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Preface

"Urban and Regional Planning in Turkey:" is a book which attempts to evaluate the essential topics in the urban and regional planning field and the challenges it faces through the case of Turkey. Urban and regional planning, as an institution, differs significantly from country to country depending on the legal and institutional contexts of each state. However, the issues which attract the attention of planners and the challenges which urban and regional planning attempt to tackle are highly similar throughout the world, regardless of the countries' level of development. Among the cross-cutting considerations for countries, there are environmental and demographic issues as well as economic ones. The increasing share of the population in urban areas leads to the physical growth of cities, which requires action on the part of urban planning for managing the spatial and economic impacts and ecological footprints of urban growth as well as the transformation of the existing built-up areas. In this process, challenges such as managing the risks in densely populated urban areas, the capacities of which have exceeded their limits, or reducing greenhouse gas emissions and shifting to low-carbon urban development for a climate-resilient future are highly significant issues for all countries and societies around the world. Furthermore, the cities and the societies of the contemporary world are highly connected in such ways that are sometimes not easy to comprehend. Previous experiences such as the property market crisis in the USA, which turned into a global financial crisis, or the civil war in Syria, which resulted in global waves of mobility and migration, reveal this connectivity. Under these circumstances, issues and challenges of urban and regional planning display common grounds for different countries. With these considerations, we, as editors of the book, selected a range of topics which we believe to be interesting for the international reader. The authors were then invited, based on their research interests, to make tailor-made contributions to the book. The special focus of the book on the challenges of urban and regional planning introduces the reader to possible new directions for exploration in the field. Discussions on the case of Turkey, on the other hand, could provide useful examples both for developed and developing countries in terms of best or poor practices, and success or failure of the

market/government. The editors hope that "Urban and Regional Planning in Turkey:" will be a useful sourcebook for urban and regional planning students at all levels and planning professionals working either as practitioners or academics.

This book is absolutely an outcome of teamwork. The editors would like to thank the authors for their committed contributions to this publication. During the preparation of the book, the authors not only dealt with writing their chapters but also responding to reviewers' and editors' demanding comments and obtaining copyright permissions where necessary. We are grateful for the permissions. Every effort has been made to obtain permissions, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked, the author(s) of the related chapter(s) will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements.

We would also like to thank the following experts in the urban and regional planning field for reviewing initial drafts of the chapters and providing invaluable guidance and suggestions: Prof. Dr. Ayda Eraydın, Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok, Prof. Dr. Ela Babalık, Prof. Dr. D. Burcu Erciyas, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tolga Özden, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pelin Sarıoğlu Erdoğdu, Asst. Prof. Dr. Tolga Levent, Asst. Prof. Dr. Yücel Can Severcan, Asst. Prof. Dr. Eda Acara, and Inst. Dr. Simge Özdal Oktay. We also appreciate the support given by Merih Saraçoğlu during the final stages.

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In memory of our fathers, Atila Özdemir, Cemal Yaşar, and Erol Duruöz.

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Chapter 1
Urbanisation and Urban Planning in Turkey

Nil Uzun, Ö. Burcu Özdemir Sarı and Suna S. Özdemir

Abstract Urban and regional planning, as an institution, differs significantly from country to country depending on the legal and institutional contexts of each state. The significance of urban and regional planning increased in Turkey in 1923 following the foundation of the Republic. Economic policies executed by the government have always had an effect on urbanisation in Turkey. In fact, different economic policies and models applied since 1923 defined the different periods of urbanisation in the country. These periods also define the changes in urban and regional planning. There are basically four different models of economic development applied starting from 1923. A centralised, state-dominated model was the first one, and it was implemented until the 1950s. Liberalisation, the second model, was adopted in the 1950s. Mechanisation in agriculture set off rural-to-urban migration, and the rate of urbanisation increased very rapidly. This period lasted until the 1980s when Turkey's economy underwent radical changes with the introduction of the privatisation model within the context of globalisation. The fourth period, starting after the general elections of 2002, can be considered a continuation of the third one. Economic and political changes in this period have had substantial implications for cities.

Keywords Turkish urbanisation · Planning legislation · Economic development

Urban and regional planning, as an institution, differs significantly from country to country depending on the legal and institutional contexts of each state. However, the issues which attract the attention of planners and the challenges which urban and regional planning attempt to tackle are highly similar throughout the world, regardless of the countries' level of development. The significance of urban and regional

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planning increased in Turkey in 1923 following the foundation of the Republic. A totally new and modern system was envisaged. This system was realised just after the declaration of Ankara as the capital. The aim of the government was to develop a modern and contemporary living environment in Ankara. This would then pioneer urbanisation in other parts of the country. The effects of urbanisation on cities in Turkey started to be seen after the Second World War. Parallel to the urbanisation and industrialisation process, urban and regional planning evolved as an institution.

Economic policies executed by the government have always had an effect on urbanisation in Turkey. In fact, different economic policies and models applied since 1923 defined the different periods of urbanisation in the country. These periods also define the changes in urban and regional planning. There are basically four different models of economic development applied. A centralised, state-dominated model was the first one, implemented with the foundation of the Republic, and it remained in place until the 1950s. During this first period, industrialisation was the major force triggering urbanisation and shaping Turkish cities. The second model, liberalisation, was adopted in the 1950s. Mechanisation in agriculture led to an unexpected migration from rural areas to major cities such as Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. Investments in industry and foreign financial aid were directed both to these major cities and to the ones in Anatolia. As a result, the rate of urbanisation increased very rapidly. During the second half of this period, an import substitution model was predominant together with economic planning. Expansion of cities' internal markets led to their growth. This period lasted until the 1980s when Turkey's economy underwent radical changes with the introduction of the privatisation model within the context of globalisation. The fourth period, which is regarded as starting after the general elections of 2002, can be considered a continuation of the third one but should be discussed separately as the economic and political changes have had substantial implications for urban and regional planning and directly affected the changes in cities (Boratav 1999; Şengül 2009; Tekeli 1998).

The Impact of Nation State (1923–1950) A totally new system was envisioned with the foundation of the Republic in 1923. Nevertheless, the remnants of the Ottoman Empire were still a factor to be considered. In relation to the urban structure, five significant changes had taken place during the final years of the Empire and had an impact during the Republican period. The first is the sustained presence of the old traditional Ottoman centres. That is where Western organisations like banks, insurance companies and hotels were located at the end of the nineteenth century, when the Empire was seeking integration with the West. Secondly, in many cities, the mass transit system (trams, subways and steamers) replaced walking. Thirdly, new social classes emerged and differentiation based on social class was added to differentiation based on national origin. Fourthly, as transportation in the city improved and differentiation in society became more distinct, the cities started to spread out within the limits of the existing infrastructure. Finally, the new lifestyle brought by modernisation and new uses of public space created new land-use patterns (Tekeli 1998).

The legislation related to urban planning in Turkey originates from the Ottoman legislation. As a part of the modernisation attempts of the late nineteenth century, the Ottoman legislation was adapted from Europe. Some of the planning approaches developed in Europe in order to solve the problems of industrial cities were adapted in planning in the late Ottoman period. However, industrialisation was not observed in Ottoman cities and they had agricultural characteristics. Therefore, it was not possible to differentiate rural and urban areas. The planning efforts in Ottoman cities were in fact influenced by the health legislation that was under municipal control. Legal mechanisms and local authorities were established in order to solve the problems brought by epidemics and fires. In İstanbul, the first planning attempt was in 1837 and the first legal document was created in 1839. This was followed by the foundation of the first municipality in 1855. The related legislation of the young Republic was a continuation of this tradition up to the 1980s (Baş 2003).

Many Ottoman cities—especially those in the western part of Turkey—had been destroyed during the War of Independence. Therefore, a spatial restructuring process was initiated after 1923, parallel to economic, social and cultural restructuring. Two basic planning issues were prioritised. The first one was the need to obtain development and construction plans for western Turkish cities. The second one was elevation of Ankara to the status of a capital city followed by the transfer of the capital city's functions from İstanbul to Ankara. İstanbul had been the capital of three large empires, whereas Ankara was a modest town in Anatolia. Therefore, this was a radical decision. Two important external factors affected Turkey's urban structure in the early Republican period. One was the Great Depression, starting with the 1929 economic crisis; the other was the onset of the Second World War. These events affected the political and economic models that Turkey adopted in response to the economic downturn. A centralised, state-dominated model was expected to ensure rapid industrialisation. The cities' contemporary appearance was realised with a centralised approach. Until the 1940s, protectionism and state control were the two pillars of economic policy (Boratav 1999, 2014; Tekeli 1998).

The problem of urbanisation was handled in a comprehensive and holistic way with emphasis on the significance of industrialisation in urban–rural integration. The aim of the central government was to develop Anatolia, and with the help of industrialisation, rural people would be emancipated from their feudal ties. Integration of industry with the city was maintained by the state factories. These factories, with their production and living spaces, provided a model for cultural and societal life for the cities they were located in. At the regional scale, industrial development plans facilitated and supported development of Anatolia. The First and Second Industrial Plans, prepared in 1933 and 1936, aimed to answer the question of what form development should take. In these plans, as a part of the national development perspective, industrial locations were determined (Keskinok 2010).

Several laws were enacted between 1930 and 1935 to create a new institutional organisation and legislative system. These new institutions shaped the way government and planning operated in Turkish cities until the 1980s and in some respects even later. The goals of restructuring and industrialisation and the construction of

infrastructure systems throughout the country dominated the political agenda during this period.

Industrialisation and Rapid Urbanisation in the Liberal Period (1950–1980) After the adoption of liberalisation in 1950, mechanisation in agriculture triggered rural-to-urban migration. Investments in industry were directed to cities, leading to their rapid growth and population increase. At the beginning of the 1950s, the price of agricultural products rose in world markets, mainly due to the Korean War. In combination with favourable climatic conditions, the increased revenues gave a boost to the Turkish economy, which was still predominantly based on agricultural production. The surplus from agriculture, along with external credit and the surplus created in the revived urban service sectors, was invested in cities. Yet towards the end of the decade, all of this changed. Many factors—declining prices for agricultural products in world markets, unfavourable climatic conditions, inflationary economic policies and more investment in consumer goods than in industry—created an economic crisis (Kepenek 1999).

In 1960, import substitution model was applied and a period of economic planning started in Turkey. In the meantime, with the establishment of State Planning Organisation regional planning began. Following industrialisation, increasing population and rapid migration became an important problem for metropolitan areas like Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. With the impact of migration from rural areas to the major metropolitan cities, the population in urban areas of Turkey increased rapidly between 1950 and 1980 (Fig. 1.1). This rapid urban growth was unexpected. The housing stock was inadequate, and it was not possible to provide housing supply and the necessary social and technical infrastructure instantaneously as the capital needed for investment in infrastructure and urban services could not be provided. The housing supply was partly met through informal measures. One solution was the construction of squatter houses. In 1966, a new amnesty law legalised squatter houses for the first time. Nevertheless, the inadequacy of housing supply remained as a problem for the rapidly growing cities, keeping squatter houses as an alternative solution. Subsequent governments tried to resolve the problem of squatter settlements by repeatedly passing amnesty laws. However, a market emerged for squatter house construction. Thus, squatter houses became an investment tool providing rental income. Its revenue-generating capacity dominated its function as shelter later in this period. In 1965, the Flat Ownership Law (Law no. 634) was enacted as another attempt to solve the housing crisis. After the enactment of this law, it was possible to have the independent ownership right for a separate unit of a building or a share in an apartment block before it was built and this led to an increase in the number of flats in buildings. As a result, densities in the planned neighbourhoods of cities started to increase (Uzun 2001).

The compact cities of the 1960s could not expand, mainly due to insufficient infrastructure networks. They too were encircled by squatter neighbourhoods, most of which lacked basic infrastructure. The environmental conditions in compact cities declined with the higher densities. The increase in private car ownership after 1970 solved this problem. High-income groups moved away from the unfavourable inner-

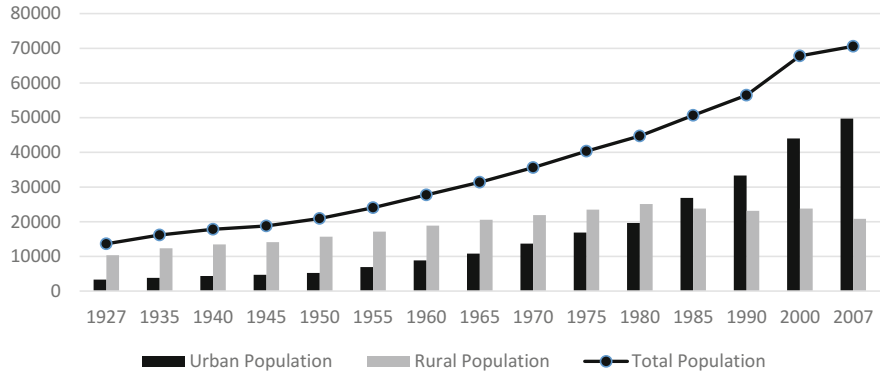

Fig. 1.1 Urban and rural population: 1927–2007. Prepared by the authors based on TURKSTAT Census of Population (2003) and News Bulletin (2008)

city locations to the newly established suburbs. Along with infrastructure improvement and expansion, industrial production also started to decentralise.

During this period, the existing urban planning instruments and legislation were inadequate to deal with such a fast growth. As a result, the planned areas occupied by the middle class on the one hand and squatter neighbourhoods around them, which developed without the control of the planning institution, and by the labour class on the other created a duality in many cities.

Comprehensive planning was the predominant planning approach of this period. In 1956, the Development Law (Law no. 6785) was enacted. Similar to the established planning approaches of the Western countries, formation of a system of absolute control over development of cities was the aim of urban planning authorities. The means of master plans, incorporated with zoning, were introduced. On the other hand, boundaries of the areas under the control of municipalities expanded with the Development Law. Nevertheless, the urban planning process of metropolitan cities was not defined in this law and institutional model was not put forward either. In order to overcome this uncertainty, three master plan offices were founded under the authority of the Ministry of Development and Housing.[1] İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara metropolitan area master plan offices were established in 1965, 1968 and 1969, respectively.[2] Master plans produced in these offices were very important as they were produced by interdisciplinary teams and as modern planning techniques were used. In 1972, with an amendment to the Development Law, the concept of metropolitan planning and its institutional structure was defined. Nevertheless, there were still organisational problems in the approval and application of metropolitan plans. In this period, the comprehensive planning approach was dominantly used by central authorities to regulate the dynamics of urbanisation. However, the control of

[1] In 2011, the name of the Ministry changed to Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.

[2] These offices are abolished in the 1980s.

the state over the production of space and urban development was insufficient (Baş 2003).

Market-Oriented Urban Development (1980–2000) In Turkey, neoliberalism and market orientation replaced the state-dominated, interventionist economic model in 1980. Liberalisation in the financial sector, international trade and capital movements was effective in this period. On the other hand, privatisation of public economic enterprises was realised. State's role as a key actor in the economy continued. Distribution of economic rents to the private sector was also controlled by the state. Furthermore, the economic power was decentralised from central authorities to local governments, giving significant powers to local governments. In order to achieve integration with world markets and to serve the changing economic base more efficiently, infrastructure investments were directed towards telecommunications. New organisations had to meet the requirements of the new economic structure. Gradually, the business and service sectors gained importance and the state stopped investing in industry and investments in production and industry continued under free-market conditions (Kepenek 1999; Öniş 1997).

Since financial liberalisation in 1989, Turkey's economy has been consistently dragged into a crisis as a result of speculative capital movements. This crisis, in turn, led to the need for debt and budget deficits. Since the early 1990s, the political authorities have had to deal with the problem of creating funds and implemented various policies to overcome this problem. Privatisation policies were followed by investments in construction and real estate as a means of generating funds for solving the resource problem. This was also the intention behind the allocation of public land for construction, especially for urban transformation projects (Balaban 2013).

In this period, a transformation from an industrial society to an information society took place. There were also changes in the functions of cities and settlement patterns. First of all, the relative importance of İstanbul increased. It became an important centre for production and for connections to the rest of the world. Anatolian cities such as Denizli, Gaziantep, Çorum and Kahramanmaraş also started to establish connections with the world market on their own through their industries. At the city scale, decentralisation of industrial production towards the peripheral areas and centralisation of service and control functions formed the new settlement pattern. The size and scale of the settlements increased, while improvements were made in inner-city transit systems with the introduction of new modes of transportation. On the other hand, the construction sector was reorganised (Eraydın 1999; Tekeli 1998; Türel 1998).

During this period, changes in the functions of the urban systems and their controlling mechanisms were observed. In addition to this, the scale of the intervention of various authorities in the development of urban form changed. New housing supply systems were also developed through a new law on mass housing. The Housing Development Administration (HDA) was established and the state started to support a housing production system that would be run by land developers. Legislation about squatter houses also changed. Via new laws, low-density housing areas, i.e. the squatter neighbourhoods, were transformed into high-density housing areas through improvement plans (Baş 2003).

Economic liberalisation attempts were represented in a new development law enacted in 1985 (Law no. 3194). The limited control of the central state over development plans was almost abolished by this law. Essentially, the law defined comprehensive planning, whereas incremental planning and decreasing restriction on the property was the outcome in practice. This was also a result of giving total control over real property to local authorities. Accordingly, agricultural land at the periphery of cities had been converted into an object of urban property. On the other hand, decentralisation of the authority was unbalanced. Continuous planning and approval mechanism were not present to support the decentralisation. There were no strategic plans at national, regional or provincial scale to provide a frame for local development plans. In addition to this, the responsibility of preparing plans was transferred to İller Bankası (Bank of Provinces) or private planning offices as the technical capacities of smaller municipalities were generally low. Consequently, the basic change in the new development law was only the decentralisation of approval authority of development plans and programmes to the local governments (Baş 2003).

Liberalisation of economic policies and the decrease in state control on space were not reflected in the new development law. Although the flexible planning approaches, such as structural, strategic and communicative planning took place of comprehensive planning in Western communities, these were not reflected in the new law. On the other hand, although planning rights are given to the local governments through this law, planning authority is given back to the central governmental bodies in some specific areas of strategic importance. The coordination and cooperation between the local governments and the central government were insufficient. In many cases, the decisions which had an important impact on spatial expansion and the development pattern of a city were made independently from the local government. The lack of coordinating instruments and processes for the integration of different plan types and different institutions taking part in the planning process led to a disorder of authority in the planning system and to an ongoing fragmentation.[3]

The new millennium The 2001 economic crisis marked an important turning point for the Turkish economy and had a direct impact on the cities and the urban planning system. Although the Turkish economy has experienced three crises since the first half of the 1990s, the one in 2001 was the deepest. It was also the most costly in terms of the downfall of output, growth in unemployment and negative distributional consequences. The attitude of the coalition government was in favour of reform. Important steps were taken to establish fiscal and monetary discipline. This was supported with strong regulatory measures taken related to banking and financial systems (Öniş 2012).

