışmalar start aldı. Beyoğlu Belediye Başkanı Demircan, "Tüm engellemelere rağmen bir gurur projemiz daha hayata geçiyor" dedi

Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer Limanı Projesi adıyla da bilinen Galataport için Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı'nın verdiği olumlu ÇED raporundan sonra çalışmalar hızlandı. 1.1 milyar dolara inşa edilecek proje, cam görüntüsüyle dikkat çekiyor. Proje kapsamında 440 odalı otel planlanıyor. Doğuş Grubu ile Bilgili Holding'in birlikte yapacağı dev proje aynı zamanda tarihi yarımada ve boğaziçini dünya turizmiyle buluşturacak. Projeye birlikte Beyoğlu'nun yanı sıra İstanbul ve Türkiye turizm alanında önemli pazar payına sahip olacak.

TÜRKİYE'NİN YÜZAKI

Türkiye'nin yüzakı projelerinden Galataport'un kaç emsal olacağı, ne kadar inşaat yapılacağı ve proje içerisinde bulunacak tüm detayları SABAH'a açıklayan Beyoğlu Belediye Başkanı Ahmet Misbah Demircan, "Emek Sineması'na da karşı çıkmışlardı.

Çok şükür şimdi Emek Sineması için 'ne kadar güzel olmuş' diye mesajlar atıyorlar istemezükçüler. Galataport'a da karşı çıktılar, davalar açtılar. Ancak tüm engellemelere rağmen bir gurur projemiz daha hayata geçiyor. Engellemelere rağmen bu projede Cumhurbaşkanımız Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın ısrarı ve kararlılığı ile başlamıştır. Realite o ki bu proje bir tarihi kurtarma projesidir. Tophane'yi ayağa kaldırma projesidir. Bence en önemlisi Osmanlı'dan bu yana terk edilmiş sıra sıra sarayların bulunduğu ve hayatımızda neredeyse yok mesabesine gelmiş atıl bir semtin ihya operasyonudur" diyerek projenin start aldığını bildirdi. Galataport'u "İstanbul'un denizden giriş kapısı" olarak nitelendiren Demircan, "Yok olmuş tarih, ulaşamadığımız deniz bu projeyle birlikte önümüze açılacak. Proje alanı içerisinde bulunan Amerikan Pazarı olarak adlandırılan nargile kafelerin olduğu bölüm temizlendi. Bir taraftan aplikasyon çalışmaları yapılırken diğer taraftan proje alanı içerisinde yer alan tarihi alanlar yeniden ayağa kalkacak. Galataport, yalnızca Tophane, Karaköy ve Beyoğlu'nun değil, tüm tarihi yarımada ve Boğaziçi'nin dünya turizmiyle buluşturma projesi" dedi.

V. Galataport Uçurur

Kruvaziyer turizmi gözünü Galataport'a dikti. Royal Caribbean Genel Müdürü Bülent Tatlav, "Galataport hayata geçtiğinde sektör yüzde 100 büyür" dedi

Türkiye'nin kruvaziyer turizminden aldığı pay her yıl yüzde 7 düşüyor. Bundaki en büyük etken ise Türkiye'de yeterli sayıda limanların olmaması gösteriliyor. Dünyanın en büyük cruise turu şirketi ABD'li Royal Caribbean'ın Türkiye Genel Müdürü Bülent Tatlav, İstanbul'a yapılması planlanan Galataport'un tamamlanmasıyla birlikte kruvaziyer turizminin yüzde 100 büyüyeceğini söyledi

Şirketin hedefleriyle ilgili bilgileri paylaşan Tatlav ile Türkiye kruvaziyer turizmini konuştuk.

2014 nasıl geçti? 2015 nasıl gidiyor?

Başarılı bir yıl geçirdik. Bir önceki yıla oranla yüzde 15 büyüdüğümüz 2014'te 4 bin 500 kişiyi tatile çıkardık. Bu yıl hedefimiz 6 bin 500'ü yakalamak. Şu anda hedeflerimiz doğrultusunda ilerliyoruz. Erken rezervasyonda geçen yıla oranla yüzde 30'luk artış kaydettik.

Sektörde kaçınıcı sıradasınız?

Dünyanın en büyük cruise turu şirketiyiz. 5 yıllık hedefimiz Türkiye'de de ilk sıraya yerleşmek. Galataport'un yapılması, Kuşadası Limanı'nın büyütülmesi gibi planlar hayata geçtiğinde bunu yakalayacağımıza inanıyoruz.

Galataport'un tamamlanması sektöre nasıl bir katkı sağlar?