[3]The detailed explanation about different plan types and institutions involved is given in Chap. 2.

On the other hand, during this period the growing power of the urban coalitions became dominant. These coalitions were composed of the actors in the central and local governments and the authorities of important state institutions such as HDA and Privatization Administration. For this coalition, real-estate development became an important implementation area. Parallel to this, the motive of increasing urban land rents became the main driving force for urban transformation. Private-sector actors, such as developers, landowners, advisors and professionals, have been supporting these implementations. The power of this coalition has been strengthened by means of changes made in legislation. The top-down decisions made by this powerful coalition supported by new legislation have important spatial implications, especially in major metropolitan cities like Ankara, İzmir and İstanbul (Türkün 2011).

The aim of this book is to discuss the fundamental topics and contemporary problems in urban and regional planning field through the case of Turkey. The chapters in the following part, Part I, deal with contemporary issues of urban and regional planning in Turkey. Most of these chapters focus on the major issues observed in the last two periods of urbanisation. The chapters in Part II emphasise the current challenges in urban and regional planning in Turkey.

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Part I
Contemporary Issues of Urban and Regional Planning

Chapter 2
A New Route for Regional Planning in Turkey: Recent Developments

Suna S. Özdemir

Abstract Since the 1930s, regional plans have been drawn up for various regions in Turkey. However, the institutional practice of regional development policy as well as regional planning began with the establishment of the State Planning Organisation in 1960. After the 1960s, through Five-Year National Development Plans, a regional development policy was defined, and regional development plans were formulated for some specific regions. In practice, there were some challenges and problems during that period in regional planning. The shift in the regional development policy and regional planning began in 1999 with Turkey's accession period to the European Union. For adaptation to the EU's regional policy, some new policies, legislation, and institutional set-ups were defined. This chapter mainly focuses on these new policies and instruments, namely the new route taken by regional planning in Turkey.

Keywords Regional planning · Regional development · Development agencies

2.1 Introduction: Regional Planning and Regional Development Policy

At the beginning of the twentieth century, French geographers focused on regional geography. This attention to geography later turned to other regional studies in areas like administration, economics, policy, and planning (Glasson and Marshall 2007). There has been considerable effort by French, German, British, and Scandinavian geographers in the development of regional planning. Vidal, Reclus, Ratzel, Herbertson, Fenneman, Smith, Shaler, Howard, Mumford, Geddes, Perloff, Hoover, MacKaye, Isard, and Friedman are the major scholars that have made a contribution to regional planning theory (Soja 2009; Keleş 2015).

As one of the study areas that focus on regions, regional planning is a kind of spatial planning prepared for a specific bounded region within a nation state (Caves

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2005; Hutchison 2009). A regional plan includes strategies, policies, and suggestions defined in a planning text and maps. It is a plan that tries to provide economically, socially, and environmentally balanced development in regions (Özdemir 2017). There are two primary reasons for regional planning activity. The first is to solve the problems of large metropolitan areas. The second is to develop less developed or specific regions (Tekeli 1972; Glasson 1974; Atalık 1989). Topics such as development, economic redistribution of resources, regional inequalities, and rural and industrial decline are within the remit of regional plans (Glasson 1974). In Turkey, regional plans can be defined as those that have been prepared both spatially and strategically under National Development Plans for economic and social development of regions and decreasing regional inequalities through the regulation of natural resources, human capital, and public and private investments (Tunbul 1991; DPT 2000). Regional plans are considered as links between National Development Plans and local plans.

Globally, resources are not equally distributed and regions differ from each other in economic, social, infrastructural, cultural, historical, and spatial terms. Regional planning aims to develop regions by decreasing these differences. Therefore, regional planning and development are closely related (Atalık 1989; MGK 1993; Doğan 1997; DPT 2000). As a result, changes in regional development policy always affect the development of regional planning theory.

After the Second World War, in the 1950s, most European countries suffered economic crises. The agricultural and industrial sectors declined while unemployment and inflation increased. Therefore, the focus of regional development policy was on decreasing the inequalities between regions. Mass production, standardisation, and large companies were dominant in the economy. Welfare states supported these large companies in specific areas as push factors in regional development policy. The focus was on the development of less developed and lagging regions. Therefore, welfare states also created policies to improve hard infrastructure and capital investment in these regions (Batchler and Yuill 2001). Parallel to this, in regional planning, the aim was an efficient, effective, and balanced redistribution of resources among regions (DPT 2000).

In the 1970s, economic crises affected the production system and mass production began to dysfunction (Eraydın 2004). Not only the large companies but also small- and medium-sized enterprises increased their role in the economy and a new production system appeared: flexible production. In the regional development policy, the strong welfare state lost some of its functions and therefore regional and local authorities became more fundamental in policy. Instead of decreasing regional inequalities, endogenous development and development of human capital were the aim of regional development policy. At the end of the 1980s, regional development policy as well as regional planning entered a stagnancy period and lost momentum. With limited resources, policy sought to increase the efficiency of the private sector. Thus, regional planning was defined slightly differently from before.

After the 1980s, it became impossible to control every aspect in regions. The effects of globalisation and internationalisation of the economy, the geographical mobility of investment and production, the large corporations, the multinational

companies, and the bureaucratic government have destabilised the local economies. Changing notions about welfare and the relation between economy and society underlie the new approaches. Neoliberal and free-market policies became dominant globally and therefore influenced other policies. The role of nation states as the main and regulatory actor in regional development policy and regional planning has changed. They have shared their decreasing role since the 1970s with other local, non-governmental, and international actors. There has been a shift from government to governance and multi-level governance (Tekeli 2004). In the 1990s, the production system shifted to a new one that depends on knowledge. Innovations and rapid technological developments with globalisation have resulted in a transition from modernism to post-modernism. Because of the increasing competitiveness, it became fundamental to be innovative and creative. Regions had to, on the one hand, utilise their endogenous dynamic and, on the other hand, by using innovativeness and creativeness achieve sustainable development (Eraydın 2004).

Because of all this change, the traditional planning approach has been criticised as not being flexible, not being compatible with free-market policies, and not being participatory. Therefore, beginning mostly in the 1990s, many countries have begun to apply a new approach in planning, i.e., strategic planning that defines a vision for places, that is action-oriented, and that includes the participation process. Moreover, while in many countries still the focus in regional development policy and regional planning is on decreasing regional inequalities, regions have also begun to prepare their own regional development plans to compete with other places. As a result, beginning in the 1990s, strategic and participatory regional plans are prepared for developing regions to be competitive in most countries.

This chapter focuses on the new route taken by regional planning in Turkey mainly after the 2000s. The chapter begins by giving a short history of regional planning practice in Turkey. Since the 1930s, regional plans have been prepared for some regions in Turkey. However, the institutional practice of regional development policy as well as regional planning began with the establishment of the State Planning Organisation (SPO) in 1960. After the 1960s through Five-Year National Development Plans, regional development policy has been defined and regional development plans have been prepared for some specific regions. In practice, some challenges and problems existed during that period in Turkey's regional planning system. The shift in regional development policy and regional planning began in 1999 with Turkey's accession period to the European Union (EU). For adaptation to the EU's regional policy, some new policies, legislation, and institutional set-ups were defined. In this chapter, these new policies and instruments are explained. Moreover, some challenges and problems still exist that have not been solved by the new regional development policy and regional planning system in Turkey. The conclusion of the chapter focuses on these contemporary challenges and problems in regional planning.

2.2 The Role of Regional Plans in Turkey's Planning System

The history of planning in Turkey dates back to Ebniye Nizamnameleri (The Code on Buildings, 1848) during the Ottoman period (Tekeli 2005; Ersoy 2011). With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, urban and regional planning practice gained pace. Several new pieces of legislation and new institutions were established to regulate the urban and regional planning system in the country (Table 2.1). The current law that defines the planning regulations in the country is the "Development Law" numbered 3194, enacted in 1985. This law divides plans into three main levels: regional plans, environmental plans, and development plans including master and implementation plans. It defines regional plans as those prepared by the SPO for determining the economic development trends, the development potential of settlements, and the distribution of the sectoral objectives, activities, and infrastructures. Since the 1950s, the practice of regional planning has been conducted by the SPO by defining the regional development policy for the country through National Development Plans and by preparing regional plans for some specific regions. For some cases, until 1985, regional plans were also prepared by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. However, as a distinct planning level, regional plans were legislated for the first time by the Development Law in 1985 (Ersoy 2015).

In 2013, a new subclause was added to the Development Law that states: "land use plans and building regulations should obey the decisions stated in spatial strategic plans, environment plans, and master plans". Regional plans have been evaluated more as socio-economic plans, and, with that subclause, they were excluded from the spatial plan hierarchy (Sarı et al. 2018). In 2014, a new regulation, the "Spatial Plans By-Law", was enacted. In this new regulation, regional plans were also removed from the spatial plan category. This new regulation defines some new levels in addition to the existing ones (Table 2.2) in Turkey's planning system. Some of these new levels are on a national scale while others are on a regional and local scale. In addition, other laws define some special plans like conservation plans, tourism plans, or industrial area plans and give the responsibility to other ministries such as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Ministry of Science, Technology, and Industry. Therefore, the complex planning system became even more complicated with all these institutions and planning levels. As a result, plans were prepared by different institutions but for the same localities and regions. As for the regions, depending on the current planning legislation, three types of plan can be made. The first one is the regional plan by the SPO (i.e., reorganised as the Ministry of Development in June 2011), the second one is regional spatial strategic plans by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation, and the last one is environment plans also by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation.

Table 2.1 The core planning legislation and institutions in Turkey

Legislation/year	Institutions	Planning type
Abolished		
Ebniye Nizamnameleri (The Code on Buildings)/1848	Municipalities	Settlement plan
Buildings and Roads Law No. 2290/1933	Municipalities	Future city plan
Development Law No. 6785-1605/1957-1972	Municipalities, Central Authorities (Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (reorganised as Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation), Ministry of Forestry, Ministry of Tourism)	Master plan, implementation plan
In effect		
Development Law No. 3194/1985	Municipalities, Special Provincial Administrations, Central Authorities (Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (reorganised as Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation, Ministry of Forestry, Ministry of Tourism, State Planning Organisation (reorganised as the Ministry of Development in June 2011)	Regional plan, environmental plan, master plan, implementation plan
Legislative Decree No 641 KHK/641 date 3.6.2011	Ministry of Development	National strategy for regional development
Legislative Decree No 644 KHK/644; date 4.7.2011	Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation	National spatial strategic plan, regional spatial strategic plan
Spatial Strategic Plans Regulation/2014	Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation, Municipalities, Metropolitan Municipalities, Special Provincial Administrations	Spatial strategic plans, environmental plan, master plan, implementation plan, urban design project

Prepared by the author based on Ersoy (2011) and Özdemir Sönmez (2017)

2.3 A Short History of Regional Planning Practice in Turkey

The history of regional planning in Turkey includes two significant periods (MGK 1993; Keleş 2015). The first is the unplanned period, between 1923 and 1960. The second is the planned period, between 1960 and 2000. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the newly established Turkish Republic was dealing with a post-war socio-economic situation. Therefore, regional disparities and socio-economic differences have been a problem since the beginning (Keleş 2015; Tekeli 2013). According

Table 2.2 Planning types and scales in Turkey

Planning scale	Planning type
National	National development plan
	National strategy for regional development
	National spatial strategic plan
Regional	Regional plan
	Regional strategic spatial plan
	Environmental plan
Local	Master plan
	Implementation plan
	Urban design
Some specific area or objective plans/at different scales	Tourism master plan
	Conservation plan
	Special environmental area protection plan
	Coastal area plan
	Urban transformation area plan
	Industrial area plan
	Transportation master plan
	Rehabilitation plan
	Agricultural area plan
	Meadow, lea, grass land plan
	Village settlement plan
	National park area plan
	Water basin area plan
	Mass housing area plan

Prepared by the author based on Ersoy (2011), Duyguluer (2014), Özdemir Sönmez (2017) and Sari et al. (2018)

to Tekeli (2013), four fundamental policies were applied to deal with regional socio-economic differences that intensified after the First World War and the Turkish War of Independence. The first of these policies was the decision to make Ankara the capital city, a small city in the middle of Anatolia. The second was developing the railroad system through the heartland, i.e., Anatolia. The third was the establishment of large state-driven enterprises in small Anatolian settlements. The last one was modernising the country by establishing public centres. During that period, while the state tried to distribute investment throughout the country, private sector investment mostly focused on the western part of the country, namely İstanbul and the Marmara Region (Keleş 2015).

During this period, the most critical step related to regional planning was the drawing up of the First Five-Year Industry Plan in 1934. This plan was not compre-

hensive; rather it was a collection of 20 subprojects. The Second Five-Year Industry Plan was prepared in 1936. Industrial investments were suggested by this plan near places like Zonguldak and Kütahya Tavşanlı, where energy was produced based on coal. In 1946, another Industry Plan was prepared in which investments were distributed in 11 different districts where industrial complexes were created around energy production (Tekeli 2004, 2013).

The first military coup d'état in the Republic of Turkey took place on 27th May 1960. Following this coup, a new constitution was introduced in 1961. The 1961 Constitution, which was the fundamental law of Turkey from 1961 to 1982, defined more planned development of Turkey. Therefore, the 1960s were a turning point in the history of regional planning. Beginning in the 1960s, national development plans prepared for five-year periods and regional plans developed for specific regions have become essential tools in Turkey's regional development policy. Two institutions were critical in regional planning practice until the 2000s. One of them was established in 1958 as the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement for urbanisation affairs. This ministry had responsibility for the preparation of regional plans that give general direction to land use plans. The other institution was the SPO, which was established in 1960. The SPO was responsible for the drawing up of long- and short-term plans in Turkey. The planned period in the regional planning history of Turkey, therefore, began after the establishment of the SPO and with its preparation of Five-Year Development Plans.

The SPO, which became the Ministry of Development in 2011, has prepared ten development plans as of 2018 (Table 2.3). The First Five-Year Development Plan was prepared in 1963. These national development plans are significant plans that shape the regional development policy in Turkey, and in a way also regional planning. The aims for regional development in nearly all of the development plans are balanced regional development and developing less developed regions. Essential tools of regional development policy such as the Subsidy Program for Priority Regions in Development (Third Five-Year National Development Plan) or Organised Industrial Districts (Fifth Five-Year Development Plan) have been suggested in these plans and implemented. While in the First and Second Five-Year Development Plans regional planning and regional plans are stressed, except for the Fifth Five-Year Development Plan, there was no strong emphasis on regional plans until the Eighth Five-Year Development Plan. During the implementation period of the Ninth Development Plan, regional plans had already been prepared for all regions in Turkey. Furthermore, in the Tenth Development Plan period, a regional development national strategy was formulated and the need for action plans and operational plans for regional plans was emphasised. Eleventh Development Plan has already been prepared in the first quarter of 2018, but it has not been approved and published yet.

After the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, several regional plans and development projects were prepared for some specific and potential regions in Turkey. The first regional plan was prepared in 1958 with the aim of recovery from the effects of an earthquake in Fethiye, a small tourist town on the Mediterranean Sea. In the late 1950s, international organisations like the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations (UN) gave support

Table 2.3 National development plans in Turkey

Development plans	Basic objectives in regional development
First five-year development plan (1963–1967)	Balanced regional development, developing less developed and the regions that have potentials, regional planning and research
Second five-year development plan (1968–1972)	Balanced regional growth, developing less developed regions, balanced urbanisation and improving the urbanisation, cohesion in national development plans and regional plans
Third five-year development plan (1973–1977)	Enabling balanced regional development by endogenous dynamics, balanced regional development for the aim of social equity, investment efficiency, sectoral and provincial planning, and subsidies for priority regions in development
Fourth five-year development plan (1979–1983)	Developing interregional relations, a spatial organisation that includes social and economic coordination and cooperation, balanced distribution of industries, liveable cities, and emphasis on Eastern and South-eastern regions of Turkey as priority regions in development
Fifth five-year development plan (1985–1989)	Balanced regional development, developing regions with potentials, preparation of regional plans and regional development schemes, developing settlements hierarchy, the establishment of organised industrial districts, subsidy programme for priority regions in development
Sixth five-year development plan (1990–1994)	Balanced regional development and balanced settlement hierarchy, decreasing regional disparities, metropolitan area administrations, balanced industrial activity distribution, subsidy programme for priority regions in development, considering aims of the European Union regional policy
Seventh five-year development plan (1996–2000)	Decreasing the regional development inequalities, developing less developed regions, subsidies, and policies for priority regions in development, projects for less developed regions, sustainable development principle and mobilising endogenous and local resources, provincial development plans

(continued)

Table 2.3 (continued)

Development plans	Basic objectives in regional development
Eighth five-year development plan (2001–2005)	Decreasing regional imbalances, developing priority regions in development, principles of sustainability, interregional integration, social and economic balance, increasing quality of life, cultural development and participation, cohesion to European Union regional policy aims, preparation of regional plans, provincial development plans, developing new industrial districts and sectoral specialisation, functional region centres
Ninth development plan (2007–2013)	Decreasing regional and urban-rural inequalities, development based on endogenous and local resources, determining regional and local planning tools and standards, cohesion among spatial plans, preparation of regional development strategy at national scale, preparation of regional plans by development agencies, developing growth pole centres, supporting innovative, high value-added and competitive sectors, increasing local institutional capacity, supporting participation in regional development practices
Tenth development plan (2014–2018)	Decreasing regional imbalances and achieving a balanced development, implementation of National Strategy for Regional Development (NSRD) , implementation of regional planning programs and action plans, policies for the development of low-income, middle-income and peripheral regions, developing transport networks between north and south, developing clustering and innovative and high-tech production, foreign direct investment

Prepared by the author based on development plans

to regional development plans (Tekeli 1972). The Ministry of Public Affairs and Settlements prepared with the aid of the OECD the Köyceğiz-Dalaman plan, which also included Fethiye. In the planned period of Turkish regional planning history, the plans can be regarded as first-generation and second-generation plans (Tekeli 2013) (Fig. 2.1). These first- and second-generation plans were drawn up for different regions for various aims (Table 2.4).

Five regional plans were prepared by the SPO and Ministry of Public Works and Settlements until the 1970s. These two organisations were both responsible for regional planning defined by law until the 1980s. Unfortunately, there was no agreement between these two institutions (Keleş 2015; Tekeli 2013). Thus, a conflict has existed for a long time in Turkey between these two institutions in regional

Table 2.4 Regional plans prepared in the planned period

Plans	Prepared by	Objectives
First-generation plans		
Eastern Marmara regional plan (1963)	Ministry of Public Works and Settlement	Developing the Anatolia part in Marmara region and developing manufacturing industry in Derince, İzmit and Adapazarı areas
Zonguldak regional plan (1963–1964)	Ministry of Public Works and Settlement	Decreasing income differences, improving infrastructure, supporting urbanisation and manufacturing and service sectors, maintaining a balance between public and private investments
Antalya regional plan (1966)	United Nations, FAO, and SPO	Improving the agricultural and tourism sector opportunities in the region
Çukurova regional project (1970)	SPO, Ministry of Public Works and Settlement and OECD	Development with agricultural and industrial production and improving tourism sector
Keban project (1968)	Ministry of Public Works and Settlement	Increasing the income of manufacturing industry, raising the income from the agricultural production
Çukurova urban development project (1987)	A private firm with World Bank financial support	Rehabilitation in housing conditions, solving problems in squatter housing areas, improving infrastructure and transportation systems in urban areas
Second-generation plans		
South-eastern Anatolia project (GAP) (1989)	Japanese and Turkish private firm cooperation, SPO	Increasing income and decreasing the regional inequalities and increasing the efficiency and employment opportunities in rural areas
Zonguldak-Bartın-Karabük regional development project (ZBK) (1997)	SPO and a private firm	Supporting manufacturing and trade sectors for development, supporting SMEs, providing occupational education, and protecting and enhancing the environment

(continued)

Fig. 2.1 First- and second-generation regional plans in Turkey. (Prepared by the author)

Table 2.4 (continued)

Plans	Prepared by	Objectives
Eastern Black Sea regional development plan (DOKAP) (2000)	SPO and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)	Strengthening economic structure and fostering social integration and sustainability
Eastern Anatolia project master plan (DAP) (2000)	SPO and universities in the region	Utilising the endogenous potentials of the region
Yeşilırmak watershed area development project (YHGP) (2006)	SPO and a private firm	Transformation and development of spatial, social, and economic structure in the region

Prepared by the author based on Eke (2002), Tekeli (2013), Keleş (2015) and Ministry of Development (2018)

planning practice that also affects the practice and implementation processes. First-generation plans have not been implemented.

In 1971, another military coup d'état occurred in Turkey. With this coup, regional planning and regional plans appeared to go into decline. The Third Five-Year Development Plan prepared during that period made no mention of regional planning or regional plans. The revitalisation of regional planning in Turkey began with the second-generation regional plans and especially with the South-eastern Anatolia Project (abbreviated as GAP in Turkish). The project was an integrated project that included not only large infrastructure investments but also urban and rural infrastructure, transportation, industry, health, and education as well as the development of other sectors. It was financed by the UN and the European Commission (EC). Moreover, for the first time, in Turkey a regional administration, the South-eastern Anatolia Project Administration, was established for regional planning and development of a region; even though the GAP Administration's headquarters was in the capital city Ankara, it had a subbranch in the region in Şanlıurfa. The SPO mainly outsourced these second-generation plans, and private firms and other institutions prepared them. Regional planning in Turkey gained further pace after the 2000s and especially with the accession period to become a member of the EU.

2.4 Changes in Regional Planning in Turkey: New Institutions and Tools After the 2000s

The regional plans prepared in Turkey up to the 2000s involved several problems. These problems were mostly related to legislative, institutional, implementation, and financial issues (Keleş 2015; Kayan 2012). First of all, there was no law or by-law that defined the general framework related to regional plans. Moreover, there was also no guideline for the preparation of plans and programmes. In fact, there was no definition about regional plans or how to prepare them. Therefore, the plans (first- and second-generation plans) were not prepared according to any standards. Moreover, not every region had a regional plan in Turkey until the 2000s. Thus, there was no connection between national and subnational plans. The second problem concerned the institutions of regional planning. The SPO was the institution responsible for preparing regional plans but no local or regional institutions existed either for preparation or for implementation. Therefore, it was difficult from the central level to identify the endogenous potential and needs of regions. Most of the first-generation plans were not implemented in Turkey. In addition, the second-generation plans saw limited implementation due to financial issues. Therefore, the third problem is mostly related to implementation and finance. In fact, mostly, financial problems prevented implementation. Thus, this meant there was no evaluation of the implementation process, which is necessary for today's planning practice.

In the 1980s and 1990s, both regional development policy and planning practice were changing around the world. With globalisation, it became much harder to have competitive power worldwide. Externalities of agglomeration economies were not sufficient to compete with other companies, regions, or nations. Production based on knowledge and the knowledge economy was the key to competitiveness. In those circumstances, not only companies but also localities, regions, and nations had to change to adapt to the new global economic conditions. This adaptation meant technological change, creativity, and innovation. To enhance their development, regions should foster their endogenous dynamics and achieve sustainable development by innovativeness and creativity. Now, in addition to nation states, there is a role for multi-level actors like municipalities, supranational organisations, and NGOs for the development of regions. Thus, we can now talk about the governance of regions and development instead of government (Tekeli 2004). The new regional development policy aims to develop all regions instead of decreasing regional development disparities. In addition, increasing quality of life, decreasing poverty, and developing human capital and social capital are the new aims of regional development policy in different countries around the world. In fact, regional development policy is now changing from a comprehensive and central policy to a strategic local policy.

With the transformation in economic, social, and political areas, planning practice has also changed. There has been a strategic spatial planning approach depending on participation and collaboration since the 1980s. Depending on the Habermas communicative rationality, the planning paradigm has changed (Forester 1993; Healey 1996; Innes 1996; Innes and Booher 2004; Forester 1999). Planning should be a

more collaborative and consensus type of activity. The traditional planning approach has been criticised by not being flexible or collaborative and not suitable for the free-market economy. During the 1980s, planning was transformed into a more flexible short-term, easily adaptable to market and political pressure practice. In the 1990s, these approaches were replaced by a strategic type of planning in which plans have a vision and are action oriented and more participatory. Regional plans are also prepared based on these approaches. They include a strategic vision, national priorities, and local demands and emphasise sectoral priorities. They can be revised easily and are adaptable to new conditions. In the preparation and implementation process, local actors have a role. They include implementation, operationalisation, monitoring, and evaluation processes (Yaşar and Morova 2010).

These recent changes in regional development policy and the planning paradigm around the world have also had an effect on the regional development planning practice in Turkey. In fact, one change in Turkish history, the candidacy for EU membership, prompted radical changes in regional development policies and revised regional planning practice in Turkey.

2.4.1 Accession to EU Regional Policy and New Legislation

In 1999, at the Summit Meeting in Helsinki of the EU Commission candidacy status was recognised for Turkey. In 2001, the document "Council Decision of 8 March 2001 on the Principles, Priorities, Intermediate Objectives and Conditions Contained in the Accession Partnership with the Republic of Turkey" was published in the Official Journal of the European Community. Following this Accession Partnership document, three more partnership documents were published: in 2003, in 2006, and in 2008. In these Accession Partnership documents, short- and medium-term priorities and intermediate objectives were identified also for regional policy issues in Turkey. These priorities mainly involved preparing a Nomenclature for Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS) regional classification, developing a national policy for economic and social cohesion aimed at reducing regional disparities through a national development plan, and the preparation of regional development plans at NUTS 2 level, setting up regional branches at NUTS 2 level to implement regional development plans, and establishing the necessary legislative and administrative framework to absorb EU pre-accession funds (European Council 2003, 2006, 2008).

Based on these priorities, in September 2002 a law was passed establishing NUTS level 1, 26 new regions to form the provisional NUTS level 2, and 81 existing provinces that form NUTS level 3 (Özdemir 2017). These NUTS 2 regions (Fig. 2.2) group the 81 existing provinces into clusters with geographical and/or economic similarities. The criteria for the classification of NUTS 2 regions were not clearly stated by the SPO. Therefore, some of the defined NUTS 2 regions were criticised from time to time.

The second step that is important for regional planning in Turkey related to EU accession was the establishment of different local and national institutions that

Fig. 2.2 NUTS 2 classification in Turkey. (Prepared by the author)

focused on regional development and planning issues. The last step was a national strategy about regional development, which was prepared for the period 2014–2023 and accepted in 2014.

2.4.2 New Organisations in Regional Development and Regional Planning

Four new organisations were established in Turkey for regional development and regional planning issues after the 2000s. For the first time, some of those organisations were located in regions and some of them were specific to regional development. These organisations are Development Agencies (DAs), Supreme Council of Regional Development, Regional Development Committee, and Regional Development Administrations.

At the central level, two important changes have also been made in institutional terms related to planning and development. One of them is the reorganisation of the SPO into the Ministry of Development through a legislative decree in 2011. Mostly all of the functions and the responsibilities of the SPO were the same, including the preparation of national development plans and regional plans. Another change is the reorganisation of the Ministry of Public Works and Settlements via a merger with the Ministry of Environment and Forestry's environment part to create the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation through a legislative decree in 2011. The Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation has had responsibility for spatial planning since then.

Development Agencies DAs are organisations that aim to achieve and support economic, social, and cultural development and endogenous development of a certain geographic area. According to Damborg et al. (1998), DAs are organisations outside the mainstream of central and local government and stimulate the economic development of regions using public funds. The first DA was established in the USA, i.e., the Tennessee Valley Authority, in the 1930s. After the Second World War to mitigate the effects of war and restore their region in economic and social terms,

many European countries began to establish agencies. Generally, DAs flourish in regions' economies in cooperation with other local actors. Their establishment has been supported by the EU recently in member states and especially in the new member states for the implementation of EU regional policy because of their flexible and dynamic structures (Danson et al. 2000).

In Turkey, there were no functional DAs until 2006. In fact, in addition to the SPO, there was only the GAP Administration involved in regional development planning and programming for regions. Moreover, both of them work at the central level. Therefore, there has been a need for the management of regional development policies and also for regional planning at the local level for many years. The necessity to establish DAs has been stated in the National Development Plans and various Regional Development Plans previously. Especially after the 1990s and 2000s, the SPO and the Development Bank of Turkey along with some chambers of commerce and industry have introduced some central and local initiatives to establish DAs in Turkey.

The main factor, however, that has hastened the process for the establishment of DAs is that Turkey passed institutional and legal regulations to achieve harmonisation with the EU's regional policy. During the EU accession process for management of Structural Funds, it was envisaged that DAs were necessary.

"The Law on the Establishment, Coordination and Duties of Development Agencies" came into force in January 2006. The law includes principles and procedures related to the establishment, duties, and coordination of DAs, as well as their employment policy, budget, and audit procedures. The SPO is defined as the institution responsible for the coordination of DAs at national level. The DAs' main purpose is to accelerate regional development, promote cooperation between the public and private sectors, and contribute to the reduction of interregional disparities. The DAs will be funded in part from the national budget and in part by transfers from the special provincial administrations (local authorities), municipalities, and chambers of commerce and trade (European Commission 2006). Related to regional plans, their duties are defined as follows:

- to support activities and projects ensuring the implementation of regional plans and programmes;
- to contribute to the improvement of the capacity of the region concerning rural and local development in accordance with regional plans and programmes and support the projects within this extent.

In January 2007, two pilot DAs were established in the İzmir and Adana-Mersin regions, namely the İzmir Development Agency and Çukurova Development Agency, respectively. However, the law setting up regional DAs has been challenged by a number of associations. Some of the articles were challenged in the Constitutional Court. The main reason for this was that the setting up of DAs would undermine the territorial integrity of Turkey. In November 2007, the Constitutional Court rejected the challenges for the law, except for some articles of it. In March 2008, DAs started to operate. In 2009, a DA was established in each of the 26 NUTS 2 regions in Turkey. They prepared regional plans for two periods (2010–2013 and 2014–2023) using

new approaches in planning: strategic planning and participation. They have grant systems for fostering development in their regions. They tried to attract foreign direct investment through their Investment Support Offices. They produced other strategic documents for their regions on issues like clustering, innovation, rural development, marketing, and quality of life, and for some specific sectors in their regions.

The main aim of DAs has been to foster regional development of their regions. However, over time, they have become perceived by local actors and also by some national actors as financial support organisations with their grant systems. They were thought of as a part of public reform at the beginning but now are criticised for not achieving the aim of decreasing regional disparities (Karasu 2015; Övgün 2017).

Establishment of the Supreme Council and Committee In 2011 through a legislative decree (concerning the establishment of the Ministry of Development), two central institutions were established to coordinate regional development and regional planning among central institutions and local authorities in Turkey. The first was the Supreme Council of Regional Development. The council was made up of the Prime Minister, the Development Minister, and ministers decided on by the Prime Minister (Legislative Decree No. 641). It made decisions nationwide on regional development issues. In fact, its main responsibility is to determine national policies and national priorities in the field of regional development. Moreover, it approves the National Strategy for Regional Development (NSRD) as well as development projects, regional plans, strategies, and action plans, such as the South-eastern Anatolia Project, the Eastern Anatolia Project, the Eastern Black Sea Project, and the Konya Plain Project. The Council also makes high-level decisions to ensure the integrity and coordination of regional development policies in the main policy areas such as agriculture, industry, tourism, transportation, spatial development, rural development, entrepreneurship, innovation, and small- and medium-sized enterprises. In 2014, the Higher Council approved the NSRD, regional plans prepared by DAs, and action plans prepared by Regional Development Administrations.

The second one, the Regional Development Committee, was a technical committee. It was formed of the undersecretary of the Ministry of Development and some other undersecretaries of ministries. The Committee was expected to harmonise the planning, implementation, and monitoring of sectoral, thematic, and regional policies at national level, to better link regional plans. Moreover, it was to direct the NSRD, to contribute to the preparation process of the strategy, to make the final evaluation before approval, to develop measures to strengthen the compliance and complementarity of regional development national strategy and regional plans with sectoral and thematic policies, to direct efforts to ensure integrity between spatial development strategies and development policies at national and regional level, and to give opinions, evaluations, and suggestions by examining the regional plans, regional programmes, and programmes, projects, and supports that are important in terms of regional development.

Regional Development Administrations In 2011, Regional Development Administrations (RDAs) were established for dealing with regional development issues in the second-generation plan regions. There are four RDAs that aim to coordinate the implementation and action plans of the second-generation plans: GAP,

DOKAP, DAP, and a new project, namely the Konya Plain Project (KOP). They are not established in NUTS 2 regions. Some of the RDAs have responsibility for 8–15 provinces. In fact, their aim is to accelerate the development of their region by performing the research, planning, programming, project planning, monitoring, evaluation, and coordination services required by the investments in the provinces. RDAs play a role in the preparation, monitoring, and coordination of action plans based on regional plans as part of Turkey's new regional development approach. They had already prepared the action plans and they are now working to steer public investments in their regions. Action plans designed as integrated regional development projects include common development axes like improvement in local institutional capacity and strengthening of social structure, while there are also different development axes for development potentials of regions (Akpınar 2017).

Some of their responsibilities are very similar to those of DAs. Their main difference lies in their role in public investments and their centrality. Thus, they are criticised over the necessity of their existence, their centralised role, their ineffectiveness in their coordination role, and their unsuccessful monitoring of the implementation of action plans as well as their failure to work with local actors effectively (Karasu 2015; Akpınar 2017).

2.4.3 Recent Regional Plans for NUTS Regions

Contemporary changes in regional development policy in Turkey resulted in a new regional planning approach that is for all regions and includes all stakeholders. New regional planning is defined as a social, participatory, strategic, and innovative process that combines top–down and bottom–up planning approaches. The recent regional plans are strategic and therefore their vision is long term. Being strategic means being flexible, i.e., if a strategy changes, it is not necessary to change the entire plan. Participation is an important element of the regional planning approach. Appropriate levels of participation in different stages of the planning process make plans more legitimate, and facilitate the identification of local needs and the production of local and common shared solutions. In this sense, participation is one of the main elements of the process of developing awareness and learning in the region.

With a general approach, it is possible to summarise the stages of the recent planning process in the form of current situation analysis, vision formation, strategy, and policies determination, implementation, and monitoring/evaluation. The planning process starts with analysis of the current situation, followed by the vision, and the determination of the goals and strategies to achieve this vision. Implementation in the form of programmes is the next step. The last step is the monitoring and evaluation activities that provide feedback on decision making for the planning and programming processes. The new planning approach is a cyclical process and is prepared in parallel to national development plans and NSRD.

Under the coordination of the Ministry of Development, DAs prepare and implement the regional plans in cooperation with the local stakeholders and actors (Yaşar

and Morova 2010). Based on these new approaches and principles for two periods, 2010–2013 and 2014–2023, DAs prepared regional plans for their NUTS 2 regions. Most of the plan preparation processes of DAs involved the cyclical process defined here, while they had some special solutions tailored specifically to their regions. However, it can be said that with the recent plans prepared by DAs now all regions in Turkey had a regional plan and they had some standards. In the Tenth Development Plan, it was stated that operational programmes and action plans of the regional plans should be prepared. The DAs are still working on these action plans and so the implementation of the existing regional plans has been limited. They have been using their grant systems to achieve the priorities and strategies of the regional plans, but they have been insufficient. As to be implemented, regional plans need actions from many local and national actors. This shows that the action plans or operational programs of the regional plans must be prepared in short time to define the responsibilities, actors, and budget of the strategies and actions. Therefore, for new regional planning finance, implementation is still a problem. In fact the continuing lack of legislation about the content, procedures, preparation, and general framework of regional plans may be the most fundamental problem which should be tackled by central organisations.

An Example of Recent Regional Plans: İzmir Regional Plan (2014–2023) After the 2010–2013 period, agencies started to prepare 2014–2023 regional plans in line with the Tenth Development Plan. Research by İzmir Development Agency (abbreviated as İZKA in Turkish) regarding its plan started in January 2012. The plan preparation process was completed in December 2013, and in 2014 the plan was approved by the Supreme Council of Regional Development. The main purpose of the plan was to evaluate the internal dynamics and development potential of İzmir and to mobilise them (İZKA 2013). The plan preparation process involved a participatory and strategic planning approach. Moreover, preparation included the following principles: ensuring consensus and participation at every stage of planning, utilisation of quantitative analysis methods, and design as a plan to be supplemented through actions. The first step in the plan preparation is actually designing the process by determining the steps to be taken. The preparation process of the plan consisted of seven stages:

1. Stakeholder analysis,
2. Sectoral/thematic analyses and substrategies,
3. Current situation analysis,
4. The 2014–2023 İzmir Regional Plan Portal,
5. Participatory workshops,
6. Regional spatial development scheme,
7. Compiling the results, synthesis, determining the performance criteria, and creating the plan.