Türkiye Akdeniz çanağında çok özel bir noktada. Ancak dünya kruvaziyer turizminden aldığı pay yüzde 5'le sınırlı. Bunun en büyük nedeni limanlar. İstanbul artık dünyada marka bir şehir. Burada yapılacak olan Galataport büyük önem arz ediyor. Bir an önce bitmesi gerekiyor. Hatta ben Galataport'un dahi yetmeyeceğini ve ikinci limanına ihtiyaç duyulacağını düşünüyorum. Çünkü dünyadaki Barselona, Kopenhag gibi marka şehirlerde birden fazla liman var. İstanbul'un acilen 'homeport' (ana liman) haline getirilmesi lazım. Bunların yapılması durumunda cruise turları uçacaktır. Önce İstanbul ardından Ege ve Karadeniz'de yapılacak olan limanlarla Türkiye, kruvaziyer turizminde dünyada ilk 3'e girer. Şu anda ilk 10'dayız.

5 KAT FAZLA HARCİYOR

Karadeniz çıkışlı turlarınız nasıl gidiyor?

Biz geçen yıl Karadeniz çıkışlı turlar düzenledik ancak Ukrayna olayının patlamasıyla birlikte hepsi iptal edildi. Herhangi bir olumsuz yaşamazsak 2016'da Karadeniz çıkışlı turları tekrar yapacağız, rezervasyonlar almaya başladık. Bu turlar özellikle Sinop, Trabzon gibi illere sağlayacağı turizm geliri açısından büyük önem arz ediyor. Çünkü bir kruvaziyer turisti diğerine oranla 5 kat daha fazla harcıyor.

TERCİH EDİLME ORANI % 85

Türkiye'ye büyük cruise gemileri neden sık gelmiyor?

Bunun ülkemizdeki temel nedeni liman yetersizliği ancak büyük cruise gemilerinin bölgede yaşanan sorunlar nedeniyle Doğu Akdeniz'e gitmeme kararı var. Bunda en büyük etken ABD'li sigorta şirketleri. ABD'li büyük cruise gemileri sadece Türkiye değil Yunanistan, Ukrayna, Rusya gibi Doğu Akdeniz ülkelerine de gitmiyor. Tercihleri İspanya, İtalya, Fransa gibi Batı Akdeniz ülkelerini, Kuzey Avrupa ve Çin.

Türk turistin kruvaziyere yaklaşımı nasıl?

Türk turisti gemi seyahatini seviyor. Bir kere cruise tatili yapanların ikinci kez tercih etme oranı yüzde 85. Ancak Türkiye'de kruvaziyer turizmi tam bilinmiyor. İnsanların zihninde yaşlıların seyahat ettiği bir tatil algısı var. Ayrıca çok pahalı olduğu düşünülüyor. Oysaki Antalya'da ortalama bir otele verdiğiniz parayla çok rahatlıkla cruise tatili yapabiliyor ve daha fazlasını buluyorsunuz.

VI. Öib'den Galataport açıklaması

ÖİB, Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer Liman Sahası'na ilişkin imar planlarının yürütmesinin durdurulmasına dair karar verilmediğini bildirdi.

Özelleştirme İdaresi Başkanlığı (ÖİB), Danıştay İdari Dava Daireleri Kurulu'nun, Danıştay 6. Dairesince verilen yürütmenin durdurulması isteminin reddi kararını kaldırarak, Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer Liman Sahası'na (Galataport) ilişkin imar planlarının yürütmesinin durdurulmasına dair karar verilmediğini bildirdi.

ÖİB'den, yapılan yazılı açıklamaya göre, Danıştay İdari Dava Daireleri Kurulu'nca Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer Liman Sahası'na ilişkin verilen 17 Nisan 2014 tarihli kararın, kamuoyunu yanlış yönlendirmeye sebebiyet verecek şekilde yorumlanarak "Galataport imar planlarının yürütmesinin durdurulduğu" ifadeleriyle 13 Ekim 2014 tarihinden itibaren basın yayın organlarında haberler yayımlandığı belirtildi. Kamuoyunun doğru bilgilendirilmesini sağlamak üzere açıklamanın yapılmasına ihtiyaç duyulduğu ifade edildi.

Açıklamada, TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası İstanbul Şubesi, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası (İstanbul Büyükşehir Şubesi), TMMOB İnşaat Mühendisleri Odası (İstanbul Şubesi) tarafından Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer Liman Sahası'na ilişkin imar planlarının iptali ve yürütmesinin durdurulması istemiyle ÖİB aleyhine Danıştay 6. Dairesince dava açıldığı ve ilgili kararlar yürütmenin durdurulması isteminin reddine karar verildiği kaydedildi.