In the first stage, stakeholder analysis, İZKA conducted stakeholder mapping and created a participation ladder. In these processes, regional institutions and organisations were analysed based on what role they will play in the plan preparation and implementation processes. The second stage of the plan includes sectoral and thematic analyses and defining thematic and sectoral regional strategies. Analyses

were conducted in cooperation with universities and institutions experienced in their fields. This was followed by the preparation of thematic or sectoral regional strategies, which were the results of workshops held with the participation of relevant institutions and organisations for the preparation of regional substrategies (İZKA 2013). During the plan preparation process, the participation and contribution of different local groups, sector representatives, and organisations was achieved through many workshops/meetings on informatics, tourism, innovation, clustering, eco-efficiency, employment and vocational education, the culture economy, and the aquaculture products sector. The third step, situation analysis of the region, based on qualitative and quantitative data that would give an overview of the region, was conducted to ensure the correct development axes, strategies, and objectives for the region. At the conclusion of the study, the region's problems and potentials were revealed and were forwarded to institutions at every level for the purpose of receiving their opinions and evaluations. The fourth stage of the process consisted of using an Internet portal to achieve the participation of every citizen in İzmir and to ask their opinions about the plan. Therefore, the İzmir Regional Plan Portal was used not only for the purpose of providing dynamic participation in the process but also for presenting information to the citizens of İzmir and institutions regarding the process. The next stage also involved a participatory approach, namely the İzmir Citizen Meeting. Five hundred people living in İzmir were invited via random method in order to obtain their opinions on how they would like to see İzmir in the year 2023 and what should be the development priorities related to this vision. Together with the inputs received from the review of analysis studies, workshop outputs, reports, and national strategy documents, the plan's axes, priorities, and objectives were also reviewed and three development axes were determined.

The vision for İzmir was defined as "İzmir as the Attraction Pole of the Mediterranean by Producing Knowledge, Design, and Innovation" (İZKA 2013). In order to achieve this vision, three development axes were determined: Strong Economy, High Quality of Life, and Strong Society. Within these axes, there are 13 priorities. Depending on the aims, priorities, and strategies defined in the plan, a spatial development scheme, in the form of a regional spatial development scheme, has also been prepared (Fig. 2.3). It is aimed to increase productivity and value-added production in İzmir in the Strong Economy axis. For this purpose, priorities and aims are defined based on issues like strengthening clustering, increasing the capacity for innovation and design, and development of an entrepreneurship ecosystem and business and investment environment. In the axis of High Quality of Life, development of health services, measures necessary for the sustainability of the environment, urban transformation and spatial arrangements that will increase the quality of urban life, and development of accessibility have been discussed. The final axis, Strong Society, includes priorities and objectives for education, employment, social inclusion, and governance.

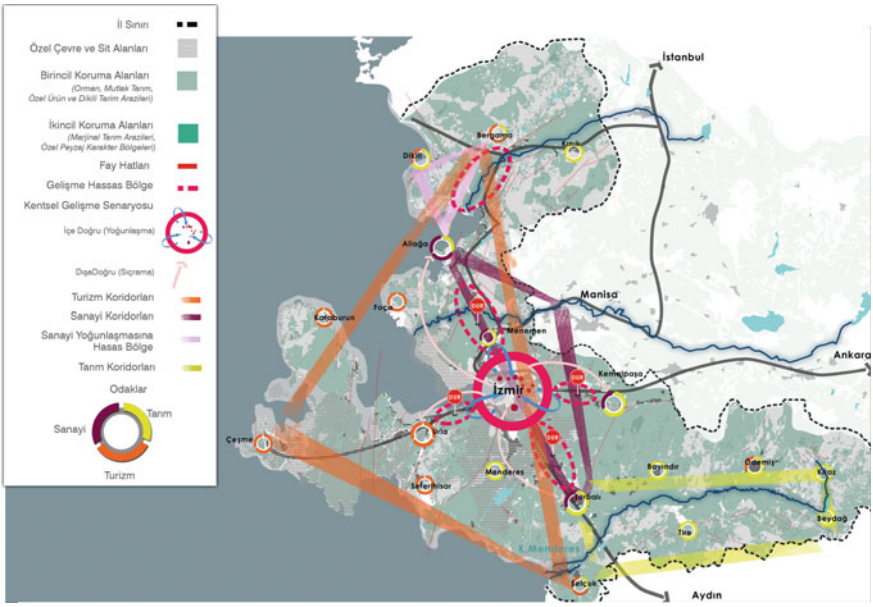

Fig. 2.3 2014–2023 İzmir Regional Development Scheme. (Approved 2014–2023 Regional Plan of İzmir, İZKA 2013)

2.4.4 National Strategy for Regional Development

The NSRD, which establishes a general framework and sets out guidance for regional and local plans and strategies, was prepared for the period of 2014–2023. The NSRD was drawn up for the following reasons: to provide coordination at the national level on regional development and regional competitiveness, to strengthen the harmony between spatial development and socio-economic development policies, to establish a general policy framework for subscale (regional and provincial) plans and strategies, and to provide perspective to the institutions, local administrations, universities, and non-governmental organisations.

As a strategic document, the NSRD includes international trends affecting regional development, national development goals, interaction with new regional policy and other national strategies, regional structure and trends, regional development vision and strategies, implementation strategy of policies, and monitoring, evaluation, and coordination structures. It was prepared via a strategic planning approach and participation in the form of regional plans prepared by DAs (Özdemir 2017). By taking into consideration the global, national, and local levels, the 2014–2023 period regional development vision in the NSRD is defined as "A more balanced and totally developed Turkey integrated in socio-economic and spatial terms with its highly competitive and prosperous regions". The principles for regional development in the 2014–2023 NSRD are as follows:

- Compliance and complementarity with national priorities,
- Equal opportunity,
- Sustainability,
- Productivity,
- Participation,
- Cooperation and partnership,
- Multi-level governance,
- Locality and subsidiarity.

Based on these principles, the general aim of the NSRD is reducing regional development differences and spreading welfare nationwide (Ministry of Development 2016). It also has the aim of achieving maximum contribution of all regions to national development by evaluating their potential and increasing their competitiveness, strengthening economic and social integration, and establishing a more balanced settlement hierarchy throughout the country. In the NSRD to achieve these general aims, both spatial and horizontal aims are also defined. The NSRD was approved by the Supreme Regional Development Council and came into force in November 2014.

2.5 Conclusion: Challenges and the Future of the New Regional Planning System

If we study the history of regional planning around the world, we see that during certain periods there were peaks in regional planning studies and practice when academic studies, policies, and practices had great focus. On the other hand, during other periods there was a decline in focus in academic studies, policy, and practice. This situation is quite similar as well as parallel to the history of regional planning in Turkey. In Turkey in the 1960s, at the beginning of the planned period, regional planning was a priority in national policies. The first-generation plans prepared by the SPO and the Ministry of Public Works and Settlements are the first examples of regional planning practice in Turkey. However, those plans were not implemented due to lack of legal empowerment and also lack of finance. During the 1970s, on the other hand, regional planning became a reduced priority in national policies, which resulted in less practice and preparation of regional plans and more focus on local and provincial plans.

A more centralised planning system was created in 1985 by the Development Law numbered 3194, which defines the current planning hierarchy in Turkey. The Development Law delegates the main responsibility and power for planning and implementation to local governments. The first step involved the planning system moving from a centralised one to a more localised one. Regional plans as a distinct planning level were legislated for the first time in 1985 by the Development Law. However, the law did not define the procedures, rules, content, or standards for regional plans. The SPO was assigned as the organisation responsible for regional

planning, but there were no definitions regarding it in any by-law for those procedures either. After the 1990s and especially during the 2000s, a new route has been mapped for regional development policy as well as planning because of global trends and EU candidacy. New regional classifications, NUTS, have been defined; new institutions, DAs, Supreme Council and Committee, and RDAs, have been established; and new regional plans with new approaches for all regions of Turkey have been prepared by the DAs. With the establishment of the DAs, regional plans were prepared in the form of participatory strategic plans with common content and standards at NUTS level II. Not with the Development Law but for the first time regional plans are also more localised in this new system in Turkey. However, regional planning still lacks legislation and operational/action plans and lacks finances for implementation.

Over the last few years, regional planning has faced powerful challenges not only in Turkey but also worldwide. In a global world with complex socio-economic and political relations, plan making now is in the interest of different groups not only the planners. For example, in Turkey, it has become a highly politicised practice. Therefore, currently, planning practice is moving towards a more complex position. Two important challenges exist for the current regional planning system in Turkey.

The first one is related to the recent developments concerning planning legislation in Turkey. With the amendment of the current Development Law and the new regulation "Spatial Plans By-law", regional plans have been evaluated more as socio-economic plans without a spatial perspective and are excluded from the spatial plan hierarchy (Sarı et al. 2018). The new regulation defines the Spatial Strategic Planning Levels as National Spatial Strategic Plans and Regional Spatial Strategic Plans. Instead of the NSRD and regional plans, these two upper-scale plans are included in the planning hierarchy and, in fact, they are similar. The new regulation was defined by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation. As a result, the dual structure and power struggle among the institutions about upper-scale plans in Turkey were revived with this by-law.

The second challenge is a more severe one about the future of regional plans. Now, regional planning practice is in an era of uncertainty in Turkey. A constitutional referendum was held in Turkey on 16 April 2017 on whether to approve 18 proposed amendments to the Turkish constitution. The amendments would result in a change from the parliamentary government system to a presidential government system. These changes were accepted by voters and with the June 2018 election Turkey gained a new political government system. Turkey is at the beginning of new era, but some changes have already been made regarding organisations and responsibilities of public institutions. Regional planning has also been affected by these changes. The SPO recently became the Ministry of Development and so ceased to exist. The Directorate General for Regional Development and Structural Adjustment, which was the directorate responsible for regional development and regional planning, and DAs are now reorganised as the Directorate General of Development Agencies under the Ministry of Industry and Technology. On the other hand, there has been no change to the Development Law about regional plans and who is responsible for them. The Supreme Council of Regional Development and Regional Development Committee have also now ceased to exist following a recent Presidential Decree.

Their responsibilities and functions have been transferred to the President and the Ministry of Industry and Technology. For example, regional plans will be approved by the President. Will Turkey no longer have regional plans and will the Regional Spatial Strategic Plans of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation become the only existing plans at the regional scale? Will the DAs continue to prepare regional plans under the coordination of the Ministry of Industry and Technology? As a result, what will happen to regional planning practice in Turkey is a big question due to the recent developments.

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Chapter 3
The Role of the Planner in the Shaping of Urban Form in Turkish Cities

Tolga Ünlü

Abstract This study focuses on the role of the planner in the process of shaping the urban form of Turkish cities. The aim is to discuss the role of the planner from a historical perspective. After an examination of the changing nature of the Turkish planning system and development plans, the study provides a tentative framework for explaining the changing role of the planner. In its evolution throughout almost a century, from the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 until the present day, the role of the planner in shaping the urban space has been reduced to the distribution of development rights. Priority is given to the construction of more buildings through projects conceived on the basis of single plots to replace old buildings with new ones or through urban regeneration projects on a neighbourhood scale, which are realized through the demolition of informal housing areas. In both cases, we see the absence of a structural understanding of the nature of the world we live in, where urban development plans have become the tools for replacement processes, and cities have become places where buildings come together without being woven into each other.

Keywords The planner · Turkish cities · Urban form · Development plans

3.1 Introduction

The history of the shaping of urban form within the social and economic development of societies in different cultural contexts is a long-enduring subject. During the evolution of societies, the urban space is shaped by the interplay of varying agents, directed by the rules, which might be encoded in either an unwritten or written manner. In the latter, they are bundled within a legally binding urban planning system.

Since the shaping of the city of Miletus is considered the first example of urban planning in history, Hippodamus, in this case, acted as the first planner during the

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rebuilding of Miletus as a colonial port town of the Greek world on the shores of the Aegean Sea. What made him the first planner was not the implementation of a grid pattern for dividing the city into portions, but the use of this pattern in combination with a social theory of urbanism that resulted in the separation of the city into three distinct parts consisting of diverse classes (Kostof 1991, 105). Beginning from this period, many distinguished professionals appeared in history to formulate, implement, and theorize the ways of shaping the urban form. However, urban planning emerged as a distinct discipline during the nineteenth century in order to find solutions to the emergent problems of the rapidly growing industrial cities. In this period, Haussmann of Paris, Cerda of Barcelona, and Burnham of Chicago were in search of inserting a regular pattern onto the developing city through a monumental approach, which was criticized by the artistic approach of Camillo Sitte, who was in search of invoking the spatial qualities of the medieval town in industrial cities. Ebenezer Howard, Tony Garnier, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier were participants in a generative approach through seeking a new city and a new way of living, and thus a new way of urbanism with their theories on the Garden City, the *Cite Industrielle*, the Broadacre City, and the Contemporary City, respectively. As the roots of urban planning as a discipline can be found in the views of nineteenth-century thinkers, the enactment of the Housing and Town Planning Act in England in 1909 paved the way to establishing and institutionalizing urban planning as well as the planner.

According to Hall, planning "is concerned with deliberately achieving some objective, and it proceeds by assembling actions into some orderly sequence" (2002, 1). With respect to this definition, Hall points out that urban planning "refers to planning with a spatial, or geographical component, in which the general objective is to provide for a spatial structure of activities which in some way is better than the pattern that would exist without planning" (2002, 3). Along this path, Ersoy (2007, 9) points out that planning includes all processes of actions to reach the intended targets. It is different from many other disciplines because it is a practical field of endeavour that claims to be able to predict the consequences of its actions (Campbell and Fainstein 1996, 2).

In this vein, in its essence, urban planning is concerned with the shaping of urban form; it is an everlasting process in which different agents take their places with their varying needs, values, and judgments. All of these agents, which are not only professionals such as architects, planners, and landscape architects but also the laypeople, tend to shape the urban built environment to give a character to the urban form in which they live, and thus to produce plans (not only urban) to intervene into a space. This process gives the city its changing nature, from the small to the large scale, from the buildings, plots, blocks, and streets to the entire city. In the last instance, among all agents, the planner is a prominent one, regardless of his or her profession, which might be architecture, urban planning, or something else since his or her role is confined to preparing urban development plans as official documents to direct the actions of diverse agents in shaping the urban form. Therefore, in this study, the planner is conceived of as an agent of any profession who acts within the process of the shaping of urban form with the legal right to prepare plans.

Within the complex nature of this process, starting from the mid-1980s, dissatisfaction with the urban form has been evident. The criticisms are focused on the mediocrity of buildings and spaces (Tibbalds 2001), the fragmented city with a loosening of the urban form, a lower intensity of land use within the enormous urban growth, the sprawl of the city to the surrounding areas (Urban Task Force 1999), and the lack of a coherent and satisfying pattern of development (Hedman and Jaszenski 1984).

The criticisms on the quality of the built environment first arose during the breakup of CIAM (*Congrès Internationaux d' Architecture Moderne*) in the 1950s. When Jose Lluis Sert, then-president of CIAM and Dean of the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University, organized the first Urban Design Conference, he was drawing attention to the problem of the suburban way of life as a symbol of good and healthy urbanism, which was promoted by planners who were turning their backs on the city. According to him, planners are much more concentrated on the structure of the city through utilizing various methods of research and analysis rather than thinking about the physical qualities of urban spaces (Krieger and Saunders 2009, 3–5).

During the 1960s, Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, Gordon Cullen, and Christopher Alexander brought substantial criticism to the ways in which urban forms were being shaped. Their attack was mainly against modernist urbanism, which is based on the segregation of cities on the basis of functional zones, and as Mumford highlights, the "replacement of dense, working-class nineteenth-century urban tenement areas with a new pattern of housing and working places, which we often sited at the urban periphery … [through] typical CIAM-type widely spaced slab housing blocks" (2009, 19). Addressing the monotony and regimentation in cities, Jacobs accuses planners of being unaware of "how to plan for workable and vital cities" (1961, 7). According to Cullen (1961), the technical solutions that arose from scientific research created the city on the basis of averages and resulted in dull, uninteresting, and soulless spaces. He points out the need for professionals to develop wider insights into the built environment and to find ways to create a collective value of urban space through bringing buildings together rather than focusing on the individual building. Similarly, according to Lynch (1960), cities were being created in a partial and fragmented way instead of looking for a coherent pattern in which the parts of the city are interrelated. Alexander (1966) also criticizes the shaping of urban form through modernist principles and asserts that the artificial cities of the period were unsuccessful. In a further study, Alexander et al. (1987) comment that professionals such as urban planners and architects are not in search of a coherent whole, but rather the former is in search of the implementation of certain ordinances, and the latter is more preoccupied with the buildings. In this vein, Habraken (2000, 7) points out that professionals, especially designers and urban planners, do not take into account the intrinsic qualities of the built environment that give cities the capacity to adapt and transform for the survival of buildings.

Similar criticisms on the production of the built environment as a product of complex relations between agents are common in Turkish planning literature. The emphasis of these criticisms is on the homogeneity of the built environment and the individual actions of agents (Altaban 1998; Bademli 2002; Günay 2006). Günay

(1999) asserts that architects reflect their design approach in a fragmented manner on the basis of single plots while planners tend to focus on density and setback controls. In a recent study, Ünlü and Baş (2017) assert that the plot itself has been the most important morphological element during the shaping of urban form in Turkish cities, and small-scale alliances developed on the basis of individual plots for the production of apartment blocks, with landowners looking to build as many units as possible and small-scale contractors requesting more construction rights to maximize profits. Local governments have facilitated this process through new planning decisions that allowed for more development rights. In this way, the urban space has begun to be shaped on the basis of the plot, in which each morphological agent aims to increase his or her interest. The homogenous urban environment usually reveals itself through the prototype production of buildings.

This study aims to discuss the role of the planner in shaping the urban form, particularly in the Turkish case. Such a discussion can be framed through an investigation of the planner's motivations on the basis of subjective matters, or through the establishment of professional ethics and the promotion of formal standards in an objective way as well as the implementation of well-defined processes in a procedural technique; it can also be scrutinized through the commitments of the planner within the planning process due to different planning types such as comprehensive, incremental advocacy or collaborative types. This study focuses on the role of the planner in the shaping of urban form as a distinct physical phenomenon. It questions the planner's notion of the city as an entirety, and explores the planner's basic conceptions of intervening into the urban space, with the anticipation that the planner should first be aware of what the city is made of and the intrinsic qualities of the urban space for which he or she intends to develop decisions about shaping. This anticipation arises from the assumption of this study that the criticisms on the quality of the urban built environment, in Turkey or in cities abroad, rest on the planners' and other professionals' minimal awareness of the intrinsic qualities of the urban form and their limited endeavours to conceive of the city as an entirety on both small and large scales. That is to say, the planners develop decisions without knowing the essence of the object they are dealing with. Planning decisions are developed within routine procedures without thinking about the qualities of the urban space or the needs and expectations of its users. Although the discussion focuses upon the small scale, including the formation of buildings, plots, blocks, and street patterns, the entire city is also under scrutiny on the large scale. Departing from the questions of "What is the role of the planner in shaping the urban form?" and "Is there a change in the attitudes of the planner towards the urban form throughout the evolution of planning over different eras?", this study elaborates its discussion from a historical perspective, from the early Republican period until the present day. After an examination of the nature of the Turkish planning system and development plans, the study provides a tentative framework for an explanation of the changing role of the planner.

3.2 What Is the City Made of?

Moudon (1992) criticizes practitioners' lack of awareness and scant attention paid to "what the city is made of". That is to say, practitioners are not aware of the intrinsic qualities of the urban built environment. Understanding these qualities extends the architect's focus from the single building design or large-scale architectural design and instead makes planning decisions operational. In this light, the planner as a professional in the urban built environment needs to develop his or her knowledge to comprehend the nature of the built environment in order to improve the quality of the urban space. Such a comprehension needs to conceive of the city as a whole and not only aim to construct single buildings on the small scale or to create large-scale structures, but also to consider the urban form across all scales, from the plot to the entire city.

In their seminal book, *A Pattern Language*, Alexander et al. (1977) view the city through a hierarchical perspective, beginning with the entire city and then working down to neighbourhoods, clusters of buildings, buildings, rooms, and construction details. None of the patterns formed in this hierarchy are independent of any another. "Each pattern is connected to certain 'larger' patterns which come above it in the language and to certain 'smaller' patterns which come below in the language. The pattern helps to complete those larger patterns which are 'above' it and is itself completed by those smaller patterns which are 'below' it" (Alexander et al. 1977, xii). For this reason, the city should be conceived of as a growing whole, and every increment of construction should be made to reach the continuous structure of wholeness (Alexander et al. 1987, 22).

Alexander et al. (1987) draw attention to the problem that if each new part that is created by conscious actions cannot be defined as a part of the existing whole, the relationship between the existing and newly emerging parts of the city cannot be settled successfully. An unsatisfactory relationship between these two distinct parts cannot allow us to sustain the structure of the city as a coherent whole. Similarly, as Cataldi (2003) highlights, Muratori, the founder of the Italian school of design typology, was shedding light on the crisis of the built environment, defined as the split between the structure and form of cities and architecture, that arose as a result of the modernist way of thinking based on the use of a quantitative and standardized serial production of the built environment. Muratori believed that the crucial relationship between the subject (the planner) and the conceived object (the city) as well as the relationship between the host organism (the existing city) and the guest organism (accretions to the city) should be ensured through the utilization of a human scale.

While Muratori was paving the way to the creation of an Italian school of design typology, M. R. G. Conzen similarly was spreading the seeds of the British school of urban morphology through his detailed study on various English towns in the 1960s and 1970s. He states that the problem of urban planning (and also of the planner) is its lack of awareness of the historical character of existing cities (Conzen 1966). Accordingly, the neglect of cultural needs in favour of economic goals transformed planners into surveyors and road engineers. As a result, the loss of human scale in

the production of the urban built environment resulted in anonymous homogeneity. Conzen points out that the city should be conceived of within a nesting of townscape units at large, medium, and small scales to achieve coherent wholeness in the city (Conzen 1975). Kropf (1996) also stresses the significance of the hierarchical structure of the city through the recognition of seven levels, from the walls and rooms at the small scale to the buildings, plots, blocks, and streets at the medium scale, and the urban tissue at the large scale. He points out that a successful unification of these morphological units will contribute to creating and strengthening the urban character.

Criticizing as a particular problem the technical thinking in planning that creates an average in cities, Cullen (1961, 9–10), much earlier, also highlights the need for conceiving of the city as an entirety that is more than the sum of its parts. That is to say, the parts of the whole should be woven together through an "art of relationship" in order to give the inhabitants 'a collective surplus of enjoyment". Similarly, Lynch (1960) asserts that the quality of the urban space can only be sustained through the organization of the parts of the city into a coherent pattern on the basis of a structural understanding of the nature of the world we live in.

Within this framework, this study assumes that the built environment and the entire city are produced through the interplay of different agents (of which the planner is only one) within a part-to-whole relationship, from the top to the bottom of a hierarchy. This relationship can be settled through the relationship between the plot and building patterns at the small scale, to the street and block patterns at the medium scale, and the urban growth pattern at the large scale. The planner needs to develop planning decisions at all levels in order to produce the city in its entirety in a coherent way. The following section of the study scrutinizes the role of the planner in shaping the urban space in Turkish cities and the planning system through its attention to the entirety of the city within the part-to-whole relationship.

3.3 The Shaping of Urban Form and the Planning System in Turkish Cities

Urban planning includes all processes and interventions to shape the urban form on various scales. That is to say, it includes an intention to insert power into the urban space to change the current situation of that space. However, the characteristics and functioning of a planning system vary according to the national legal and administrative systems. The Turkish planning system functions as a member of the "Napoleonic family" (Newman and Thornley 1996), in which the system of rules is based on the codification of abstract principles. In such a system, processes and interventions to shape the urban form usually depend on a quantitative approach, where it is assumed that all actions can be anticipated and controlled (Allen 1997; Miles 2001). In its static nature, the world is seen as a chain of events. The system should provide stability, reliability, and predictability in order to reach the idealized future (Onaran and

Sancar 1998). "The ideal future is envisaged in terms of where and how big cities should be; in terms of a certain balance between city and countryside; and in terms of a vision of how ideally cities should be internally structured" (Taylor 1998, 339). The main motive of planning is to create a master plan, which can guide the deliberations of specialist planners and can be used in the evaluation of their proposals (Altshuler 1973). The regulatory system is uniform nationwide, sometimes with the possibility of local adjustments. There is direct compatibility with the standards stated in the legislation. The aim is to set up a system based on manageability and controllability (Delafons 1991). The regulatory system with a quantitative approach deals with the basic dimensional requirements of height, bulk, density, angles of light, etc., and there is a high degree of certainty (Booth 1999; Visscher 1993). In this system, planners are usually expected to develop urban development plans within routine procedures to meet the standards that are fostered through planning legislation. The central government establishes a uniform system that ensures central control over the lower tiers. Within this system, local governments are not simply the local agency of the central government, but instead they contain local representation, albeit with strong central controls.

Since the Turkish planning system depends highly on the assumptions of the quantitative approach, the rules are concerned with predictable and repeatable situations, and they describe what people can do or cannot do (Payaslıoğlu 1993). The static nature of this understanding relies on standardization through the enactment of standardized development bylaws, which effectively leads to the emergence of a bylaw architecture (Özbay 1989), a city consisting of soap-like buildings with the same characteristics (Akçura 1982), and a dull and monotonous built environment throughout the entire city (Günay 1988). In his detailed compilation on planning legislation, Ersoy (2017) highlights that despite the enacted development laws and bylaws over 200 years, from the nineteenth century until the present day, there is still a lack of provisions for sustainable and healthy urban environments in Turkish cities. According to Bademli (2002), the problem of the system rests in the fact that it does not conceive of the entire city as a consistent whole, but rather it concentrates on single buildings. In fact, these criticisms were levelled against the Turkish planning system in the early years of the Republic. Duyguluer (1989) points out that the focus on individual buildings was formulated as a problem in the First Turkish Building Congress, organized in 1946.

Since the urban form is structured, formed, produced, and transformed through the conscious and unconscious efforts of different agents and by mediation of all of them, both the planning system and the role of the planner in shaping the urban form cannot be separated from a discussion on the changing production relations within this context. Thus, as in many other cultural and economic contexts, the role of the planner is also open to change concerning the continuously redefined reciprocal relationships of varying agents in the urban space. The proclamation of the Republic in 1923 and establishment of the Turkish Republic opened the doors to a new era, in which a constructing a new way of life was the goal. During the early Republican period, from 1923 until 1945, the cities were conceived of as places to be shaped in compliance with the ideals of the young Republic. The vigorous population increase

in all cities across the country during the post-war period until the 1980s and the incorporation of Turkey into the neoliberal world economy after 1980 brought about changes in the planning approach, the structure of Turkish cities, and the role of the planner. The changes in these three periods were accompanied by the enactment of three development laws: the Buildings and Streets Law in 1933, the Development Law in 1956 (revised in 1972), and the Development Law in 1985.

Planner of the Ideals: The Early Republican Period The shaping of urban space emerged as part of the Ottoman modernization process during the nineteenth century, after the proclamation of the Tanzimat Charter in 1838. Urban space was intended to be shaped to meet the standards of European cities, especially after the visits of M. Reşit Paşa, one of the writers of Tanzimat Charter, to Vienna, Paris, and London as a diplomatic mission (Çelik 1993, 49). As geometric shapes were believed to be an indication of modernity, building blocks in rectangular and square forms were encouraged through the Street and Building Regulations, issued in 1863, and the Buildings Law, enacted in 1882.

Since Turkish cities experienced a regularization of the urban pattern within the Ottoman modernization process, urban space was partially intervened into rather than taking the city as a whole entity. The policies on the shaping of urban form in Turkish cities, after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, were developed in relation to the countrywide politics of the young Republic, which aimed to establish a new nation through a nationalist economy, to integrate the countryside with the urban areas, to incorporate industrial development into the urban areas, and to organize local governments in relation to the central administration. Along this path, the cities became areas that reflected the ideals of the new nation-state through the organization of the public space and the establishment of new residential quarters in the expropriated areas. These policies and aims, depicted in the early Republican period, were intended to create the new citizens of the Republic (Keskinok 2006a).

It was during the early Republican period of the young state of Turkey that the bureaucratic elite was seeking to create a physical identity, a network design, and an urban image in accordance with the modern society that the Republic aimed to achieve (Bilsel 1996). Urbanization was approached in a comprehensive and holistic manner (Keskinok 2010, 173–176).

Despite the obvious aims of the young Republic to create a new way of life through nationalist politics, the shaping of urban form was evidently under foreign influence. The First National Style was initiated by the renowned architects Vedat Tek and Ahmet Kemalettin, who were in search of reviving classical Ottoman architecture with a formalist attitude through cladding building facades with Ottoman and Seljuk elements. Although this style found its realization in public buildings during the first several years after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, the internationalist modernist approach began to dominate the design of public buildings during the 1930s, after foreign architects such as Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut, and Clemens Holzmeister came to build and teach in Turkey in response to an invitation from the government (Aslanoğlu 1986).

Similar to architecture, urban planning was under the influence of foreign professionals. In this period, Rene and Raymond Danger were commissioned to prepare the

urban development plan of Izmir after the Great Fire, Lörcher and then Jansen were assigned to the Ankara plan, and Prost was appointed to the Istanbul plan (Bilsel 2010). Among them, Hermann Jansen was the most influential within the planning history of Turkey since he prepared plans for several cities such as Mersin, Tarsus, Adana, Ceyhan, Gaziantep, and Izmit after the preparation of the first comprehensive urban development plan of the Republic for its new capital, Ankara.

The idea of "creating a new future" (Keskinok 2006b) through shaping the urban form in the early Republican period materialized with the planning of Ankara as the new capital of the Republic. The garden city idea was seen as a way to achieve the ideals of the Republic. "The progressive rejection of the big city, the desire for small town living and working, the search for real involvement in common affairs" (Ward 1992, 1) were well suited to the realization of the Republican model. A low-density city with low-rise buildings located in large gardens was taken as a model for the elites of the young Republic (Tankut 1993, 37), who wanted to represent themselves in the city through the new urban development areas in a regular pattern (Bilgin 1998).

In Jansen's plans, there were essentially two environments: the old town and the new town. He adopted the urban design principles of Camillo Sitte throughout the "old town", while using those of Howard's garden city in the "new town". In these plans, the residential quarters were planned according to the garden city principles (Akcan 2012, 41). By adopting the artistic principles of Camillo Sitte for the old town, Jansen aimed to emphasize the value of public space. In the new town, a new way of living was envisaged with close relationships to nature. In his proposals for Ankara, Jansen provided drawings for the building designs and plot patterns (on the small scale) and block plans and street patterns (at the medium scale). That is, Jansen did not only prepare the urban development plan on its own but also envisaged a way of life with sketches and three-dimensional drawings of buildings, building blocks, and streets (Fig. 3.1).

The enactment of the first urban development law, the Buildings and Streets Law in 1933, followed the singular examples of the urban development plans prepared by foreign experts. It retained the main approach of the Street and Building Regulations, issued in 1863, and the Buildings Law, enacted in 1882 (Akçura 1982). The main aim was again the regularization of the urban pattern through a grid pattern and prohibition of the *cul-de-sac*. Additionally, cities of a certain size were obliged to prepare urban development plans. By 1945, 143 cities had their urban development plans prepared (Onat 1945).

The planner acted in this process as the professional who gave the shape to the urban environment, in parallel with the ideals of the young Turkish Republic. He or she was considered one of the professionals that would realize the ideals of the Republic and create the future. The preparation of urban development plans was undertaken by architects since urban planning did not appear as a profession that arose from a specialized education. These architects embraced the international style of the period as the most appropriate expression of the desired, modern and western-oriented future (Bozdoğan and Akcan 2012, 8). They were in search of an urbanism in which shaping the urban form was considered through sketches on all scales.

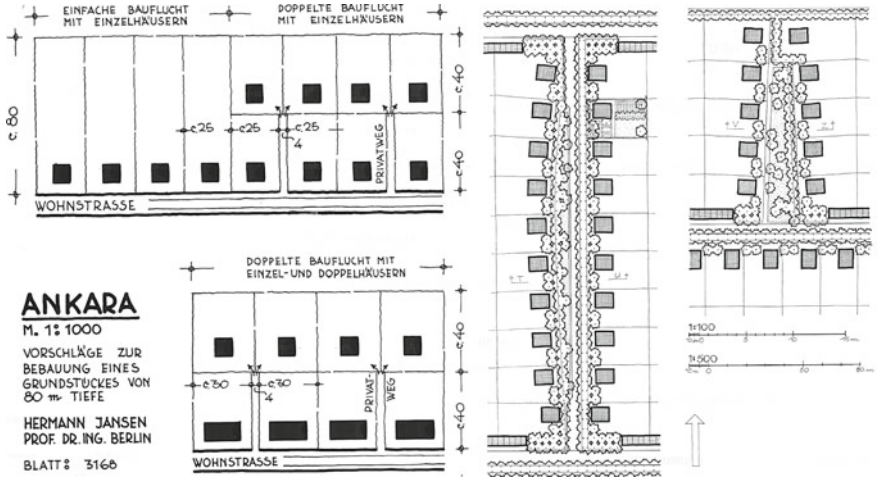

Fig. 3.1 Design of plot and building patterns by Jansen in his plan for Ankara. (Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität Berlin in der Universitätsbibliothek, Inv.-Nr. 22957 and Inv.-Nr. 22980)

Therefore, the urban development plans of the period were physical plans depicting building blocks, plots, and street details; these plans were supplemented by elaborate three-dimensional drawings. The plans showed the exact design of the envisaged built environment, and the planners aimed to reach the resulting forms precisely as it was shown in the planning documents (Fig. 3.2). According to Tekeli (1998), the financial problems of local governments did not allow the realization of these plans because they mostly embraced a destructive approach based on the replacement of old patterns with the new, garden city-like pattern.

Planner as Technical Advisor: The Post-War Period Turkey was not involved in the World War II; however, the countries where the war took place were rebuilding their destroyed cities. In these countries, urban planners and architects were seen as the pioneers of a new and better world, and they were expected to produce rationally planned and freshly designed cities. Their work would arise on the basis of statistical inquiry and technical efficacy (Rykwert 2000).

In the same period, Turkish cities experienced a very rapid population increase due to the process of modernization after the start of a multiparty political regime following the 1946 elections. The new regime steered away from Europe towards the USA, just after Turkey was included in the Marshall Plan of 1947 (Bozdoğan and Akcan 2012). Modernization was mostly apparent in the agricultural lands through the advent of machinery in the form of trucks and tractors. This had the effect of releasing many labourers from agricultural work, which led to their migration from the countryside to urban centres.

As the cities of the previous period were growing slowly as relatively self-contained environments, the urban space was being shaped through end-state blueprint plans. The future was predictable, and primary importance was given to

Fig. 3.2 Examples of urban development plans, prepared during the 1940s; plan for Nevşehir (upper left; Kömürcüoğlu 1946, 212); plan for Burdur (upper right; Aru 1948, 124); plan for Çarşamba (lower left; Akıncılar 1947, 275); plan for Rize (lower right; Taner and Taner 1947, 99)

the regularization and improvement of the existing urban fabric. However, since the cities were faced with rapid growth and population increases in the post-war period, the physical plans that were prepared in every detail could not respond to changing needs of this emergent dynamism of cities. Along with this, the production of detailed maps and the notion of urban planning as an act of physical development were criticized worldwide in the post-war period. It was argued that there was a need for finding a new approach to prioritizing the broad principles and processes to reach the new goals rather than to produce urban development plans as end-state blueprints (Hall 2002).

In the first phase of the post-war period, following World War II until 1960, the planning of large cities was either undertaken by foreign experts or directed by the development plans that were acquired through international planning competitions. Istanbul is an example of the former, in which the commissioning of Högg between 1957 and 1960 was followed by that of Piccinato between 1960 and 1967 (Ayataç 2007). As for the latter, two international competitions were held for the planning of Ankara and Izmir. The international planning competition for Izmir was headed by Patrick Abercrombie (Arkitekt 1952), and the prominent British planner who also prepared the Greater London Plan of 1944. Paul Bonatz, one of the most influential foreign architects in the early Republican period, was a member of the jury. Patrick Abercrombie and Luigi Piccinato from Italy were also jury members for the international planning competition for Ankara as well as Gustave Oelsner (Günay 2005), who was one of the most prominent foreign architects in the early Republican period.