Açıklamada, şu görüşlere yer verildi:

"TMMOB Mimarlar Odası (İstanbul Büyükşehir Şubesi) tarafından söz konusu karara itiraz edilmiş olup Danıştay İdari Dava Daireleri Kurulunca 17 Nisan 2014 tarih ve YD İtiraz No:2013/894 sayılı kararında 'Davacı odaların dava dilekçesindeki iddiaları,

uyuşmazlığın niteliği göz önünde bulundurulduğunda mahallinde keşif ve bilirkişi incelemesi yaptırılması suretiyle uyuşmazlığın çözüme kavuşturulması gerektiği sonucuna varıldığından bu yola başvurulmaksızın verilen itiraza konu kararda hukuki isabet görülmemiştir. Açıklanan nedenlerle yerinde yaptırılacak keşif ve bilirkişi incelemesi sonucunda yürütmenin durdurulması istemi hakkında yeniden karar verilmek üzere davacının itirazının kabulüne, Danıştay 6. Dairesinin 23 Eylül 2013 günlü E:2013/821 sayılı kararının kaldırılmasına oy çokluğu ile karar verilmiştir' hükümleri yer almıştır.

Söz konusu karar metninde açık bir şekilde belirtildiği üzere, Danıştay İdari Dava Daireleri Kurulunca, Danıştay 6. Dairesince verilen yürütmenin durdurulması isteminin reddi kararı kaldırılmış olup bu aşamada Salıpazarı Kruvaziyer Liman Sahası'na ilişkin imar planlarının yürütmesinin durdurulmasına dair bir karar verilmemiştir."

VII. Galataport Karaköy'ü uçurdu

Galataport ihalesinin yaklaşması Karaköy'de gayrimenkul fiyatlarına tavan yaptırdı. Satılık ve kiralık binalar şimdiden el yakıyor. Uzmanlara göre Karaköy yakında İstanbul'un en pahalı semtlerinden biri olacak

Karaköy'deki Salı Pazarı Kruvaziyer Limanı ihalesi için Özelleştirme İdaresi Başkanlığı'nın (ÖİB) resmi süreci başlatacağını açıklaması, bölgedeki emlak fiyatlarını hareketlendirdi. Kamuoyunda Galataport olarak bilinen projenin ilk ihalesi 2005'te iptal edilmişti. İkinci ihale için düğmeye basılmasıyla bölgede metrekare fiyatları 4-5 bin TL seviyelerinden, 9 bine yükseldi.

FİYATLAR DOYDU

TSKB Gayrimenkul Değerleme Genel Müdür Yardımcısı Hüsniye Boztunç, projeye dair beklentilerin sürekli gündemde olmasından dolayı bölgenin prim yaptığını dile getirdi. Boztunç, beklentilerle ilgili şunları söyledi: "Projenin tekrar gündeme gelmesiyle fiyatları artırması aslında beklediğimiz bir durumdu. Ancak satışlarda aynı artışın yaşanacağını beklemek yanlış olur. Bölgede zaten fiyatlar üst noktalarda seyrediyordu" diye konuştu. Karaköy'de konut fiyatlarının doyum noktasına ulaştığını söyleyen Boztunç, şöyle devam etti: "Bölgenin mevcut turizm potansiyeline Galataport eklendiğinde ileride piyasanın üstünde satışlarla karşılaşmak sürpriz olmaz."

BİNALAR OTEL OLACAK

Boztunç'a göre Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Kruvaziyer Limanı olması için önemli olan projenin hizmete girmesiyle birlikte, kruvaziyer turizmi önemli ölçüde artacak. Hüsniye Boztunç, Karaköy'deki otel sayısı az olduğu için birçok yatırımcının tarihi binaları ve eski iş hanlarını alarak nitelikli otel projeleri geliştirdikleri bilgisini verdi.

KİRA YÜZDE 60 ARTTI

Bölgedeki metrekare fiyatlarının bundan birkaç yıl önce 4-5 bin TL seviyelerinde olduğunu söyleyen Re/max Türkiye Pazarlama ve Operasyon Direktörü Gökhan Karahan da son yıllarda beklentilerin yükselmesiyle birlikte rakamın 9 bin TL'ye kadar çıktığını söyledi. Bölgedeki ticari kira fiyatlarının binaların durumuna göre değiştiğini kaydeden Karahan, "Kiralara metrekaresi 20 ila 90 TL aralığında değişiyor. Ancak ofis veya dükkan olarak kullanıma uygun yerlerin metrekaresi 40 TL civarında. Kiralar son 3 yılda yüzde 60 arttı" diye konuştu.

BÖLGEDE NELER OLUYOR?

Bölgeye ciddi anlamda otel yatırımı talepleri geliyor. Proje yakınında bulunan tarihi Tütün Han ve Veli Alemdar Han butik otel yapılıyor. Torunlar Grubu da Kemankes Otel için temel atmaya hazırlanıyor. Alınan bilgilere göre projenin arka sokağında bulunan Borusan, ilk merkez binasını modern sanat müzesine çevirecek. Sabancı Grubu'na ait Vista Plaza'nın otele dönüşmesi için kollar sıvanacak. Emlakçılar 65 milyon lira fiyat biçilen Halkbank binası başta olmak üzere yol üzerindeki birçok banka binasının da el değiştireceğine dikkat çekiyor.