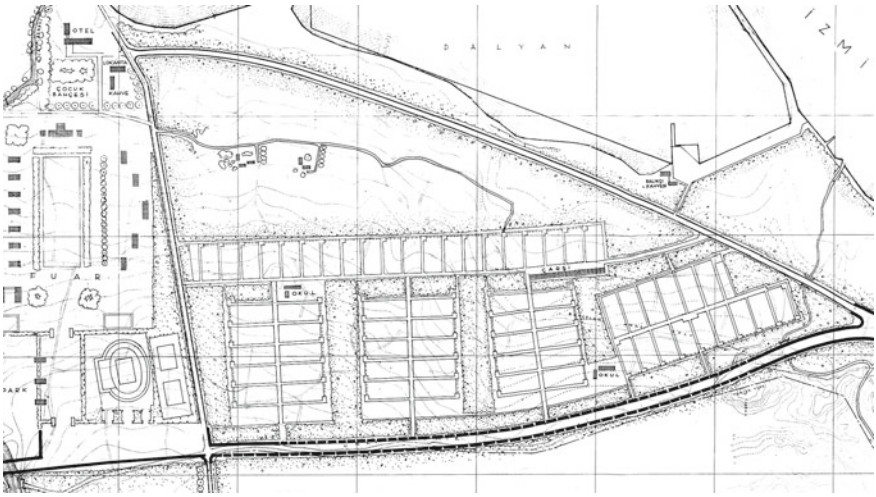

Fig. 3.3 Details from the urban development plan of Izmir at a 1:5000 scale, prepared by Kemal Ahmet Aru, Gündüz Özdeş and Emin Canbolat, the winners of the international planning competition for Izmir. (archives.saltresearch.org)

Both plans resemble the older ones produced in the early Republican period in terms of their prioritizing the physical design of urban space. They both provided detailed design considerations about the shaping of urban space (Figs. 3.3 and 3.4). Of the two plans, the Uybadin-Yücel Plan for Ankara was highly criticized for its role in giving the start to the demolition of the old pattern, in which the apartment block emerged as the dominant building type through replacement processes, especially in the city centre (Cengizkan 2005; Günay 2005). Since single-family houses were replaced by apartment blocks, the city of Ankara faced the intensification of built-up areas.

The second phase of the post-war period, the period after 1960, witnessed a dramatic change in planning approaches and the role of the planner. The enactment of the Urban Development Law in 1956 and its revision in 1972, the establishment of the Ministry of Settlements and Development (*İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı*) in 1958, and the active role of the Bank of Provinces (*İller Bankası*) in the preparation of development plans facilitated this change (Tekeli 1998). At the same time, formal education in urban planning began in 1961 after the establishment of Middle East Technical University in 1956.

On the other hand, during the foundation of the Chamber of City Planners, İlhan Tekeli, in his ground-breaking study, manifested the emergence of urban planning as a separate profession in 1969 through three distinct propositions (Tekeli 1994). The first proposition is the inadequacy of architecture as a profession to handle a growing city, its scale, and its emergent problems since previous urban development plans had been prepared by architects solely as physical maps to shape the urban form, as was experienced in the previous period. Second, urban planning differentiates itself

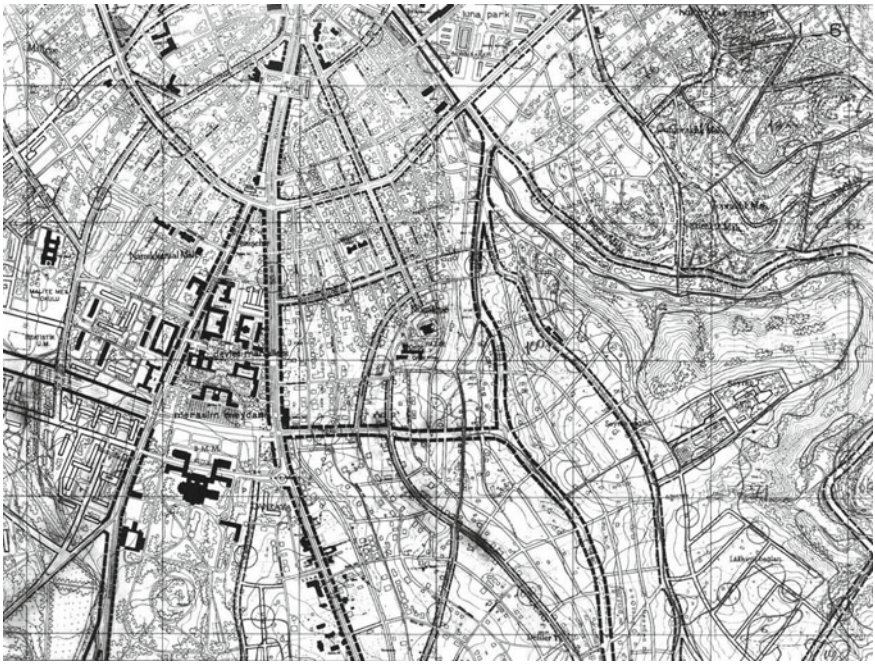

Fig. 3.4 Details from the urban development plan at a 1:5000 scale, prepared by Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel, the winners of the international planning competition for Ankara. (Courtesy of Baykan Günay)

from architecture through the prioritization of public interest while shaping the urban form. The third proposition is the inevitability of organization of urban planning as a separate profession due to the developments in the social sciences and geography.

After recognition of urban planning as a separate profession, urban development offices were founded locally in the three largest cities—Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir—by the Ministry of Settlements and Development during the late 1960s in order to tackle the emergent problems of metropolitan cities. These offices utilized new methods of urban planning such as producing land use and transportation models at a metropolitan scale (Tekeli 1998). The Ankara Master Plan was prepared over a long period and issued in 1982 by the Ankara Metropolitan Planning Office, which was founded in 1969. The master plan was a "structural plan" rather than a detailed physical plan (Fig. 3.5) and aimed to develop general principles to determine the form and extent of the growing city in its metropolitan region (Bademli 1986). The plan was partially successful in presenting a new planning approach through directing urban development and large-scale investments (Altaban 1998). In the same period, the Istanbul Master Plan was issued in 1980. It was prepared by the Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Office, founded in 1966. Again, the primary concern of the Office in this plan was to develop decisions on the rapidly changing city and its form at the metropolitan scale (Tapan 1998). Similar aims were accommodated in

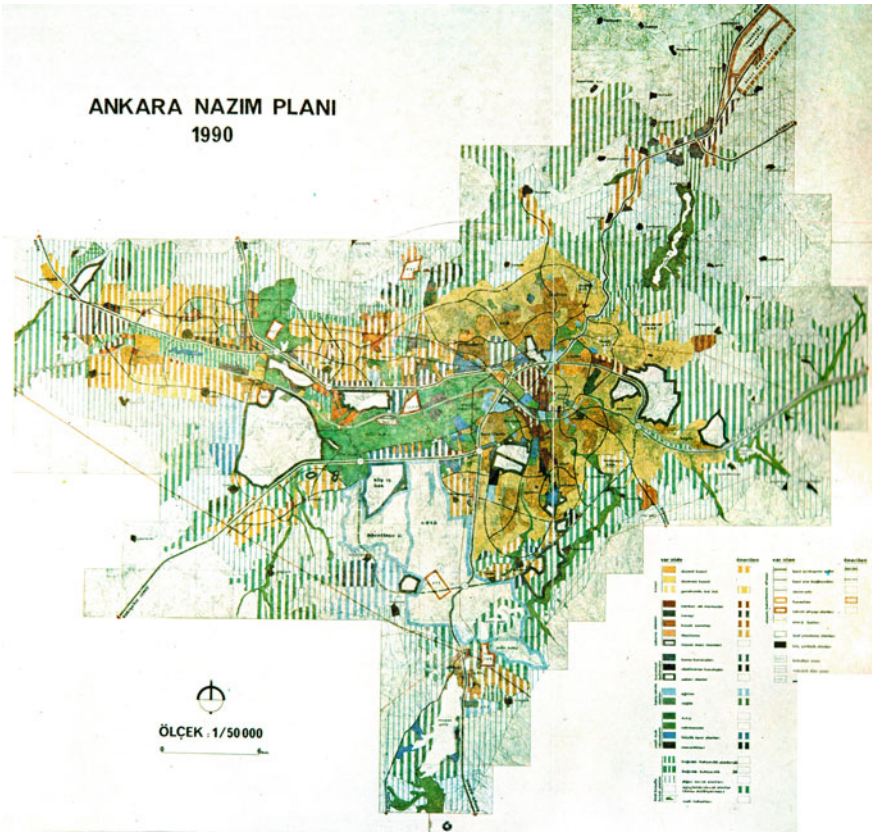

Fig. 3.5 Ankara Master Plan, prepared by the Ankara Metropolitan Planning Office and issued in 1982. (Courtesy of Baykan Günay)

the planning of the metropolitan region of Izmir by the Izmir Metropolitan Planning Office, founded in 1965. The Izmir Master Plan, issued in 1973, proposed a linear city in the north-south direction at a metropolitan scale in order to protect natural sites, to minimize commuting distances, and to maximize commuter capacity (Arkon and Gülerman 1995).

The post-war period experienced two distinct developments. In the first phase, from 1946 to the 1960s, the planner acted as an urbanist (similar to the planning practiced in the early Republican period) and aimed to produce blueprint plans as the end state and to shape the city on large and small scales. This is evident in Ankara's and Izmir's development plans, acquired through international planning competitions. The planner was mostly an architect. However, since the cities began to grow very rapidly and reach their metropolitan boundaries and because social and economic problems arose due to the rapid population increase, the city and its region were conceived of as an entirety to be handled by a separate profession—urban plan-

ning. Henceforth, the planner was an educated urban planner who mostly served as a technical advisor to the politicians, as is evident in the foundation of the metropolitan planning offices by the Ministry of Settlements and Development. As Akçura (1982) points out, city planning was taken into consideration as not only a physical phenomenon but also as a social and economic action. While the planner was aiming to *create a future* in the early Republican period, in the post-war period he or she tried to *understand the city* and its problems within the rapidly changing physical, social, and economic contexts. In this vein, the planner was mostly concerned with the large scale in the process of shaping the urban form and suggested alternatives for determining the form of cities at the metropolitan scale.

Planner of the Market/Real Estate Mechanisms: After 1980 The role of the planner in shaping urban spaces was affected by two significant developments after 1980. First, the cities again faced another period of vigorous growth in the surrounding areas with the advent of improvements in transportation, which in turn resulted in a fragmented sprawl of cities on a regional scale. The second is the enactment of the Development Law in 1985, which transferred the planning authority from the central government to local administrations for the urban development plans within the boundaries of municipalities. Both of these changes could be conceived of as consequences of the high degree commitment of local and central governments to neoliberal policies that depend on deregulation of state control, privatization of public services and assets, the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, and the intensification of inter-local competition (Peck et al. 2009).

In the first phase of this period, during the time between 1980 and 2002, planners tried to adapt to the newly emerging, market-driven urban development process. While they prioritized the public interest by acting as technical advisors during the post-war period, henceforth, the planner began to coordinate strategies and projects on a larger scale. After the change in the government in the early 2000s, the period after 2002 witnessed the emergence of urban regeneration projects in the former informal housing areas and property-led developments in the surrounding areas of the metropolitan regions. This process was facilitated through changes in planning legislation and the advent of the Urban Regeneration Law in 2012. The dominance of market dynamics made real estate mechanisms the eminent agent of decision-making processes. In this vein, the project planners turned somewhat into planners of the property-led development that took place during the transition from the first period to the second period after 1980. Nonetheless, the dominance of market dynamics made the planner basically a market planner, and the role of the planner was reduced to distributing the development rights on the basis of plots.

The fragmented sprawl to the peripheral lands came into being through mass housing projects, large-scale housing projects, and campus developments for industry, education, and health. As private entrepreneurship in the shaping of urban space is highlighted against the role of the state under the dominance of neoliberal economic policies, cities began to be places that prioritized attracting large-scale investments in the form of shopping centres, housing and office developments, and regeneration projects. This development was highly evident in Istanbul, which is claimed to have

been transformed into a centre within the global neoliberal network. This transformation was manifested in the most recent regional plan, the Istanbul Metropolitan Plan of 2009, through transferring Istanbul's industrial sites to other urban areas and also through the vision of the plan that aims to give Istanbul the power of international competition among cities at a global scale, as declared in the plan's report. The realization of this aim and the widespread, large-scale public investments, regeneration projects, and shopping centres are evident in the urban development of Istanbul after 1980 (Öktem 2011; Türkün 2014; Yalçıntan et al. 2014).

When the new Development Law (no. 3194) was issued in 1985, it did not bring about any novelty to the shaping of urban space, apart from the transfer of control of the development of urban form from central authorities to local administrations (Altaban 1985, 12). On the local scale, urban development plans retained their static nature as they were still blueprint maps that utilized over-prescriptive rules on quantitative measures such as building types, building heights, and setbacks. They conceive of the future as an end state to be reached from the present day until the target year of the plan. However, the transition from the current situation to the envisaged future is not taken as a matter of planning decisions. Therefore, the urban development plans became documents by which to construct the future, with little consideration of how the urban space would be shaped. The focus was given to the production of freestanding buildings without any concern for the context.

As the dynamic nature of society was neglected in these urban development plans, they became obsolete within a short period. They were created to be subject to modifications with reference to the changing needs of the varying agents in the urban built environment. However, the enormous growth of cities and the emergent expectations and demands of different agents brought about a new planning technique through showing only the floor area ratio in urban developments, which replaced the plans' rigidity with flexibility. Since the use of the floor area ratio in urban development plans without any consideration of any other morphological elements depends solely on the distribution of development rights on the basis of plots, the shaping of the urban space is left to uncertainty as to the elements of the urban form (Fig. 3.6). The role of the planner in shaping the urban form is reduced to distributing development rights so that architects would design and developers would construct buildings. In this process, since the planner does not suggest any qualitative indicators, the development of the urban form is left to developers, who seek more profit through adapting standard layouts, and architects, who pursue the realization of individual designs (Ünlü 2018). The planner has proven to give support to the facilitation of real estate mechanisms, in which priority is given to constructing as many buildings as possible for the sake of profit maximization, because the period after 2002 is characterized by property-led and construction-dependent economic growth. In addition, the city itself and the production of the built environment became the medium by which to enhance new employment opportunities as well as the means of the state to increase its support of the growth of private entrepreneurs within the construction industry through legal and economic measures.

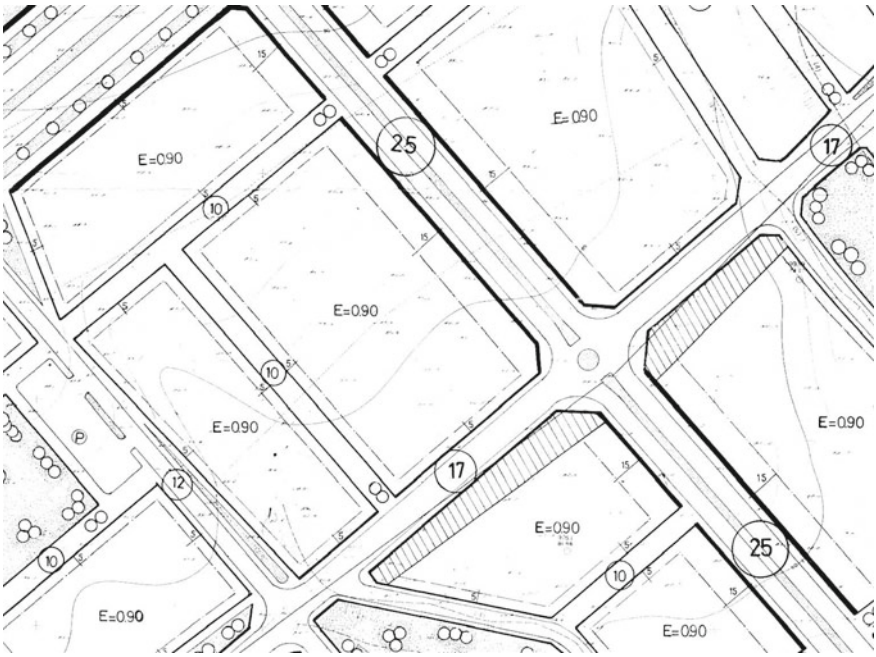

Fig. 3.6 Use of the floor area ratio (E) in development plans without any consideration of other morphological elements. (Personal archive)

3.4 Conclusion

This investigation of the planner's role in shaping the urban form in Turkish cities has revealed that the role of the planner is highly influenced and changed by the interplay among diverse agents, the politics of the central government, and the dominant planning approaches in the world within three distinct periods. In the early Republican period, the planner was engaged in the ideals of the young state to produce a new way of urban life. Although this role was partially retained in the first phase of the post-war period until 1960, it was transformed into that of an objective technical advisor as part of local and central governments in the second phase, from 1960 to 1980, when the planner also gained relative autonomy in developing planning decisions. After 1980, as opposed to the previous periods, the planner's relationship to the state was weakened as a result of the neoliberal policies aimed at shaping the urban space. In this period, especially in its second phase after 2000, the planner has been transformed into a professional that follows the rationale of the market. Therefore, while public interest was a topmost priority for the planner when producing planning decisions in the first and second periods, it was replaced by the market rationale, which conceives of the urban space as a product for profit maximization

Table 3.1 Changing role of the planner throughout the Republican period in relation to development plans and conceptions of the city. (Prepared by the Author)

Periods	Planner	Plans, city, and urban space
Early Republican (1923–45)	Planner of ideals	Detailed development plans Conception of the city as a coherent whole at all (large, medium, small) scales Commitment to the ideals of the Republic Generative approach: A search for a new way of life Awareness about the intrinsic qualities of urban space Having the knowledge about the essence of the object to be dealt with
Post-war (1945–60)		
Post-war (1960–80)	Planner as technical advisor	Large-scale metropolitan plans Conception of the city at the regional scale Urban planning as a separate profession Understanding the rapidly growing city and its problems
Neo-liberal (1980–)	Planner of market rationale	Replacement of rigidity with flexibility through the use of FAR (Floor Area Ratio) Fragmented approach: Neglect of the coherent wholeness of the city Commitment to market/real estate mechanisms Limited or no awareness of the intrinsic qualities of urban spaces Limited concern about the essence of the object

and an opportunity to enhance new employment opportunities, and the creation of a new construction-dependent economy (Table 3.1).

The planner of the early Republican period followed the generative approach, the path of which was paved by Ebenezer Howard, Tony Garnier, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. It is the search for a new way of life that is materialized through detailed urban development plans, including every detail of the city, from the citywide scale to the building and plot scales. That is to say, the planner of the early Republican period developed an urban imagery to be practised as a result of the ideals of the young Republic.

The planner of the early Republican period was aware of the intrinsic qualities of the urban built environment that was intended to be reached through urban development plans. He or she acted as an urbanist, aimed to develop decisions in every detail of urban space, and tried to materialize what was anticipated through the urban development plans. The city was conceived of as a coherent entirety within a part-to-whole relationship of urban form elements. The building, plot, street, and block patterns were planned all together as distinct parts of a whole, along with detailed building designs.

The planner in the post-war period until 1980 became a technical advisor to politicians in the wake of urban problems due to the rapid population growth in the larger cities of the country. Since the distinction between architects and urban planners was settled in this period, the former began to be confined to designing individual buildings, while the latter emerged as a new professional to focus on urban problems at the urban and regional scales. Therefore, the role of the planner as an urbanist, which was undertaken by architects, was divided into that of a designer on the one hand and a planner on the other hand. Henceforth, the city could not be handled by only one type of professional.

The division of labour in the shaping of urban space was inevitable vis-à-vis the enormous urban growth and sprawl to the surrounding regions. However, a flaw emerged in the process of shaping the urban space. Since the urban planner was focused on structuring the city and distributing of land use units across its entirety, and the architect was overly concerned with the design of freestanding buildings, the practice of production of the urban built environment within a part-to-whole relationship across all scales in the city was lacking. This was the criticism, levelled by Jose Lluis Sert, in the opening session of the First International Urban Design Conference (Krieger and Saunders 2009). He drew attention to the need for developing a new comprehension for shaping the urban space through collaboration between urban planners, architects, and landscape architects. In Turkey, urban planners and architects began to experience their separation in the 1960s, which was henceforth embedded into the process of shaping urban spaces. This separation of professions could not allow for the development of the city as an entire phenomenon within a part-to-whole relationship.

In its evolution over almost a century, from the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 until the present day, the role of the planner in the shaping of urban space is reduced to distributing development rights, which is manifested in urban development plans through an insubstantial and ephemeral representation of the floor area ratio. That is to say, the planner gains little or no awareness of the intrinsic qualities of an urban space through using the floor area ratio as the main tool to shape urban form. He or she has limited concern about the essence of the object, for which planning decisions are produced. The commitment of the planner to the ideals of the young Republic, when "the human estate became more important than real estate" (Rasmussen 1969, 198) in the early Republican period, was transformed into a commitment to the market rationale after the 1980s, when real estate became more important than the human estate. This dramatic change resulted in placing the planner within the real estate mechanism, in which the urban space is conceived of

as a product that is part of the profit maximization process, not only for the newly created construction industry, but also for the state that behaves like a property developer through its relationship to the private sector. In this light, the planner usually does not take into consideration the coherent wholeness across all scales, from the plot and building to the entire city. Therefore, any consideration of the intrinsic qualities of the urban form receded into the background, and priority is now given to the construction of more and more buildings. Old buildings have begun to be replaced by the new emergent ones through either planning decisions on single plots or urban regeneration projects on a neighbourhood scale. The former has resulted in the replacement of old building types with new ones, while the latter is realized through the demolition of informal housing areas. On either the plot or neighbourhood scales, urban development plans became tools for replacement processes, and the cities became places where buildings came together without being woven into each other (Cullen 1961); there is an absence of a structural understanding of the nature of the world we live in (Lynch 1960) and a lack of a human scale in the production of urban built environments (Cataldi 2003; Conzen 1975).

It is obvious that the planner should develop a qualitative understanding that focuses on the intrinsic qualities of urban space. This comprehension will allow the planner to be aware of *what he or she is dealing with* and *what the city is made up of*. Departing from this point, future studies should advance insights into developing an understanding that takes into account the city as an entirety in order to sustain a coherent pattern on the basis of a structural understanding within a part-to-whole relationship, from top to bottom, from the small to the large scales, from the plot to the block to the neighbourhood, and to the whole city. However, the qualitative understanding needs to prioritize public interest and the human estate rather than the market rationale and real estate.

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Chapter 4
An Analysis of the Framework of Urban Public Policy for Effective City Centre Development: The Planning Issues and Challenges for Turkish City Centres

Burcu H. Ozuduru

Abstract This chapter offers an insight to planning issues and challenges for Turkish city centres as well as an analysis of specific features of Turkish city centres along with general characteristics of urban public policy and programmes. It will discuss the impact of new consumption spaces (i.e., shopping centres) and development patterns (compactness vs. urban sprawl) on city centres; spatial problems of city centres; social segregation and inequality in city centres; and issues of accessibility in relation to major strategies of urban resilience. The goal is to uncover normative and descriptive characteristics of city centres at a multiscale level, which will be useful for investigating the theoretical and practical aspects related to city centres. This chapter will be helpful to find common ground among many countries for urban public policymaking, and hopefully, for more innovative and effective plans. Such policy programmes and plans developed specifically for city centres will help preserve and prosper city centre vitality in an era of complexity. This chapter explores whether there is regularity in site characteristics of city centres, which are implicit in theoretical foundations, and in probing further, to explore common planning issues and challenges that city centres are facing around the world.

Keywords City centres · Shopping streets · Shopping centres · Urban resilience Urban sprawl

4.1 Introduction

Globalization, neoliberalization policies, changes in economic development during the 1980s, increased motorization, and technological advances have created a strong pressure for change in Turkish cities. City centres have transformed mainly because of the spatial ramifications of these changes, along with the shift in economy policies

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since the beginning of the 2000s. This shift has been from production-oriented activities to consumption-orientated activities that have directed the government focus on the construction sector and urban investments (INTES 2015). These two processes, urban spatial transformation and changes to the economy and government policy, have led to the emergence of multiple centres in large cities, significant expansion of city boundaries and to the transformation of existing city centres, causing them to struggle and reinvent themselves. Recently, such processes have been described in urban planning literature and gathered under urban resilience strategies for successful places in city centres (Balsas 2014). This chapter will endeavour to explain the planning issues and challenges of Turkish city centres under the pressure of change at various spatial levels, and to specify their strengths and weaknesses that offer some level of resilience.

In Turkey, similar to several developing countries around the world, these changes have resulted in the construction sector, including investments in housing, energy, and large-scale infrastructure, becoming its largest economic sector (INTES 2015). Construction permits increased from 330,446 in 2004 to 1,030,684 in 2014 (INTES 2015). This influx of construction was mainly concentrated on city fringes, away from city centres, causing significant urban sprawl and decentralization of city centre activities. This change in the urban growth pattern was accompanied by a substantial increase in the urban population of major cities. In 1990, 59.20% of the Turkish population was living in urban areas compared to 73.40% in 2016; a major jump[1] that shows increased migration from rural to urban areas. Additionally, the number of shopping centres and large-scale multiuse residential areas that accommodate many functions of city centres, such as offices and entertainment/cultural centres, have significantly increased outside of city centres.

In the USA, these forces of change on city centres, along with increasing populations, wealth and mobility, have been influential since the 1950s, much earlier than in Turkey and Western European countries. This has resulted in the suburbanization and various other urban forms, such as edge cities, edgeless cities, boomburbs, exurbs, and urban sprawl, appearing in cities (for case studies in the USA describing these forms see Garreau 1991; Lang 2003; Knox 2008). Gruen (1964) blames cars for the American city centre's degradation and blight, and explains how urban poor were left in the inner city neighbourhoods close to the city centres while individuals who could afford it moved out to the suburbs. Downtowns ended up with increasing pressure for higher accessibility resulting in the building of new freeways, which facilitated quicker through traffic than before (Gruen 1964). However, after the 2000s that had an emphasis on application of urban revitalization strategies, plans, and projects, some cities[2] have been successful in reversing the detrimental effects of urban sprawl and change, and have become more resilient to them (Balsas 2014). Once again, the centres of these cities have become vivid, thriving, and lively, as well as economically and socially strong.

[1] https://data.worldbank.org Accessed 28 March 2018

[2] See for instance, Columbus, Ohio at https://www.columbusddc.com/ Accessed 16 August 2018

In some Western European countries, such as the UK, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, changes began in the 1980s with the introduction of neoliberal policies across Europe. The impact from deregulation in the industrial development and financial sectors was that capital found its way across borders causing direct foreign investment and other developments, such as office towers, shopping centres, and industrial plants, to appear throughout cities in these countries. Other impacts were the expansion of these cities and the flight of urban population away from the city centres, both of which have been acknowledged as major urban problems, even more so in the 2000s. In the UK, Planning Policy Guidelines (PPG) were implemented to reverse the effects of this flight (Guy 2007), and to diminish the negative impact of large-scale urban developments, and other forces of change, on city centres. For example, the UK's 'town-centres first' and 'sequential approach' PPGs encouraged developers to invest in city centres before other areas of cities. (Guy 2007, p. 113). Therefore, city centres in Western European countries began to develop successful resilience strategies earlier than Turkish cities.

The concept of resilience is a key topic when studying the dynamics of change in a city centre's composition. Also important is a city's economic formation, specifically for identifying how a city's economy responds to major shocks, disruptions, and disturbances (Martin 2012; Simmie and Martin 2010). The resilience of a city centre involves an adaptive capacity, a regional economic realignment of their systems and embodies the Schumpeterian creative destructive potential of systems, to provide new configurations and trajectories of growth (Wrigley and Dolega 2011). For city centres, this means the presence of thriving small-scale independent retailers (Wrigley and Dolega 2011) because these businesses are exposed to the economic, social, and physical fluctuations of the urban restructuring. Along with these characteristics, successful resilient city centres should work towards historic preservation, convivial public spaces with good walkability that allow integrated social networking, effective public transportation, properly managed parking, and overall an urban environment tuned to its users' needs (Balsas 2014).

Current Turkish city centres struggle to grant such resilience strategies because local and central government agencies fail to work together to offer comprehensive, long-lasting, and participatory urban policy and programmes. There are a few successful urban revitalization projects in some Turkish city centres, such as in Izmir (Kilic and Aydogan 2006) and in Ankara (Tuncer 2013). However, the various sizes of these projects are small and their impacts on the rest of the city are limited. In Turkish cities, the resilient features in city centres appear spontaneously and planned intervention is rather minimal. The discussions in this chapter suggest that the resilience of Turkish city centres and the positive impact of a city are essential to adjust to the changes induced by globalization and neoliberalization policies. As well, a centre's vitality has a positive impact on the rest of the urban areas.

This chapter is composed of four sections. This first section introduces the precedents for planning issues and challenges in Turkish city centres. Following the introduction section, Sect. 4.2 explores the evolution of city centres and relevant urban policy for successful resilient city centres. Section 4.3 presents a retrospective historical analysis of city centre development in Turkey and specifies common planning issues

and challenges that Turkish city centres are facing. It also explains the resilience strategies and urban policy characteristics using some examples from Turkish city centres. In general, examples are selected from Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, because as a 'young' capital its growth began with strict plans and the city resembled a highly monocentric urban structure that transformed to a polycentric urban structure in the last two decades. In the past, the city had stronger and weaker planning periods that had various Central Business District (CBD)/subcentre plans, but more recently, it has grown spontaneously with the market-led construction boom (INTES 2015). Section 4.4 concludes this chapter by reflecting on a possible urban public policy framework for effective centre development. Overall, the arguments in this chapter intend to develop an approach useful to scholars in the field of urban planning and geography and to open a debate on a topic, which has been relatively less explored in the urban planning literature but must be revisited for its influence on other fields in urban planning.

4.2 Evolution of City Centres

One of the primary purposes of cities is to bring people together so that through communication people can exchange goods and ideas without loss of time and energy (Leslie and Breandán 2006; Gruen 1964). City centres are identified by the intensity of this exchange, and for that reason, the urban planning literature offers multidimensional and intercultural approaches that have evolved over time. Murphy (1971) explains city centre development from the beginning of urban history, pointing out that they were used for religious purposes, and have evolved over time into trade centres of various forms through the Antiquity, Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque eras. In the Medieval period, Greek Agora and Roman Forum have been transformed into big marketplaces embedded into residential areas. In the Renaissance and Baroque cities, the city centre began to significantly deviate from mixed-use structure, and residential areas are distinctively separated from commercial areas (Morris 1994 cited in Levent 2017). After the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century, and then again in the twentieth century, city centres have become the spatial manifests of new production relations induced by technological innovations, social changes, and political systems.

Burgess's concentric zone model for Chicago, Hoyt's sector model derived from housing data, Harris and Ullman's multiple nuclei model have all been widely discussed in the urban planning and geography literature (see for example Pacione 2009). They define the relationship between city centre development and urban growth based on population, location of residential areas, and the mix of specific land uses, such as financial institutions, business offices, headquarters, and retail. With the extensive use of automobiles and the growth of planned shopping districts/regional shopping centres found outside the city and on the city periphery, the strategic role of city centres has been diminished and constrained to a single type of land use (i.e., shopping or working). Harris and Ullman (1945) anticipated this change of accessibility for

cities as outlying shopping centres and centres for special entertainment, education, culture, and recreation, scattered over a city.

The earlier attempts in the 1930s to describe city centres involved central place hierarchy using Central Place Theory of Christaller (1933) in which central places are evenly spaced with the same distance from each other depending on their ranking in the hierarchical system. In practice, this hierarchy defined the level of diversity across central places and their attraction levels. The centres of current cities are not complying with the strict principles of hierarchy and range that Christaller initially offered. Later, models of gravitation (Reilly 1953) and spatial interaction (Huff 1964) transferred the uniformity of the spatial distribution of central places into a supply-demand framework in a non-uniform competitive market, where distribution of activities is not homogeneous, and size and distance to consumers can specify the level of attraction to an urban facility. These gravity-based models, offering a probabilistic alternative to retail gravitation models, lay the groundwork for the assessment of fundamental principles of market area characteristics and conditions for equilibrium with endogenous variables. Nevertheless, city centres have the highest accessibility levels compared to suburban areas and, depending on the goods and services that they supply, their impact area can be larger than subcentres.

Besides size and distance to other centres, the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the residents in an impact area are accounted for in spatial interaction models. Ghosh and McLafferty (1987) transfer the principles and ideas introduced with these theories into practice explaining the location models of service and retail activity site selection across cities. Overall, by analysing these principles and ideas, the urban centre system in a city can be described and the impact areas of urban services can be designated. For example, the impact area of a fire station, a shopping centre, hospital or an emergency service can be delineated using the principles retrieved from the same theoretical background.

The spatial interaction model was framed in a non-competitive environment where the impact of facilities on each other was ignored. In a previous model, with the principle of minimum differentiation, Hotelling (1929) included the impact of competition on location choice of urban facilities and explained how two similarly qualified facilities could act as a power node, when they are clustered, for attracting customers. Such clustering offers the customers the opportunity to compare and select among the range and prices of goods and services offered at the same location. The basic principle used to form a consumption centre (i.e., shopping centre) emerges with the inherent ideas of attraction, multi-purpose, and multi-comparison opportunities along with the clustering of various functions in one building (Gruen 1964). In city centres, the proximity of various land uses is affiliated with Hotelling's model and with earlier economical theorization, such as bid-rent curves explaining the trade-off between land rent and accessibility. With their pattern of interaction costs among people, processes, and economic sectors, city centres offer the advantages of clustering and scale economies in a different way than in consumption centres.

CBDs of the twentieth-century city had diverse types of land uses including the corporate sector: administration/business offices, financial institutions, agency headquarters; as well as various service providers: producer services (manufacturing and

information), tourism agencies, retailing stores and wholesaling outlets. In the second half of the twentieth century, CBDs have transformed into specialized centres due to the overall increase in population, changing lifestyles, diversification of goods and services, shifts in consumer and producer's roles in the global and urban markets; and more predominantly, with the new mobilization technology: the improvements in communication technologies, and the increasing ownership and use of cars. These specialized centres include places such as technological centres, business centres, cultural centres, and shopping centres with unique locations.

The impact of this specialization and outward movement of centre functions based on neighbourhood succession in ecological models of the 1950s suggest that when newer neighbourhood centralities are created, older ones may lose part of their central functions and activities (Judd and Simpson 2011 cited in Balsas 2014). This overall mobility had a detrimental impact on city centres when the number of shopping centres and other centre activities emerged outside of the cities. Eventually, consumers began to prefer shopping centres to shopping at shopping streets in city centres. This had a negative economic impact on existing independent retailers and local communities (Guy 1998). The lack of regulatory and comprehensive urban planning policies for improvements to shopping streets, the weaknesses of local authorities, and the increasing power of private companies and investors have created this negative impact on city centres (Moreno-Jimenez 2001; Watson 2009).

Urban policy development has become a tool to impede the adverse effects of city centre decline. Some governments of developed countries have attempted to reverse the decline of city centres through proactive policies and programmes. In the mid-1980s, for the first time, the notions of city centre vitality and viability appeared as key characteristics of city centres. As well, the complex interaction between various city centre functions was assessed by multiple indicators such as property prices, pedestrian flow, vacant property ratio, diversity of uses, retailer representation and profile, retailer demand and intentions to change representation, and the physical structure of the centre (Guy 2007).

The Business Improvement District programme appeared as a major community economic development model in the 1990s (for an extensive review see MacDonald et al. 2010). Main Street programs, centralized retail management, corporate centre approach, and construction of skywalks (Neamtu and Leuca 2006; Robertson 1997) are counted as other urban policy and programme attempts to increase city centre vitality and viability in the USA. Balsas (2014) discusses the resilience of downtown in Tempe, Arizona with specific urban planning policies, through infill and redevelopment projects designed to create dense, diverse, adaptable, authentic, human-scale, inclusive and plan-led developments. In the UK, the sequential approach, town centre management schemes, tests for assessing need and impact in retail development proposals (Guy 2007, 1998), recycling of old retail developments, participation in urban regeneration projects, and development or redevelopment of district shopping centres in urban areas (Guy 2002) have appeared as relevant urban policies, programmes and projects. In Western European countries, specific legislation controls, such as size caps, enforcement of special retail market assessments before construction, coordination, and combination of retailing with other land uses,

encouragement of dialogue between parties (planners, traders, promoters, etc.) for retail developments have been effective for city centres' vitality and viability (Davies 1995; Guy 1998). These policies, programmes, and projects have been successful to deter the negative impacts of shopping centres and in increasing shopping street sustainability.

City centre policies should take into account the centre's physical, social, or economic attributes, their scale, and their density. City centres are identified by their CBDs that cover mainly basic administrative units and the service sector. City centre scale varies by size and the regional economic role that the city adopts. A capital city, whether it is Washington D.C. in the USA, London in the UK, or Ankara in Turkey, is populated by government offices and supporting economic activities, such as business, management, and finance. On the other hand, a touristic city, for example, Las Vegas in the USA or Antalya in Turkey, will show a different diversification of economic activities in its types of retailing, entertainment, and real estate. These generalizations should be combined with local characteristics and identity to help define urban public policy frameworks for the resilience of city centres.

4.3 City Centre Development in Turkey

4.3.1 Specific Features of Turkish City Centres

The Turkish Republic was established in 1923, and major Turkish cities have spatial traces from this Republican Period. Most Turkish city centres have a central square and a main high street populated with economic and social activities. City squares from the Republican era are designed as 'formal spaces reinforced by formal buildings' (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 142) with government institutions, such as governor offices and municipality buildings, located around the squares. In larger cities, the number and range of these institutions increases; for example, in Ankara, the square is surrounded by a major quarter of government (Government Cartier) institutions designed with the principles of the Jansen Plan used in the 1930s. These principles are demonstrated through the collection of public institutions to form a monumental character reflecting the power of the government and by the large open spaces flowing across these buildings, reflecting the design principles of Garden City (Gunay 2012). The quarter consists of major ministries, legal institutions, and military institutions located along an open space, designed for pedestrians, that leads to the Council of Representatives (Varol et al. 2017). The architectural principles used between the 1930s and the 1950s followed the principles of the 2nd National Architectural Movement. The buildings were built with traditional Turkish design principles, including proportions of windows, doors, and other façade characteristics. However, construction material and techniques were mostly inspired by modern international architectural principles of the time; where functionality was more important than embellishments and decoration.

The principal land use of high streets is for commercial activities and retail shops, as they are the main attractors for residents. Earlier forms of retail activities in the Republican period were in the form of shopping streets including several çarşı (traditional enclosed markets with arcades also called souks) or pasaj (pedestrian passageways lined with shops) buildings. City centres reflect alternating levels of clustering of various economic activities depending on the intensity of market pull and push forces. Other uses have been urban parks, cultural centres, train stations, industrial areas, and housing. Turkish city centres, as in most countries, are the major pillars of cities and are located at the cross section of diverse land uses and easy access transportation routes.

As neoclassical economic theory explains, different activities have different levels of demand for accessibility, and this demand is reflected in the high land values of the most accessible sites (Pacione 2009). The increasing height and spatial density of buildings in the CBDs reflect this demand, which can be seen as an evolution of city centres. For example, the densification of the CBD in Ankara through the increasing height of buildings from 3–4 stories to 5–6 stories, and then to 8–10 stories in the 1960s, points out the increasing population along with the demand within city centres (Tuncer 2009 cited in Varol et al. 2017). This densification significantly disturbs the ratio between buildings and the amount of open spaces.

In most Turkish cities, subcentres appear away from the CBDs because investors do not want to pay high rents, and one can identify various spatial manifestations of these investments on the urban periphery. These investments attract a diverse range of land uses causing their spatial manifestations to transform into subcentres or specialized centres. In addition, depending on the attraction power of these investments, complementary land uses appear and are allocated in proximity. Varol et al. (2017, p. 77) exemplify this using the Ankara CBD of the 1960s where restaurants, patisseries, and coffee shops are replaced with offices and businesses that have greater returns.

By the 1970s, the physical structure of Turkish city centres had transformed from human-scaled, low-rise buildings with open spaces and city squares, to the dominance of private vehicles and dense urban fabric. The main influences on city centres were the increasing urban population, the subsequent social transformation, and the increasing importance of accessibility. The rural–urban migration created an overall increase in urban population and the number of squatters on the urban fringe had increased significantly, changing the social and economic structure in large metropolitan cities. Mobility and accessibility became an issue, and it was evident that the city governments had to accommodate private cars in cities, and public transportation and pedestrian circulation should be designed effectively. For example, in the city centre of Ankara, during the 1970s, the sidewalks were narrowed, and green areas were replaced by roads (Varol et al. 2017).

4.3.2 Current Planning Issues and Challenges for Turkish City Centres

Current planning issues and challenges that Turkish city centres are facing are not much different from their international counterparts. Urban growth and transformation processes rooted in the 1980s have brought about physical, social, and economic challenges along with changes in resource allocation, production, and distribution channels of goods and services, which in turn alter the centres' systems. The impact of ecological models, spatially observed as decentralized city patterns, can be found in the current structure of Turkish cities as centralization, succession–invasion and dominance, and gradience. These can also be referred to as urban sprawl. In Turkish cities, the principles of Hoyt's sector, and Harris and Ullman's multiple nuclei models can be found with one significant difference from American cities. In the USA, higher-income groups live on the urban fringe and urban poor live close to the city centers while in Turkey, middle- and high-income households live close to the city centres; also significant, Turkish cities' city centres have a dual structure with modern and traditional sections (Gunay 2012).

Complying with the multiple nuclei model, the city centres have developed resilience strategies against city centre decline and are classified according to their sectoral specialization. The metropolis of today has become a federation of special centres, reducing travel time, congestion, and increasing the efficiency of a site. As an example of sectoral specialization, Levent (2017) classifies centres in Turkey into nine groups: central business districts, business thorough-fares, secondary commercial subdistricts, neighbourhood centres, small clusters, scattered individual stores, shopping centres, e-commerce logistic centres, and wholesale centres. Levent further differentiates them by land use types and functionality. He thoroughly explains the differentiation using their accessibility level as there is a great connection between centre development and accessibility. Similarly, in the master plan of Ankara, the centres were classified into six groups: the CBD, CBD extension, commercial development/subcentres, industrial centres, technology development centres, and shopping centres (Ankara Greater Municipality 2007). Along with this change in centre development pattern, densification throughout cities has also changed and this is also reflected in the cost of rent for land in urban areas. In contrast to the earlier urban rent models of vonThünen and Alonso (Alonso 1964), rent for land decreases in a non-linear fashion when the distance to the centre increases (Tekeli 2012). Therefore, centres are defined at multiscale levels.

More recently, with the influx of large-scale complexes including office, retail, and residential use, it appears that urban centre systems in many countries, as well as in Turkey, cannot be explained in the strict and systematic way that ecological approaches have offered. These theories remain simple and static, failing to explain urban centre systems in an era of complexity. The sectoral specializations also point to the fact that centres have genuine characteristics and planners should define policies with a thorough understanding of these characteristics. Characteristics such as decentralized city patterns, city centre decline, and sectoral specialization of city

centres bring about the planning issues and challenges that Turkish city centres are facing. These issues and challenges are classified as urban sprawl, city centre decline and resilience and have influenced the urban form and transportation network along with land uses in Turkish city centres. In the following sections, these processes are elucidated and are accounted as reasons enforcing the change in the urban structure.

4.3.2.1 Urban Sprawl and City Centre Decline

City centres have been influenced by the negative effects of urban sprawl, which has become a significant phenomenon. Suburban residential developments have become the new norm of urban growth patterns along with decentralization, and shopping centres that have spread at the outer skirts of cities following these residential developments (Lang 2003). Shopping centres have become the new subcentres and the conveniences they offer, such as ample parking spaces, lower prices, and an attractive shopping atmosphere conducive for comparison and multi-purpose shopping, attract inner city residents as well as locals. While neoliberal ideologies called upon individuals to remake themselves according to values of efficiency, flexibility and self-reliance, shopping turned into a key representation of the self, blurring the lines between consumption and production (Gruen 1964). The change in centrality levels and city centre types can be attributed to land development patterns that urban sprawl imposes upon urban areas. Many countries experience decay in the urban core due to sprawl and shopping centre development. When retailing, as a major centre function, is located outside a city, other centre functions, such as offices, theatres, and cultural centres move outside as well causing the centre to face another factor for decay.

Turkish cities have continued to have lively urban cores in the last decade despite the transformation in the country's retail sector and the boom in the number of shopping centres. There has been a significant boom in the construction sector, including several project-led large-scale mixed-use developments composed of housing areas, shopping spaces, office buildings and entertainment venues; all located in one large lot on the urban fringe. These projects have become catalysts of urban sprawl and growth (Balta and Eke 2011). Therefore, governments still need to ensure the liveliness of the urban core by supporting and planning for it; such planning will also help mitigate major and minor crises in the economy (Erkip and Ozuduru 2015).

Most Turkish cities had comprehensive master plans forecasting the location of subcentres, outlining the needed qualifications for new developments and containing specific estimations of population and social/economic characteristics. These master plans were used as tools to coordinate development and shape the macroform strategy of larger cities. However, in the last two decades, with the privatization goals and rent-seeking urban growth approaches of governing bodies induced by neoliberal policies and increased dominance of the construction sector, the number of partial plans and revisions to the comprehensive plans has increased sharply. For example, a study of Ankara's southwestern corridor shows that the size of the area planned for development through partial plans (74.7% of the total area) is significantly more than was initially planned (Balta and Eke 2011). In other words, there has been a

significant mismatch with the policy-driven, planned development supply of the city and the demand that has been directed by partial plans and land use changes.

One major development with such partial plan and land use change, emerged as project-led large-scale shopping centres, hypermarkets and mixed-use (mainly residential and commercial) compounds clustered at specific locations on the development corridors. An example of this land use change occurred along Ankara's southwest corridor. The development called Gordion Konutlari is predominantly for residential and commercial use in the form of a 50,000 m^2 shopping centre containing 26 shops along a strip, one community centre, and 288 residences. The area was designated as a greenspace band for a natural gas supply centre located in the vicinity, but through partial plans and land use changes, is now a residential and shopping centre compound (Ozuduru and Varol 2011). This points to the impact on urban development and market change using partial plans. In the last two decades, with the influx of the construction boom, more than 17 shopping centres comprising of more than 550,000 m^2 have been built along the city's development corridors with the result of pulling residents from inner city neighbourhoods away from city centres.

Development projects on the urban fringes have increased the impact of urban sprawl and the number of subcentres in many Turkish cities. These subcentres have been anchored by at least one shopping centre, and several other complexes, such as office towers, condominiums, and hotels are planned next to the subcentre to increase the level of attraction. These subcentres cannot be referred to as edge cities as most of the residents still commute to work at another centre. As well, the areas of these complexes are not as big as the areas of edge cities. However, the subcentres have a type of independence and homogeneity in the sense that households from similar socio-economic backgrounds patronized similar subcentres, causing households to live in sparce spatial segregation.

As shopping centres have become the key competitors of city centres, shopping streets located at city centres have been disturbed by this competition (Ozuduru et al. 2014). Initially, urban revitalization and regeneration projects were undertaken in Turkish cities to deter the negative impact of the consumer shift to shopping centres. Mostly, the local governments manage these projects, but they have remained small scale and trivial. Maintenance and sustainability of these projects has been limited. For example, Cankaya Municipality in Ankara undertook a revitalization project in Konur and Karanfil Streets, major pedestrian streets in Ankara CBD, and they became attractive and unique in design. However, in a short amount of time, the street furniture was vandalized, and the spatial organization and physical appearance of retailers was disturbed by additions to the storefronts, such as various types of tents and colourful installations, causing the area to return to its original disorganized state. Later, the shopping street retailers began to adjust the goods and services that they offered. For example, staying open for longer hours, selling unique products and services that are not available elsewhere, and keeping customers loyal with personalized informal communication (for the case of Ankara see Ozuduru et al. 2014). This shows the fact that the retailers through self-organization, spontaneity, and innovation are able to thrive in a competitive business environment.

4.3.2.2 Strategies for Successful Resilient City Centres in Turkey

The social and economic sustainability concepts of the 1990s using urban revitalization in urban planning have been replaced by economic resilience for city centres. This has been adapted into an inter-disciplinary context of evaluating the relationships between people and nature, with reference to the co-evolving social and ecological systems (Folke 2006; Folke et al. 2010; Hudson 2010). The two major players of the retail sector are large- and small-scale retailers, which constantly evolve in the market and adjust to new conditions in various ways (Wrigley and Dolega 2011). In the UK, and in many other developed economies, specific sets of guidelines and planning policy statements have been generated to maintain balanced city centre development and urban growth (for the specifics of UK policies, see Guy 2007; Chiaradia et al. 2012). These policies aim to control land use planning, urban design, and the organizational structure.

The impact of retail developments on sustainable economic growth and urban resilience has been a widespread research topic (Erkip et al. 2013; Teller 2008). Despite the impact of such large-scale retail developments on city centres, Turkish city centres are somewhat able to adjust to the new economic conditions that have appeared in the last two decades. Although it is a common understanding that the city centres in Turkey have depreciated and lost their power and elegance (Gunay 2012), it has been proven that most Turkish city centres still belong to middle-income households, such as people without cars, students, and the elderly. Residents living in Turkish city centres have used innovation and resiliency to adjust. In addition, rent is still very high in many parts of city centres due to the intensity of pedestrian flow and high accessibility (Ercoskun and Ozuduru 2011). Studies of local retail markets in Turkey prove that under certain conditions, the two types of retailers can coexist in a competitive business environment and adapt to changes induced by social and economic processes (Erkip et al. 2014; Ozuduru et al. 2014). In this section, three major strategies for successful resilient city centres are described: historic preservation; designing convivial public spaces with a high level of walkability and an integrated social network; and traffic allocation and planning in city centres (Balsas 2014).

Historic preservation is essential for the resilience of city centres. Revitalization projects should include the historic districts to sustain a centre's existence. These districts add significant value and identity to a city centre, which cannot be replicated or replaced. It has become a popular trend to replicate special features of city centres into the design of shopping centres, such as indoor arcades with shops presented as in the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul. However, such projects have never been as successful, or offer the variety and quality of the activities, as in the historic districts of city centres that have evolved over time. Balsas (2014) explains that city centres have a symbolic meaning in urban agglomerations; therefore, processes to deter the impact of change must be imaginative, inclusive, and multi-scalar. Akkar (2006) describes various forms of strategies that have transformed the historic parts of Turkish cities. However, these strategies are mostly inconclusive because of the short-term attempts of the local administrations and exclusion of the users from the revitalization processes.

Broadly speaking, the goals of revitalization projects in the historical parts of Turkish cities displace the existing population, and the owners of shops or residences benefit from the added land value. These historical areas become 'reinvented places' where the signs of history have been destroyed and there is 'a significant degree of change, distortion and loss of authenticity' (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 102). Such projects instigate significant change of an area, cultural values have been undermined with the alteration of historic buildings, and the developed environment is disconnected from the past. Alternatively, the preservation of these values can help maintain the social and economic status of city centres as attractive touristic and cultural places and establish an urban identity. For example, the historic city centre of Ankara, Ulus, has been demolished and reconstructed through a large-scale revitalization project which has distorted the original street pattern significantly (Tuncer 2013), and gentrified the central neighbourhoods causing the residents to move out of the neighbourhoods. As well, the buildings have been transformed into commercial use, such as cafes, restaurants, souvenir shops, and other retail stores. Another significant project is the Hamamonu project located near the CBD in Ankara, where the municipality has gentrified the neighbourhood by restoring and redeveloping the existing building stock and redesigning public areas (Erkip and Ozuduru 2015). Even though the original square did not have a traditional clock, a new clock tower with a traditional resemblance to the Republic era town squares has been installed. In both the Ulus and Hamamonu cases, the original spatial layout has been changed significantly.

The transformation of older industrial sites, such as gaswork centres and power plants, is another significant intervention to historical districts in city centres as these sites were essential elements in traditional Turkish city centres. Such urban transformation projects can be regarded as potential assets that contribute to the historical character of city centres. However, coordinating and arranging the collaboration for these types of projects is not easy, nor sensible and detailed planning is required. These difficulties can account for it being rare to find successful examples of this type of project in Turkish city centres. One successful example is Santral Istanbul, the first urban-scale power plant of the Ottoman Empire that has been transformed into an Energy Museum, along with several exhibition halls and cafes. Although it is currently managed by a private university, the restoration project was undertaken by public, private sector, and non-governmental organization collaboration. It is a unique, well-preserved revitalization example.

Another strategy to achieve resilience is by designing convivial public spaces with a high level of walkability and an integrated social network. This would increase tolerance among people, facilitate social cohesion, create a sense of belonging, and eliminate social segregation defined by economic inequalities. Green spaces, pedestrian zones, well-designed and maintained public spaces, and walkable streets are essential for conviviality of city centres and increases their resilience. Shaftoe (2008) explains that convivial public spaces cannot be designed by a blueprint but evolve in time and they must be comfortable, well-landscaped, adaptable, accessible, provide shelter and protection, host a variety of activities, enhance walking, and create social interaction. This leads the local authorities to be responsible for facilitating the com-

munity spirit and attaining some level of conviviality in city centres. The flight of housing from city centres creates a big problem for the vitality of city centres because it decreases the evening population eventually causing unsafe environments prone to crime. With the increasing demand for central areas, the developed environment in city centres becomes unsuitable for family living as they lack green spaces and other essential services.

The competition between shopping centres and city centres has important impacts on urban public spaces. Shopping centres offer a climate-controlled, enclosed space where people can do things more comfortable than they used to do in outdoor public spaces, for example, window shop, eat, drink, and meet people (Erkip and Ozuduru 2015). Shopping centres are purposefully built to limit access and are designed to attract a certain market niche, providing a feeling of safety and comfort to the targeted customers (Staeheli and Mitchell 2006). Using the safety and comfort level as a major reason for the draw of shopping centres, in the Turkish context, is verified by Mugan and Erkip (2009). On the other hand, public spaces provide various levels of 'public realm through different spatial and physical features' (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 109). These features enhance place attachment and identity that cannot be achieved by the standard design of shopping centres. Turkish city centres have been designed with a variety of public spaces, but the increase in population and demand for land at city centres, have decreased their quantity and quality. Kizilay city square in Ankara has been subjected to this change (Varol et al. 2017) and although it is currently used by many people and still attains some level of vitality, the quality of the public space is not the same.

There has been an increasing diversion across communities in relation to the status of people. As was also explained by Burgess' model in 1925 (cited in Murphy 1971), the inner city was left to lower income groups, while the higher-income groups moved out to the suburbs. This had an impact on the city centre and the new question for discussion became 'to whom does the centre belong to?' In the Turkish context, this shift appeared more recently after the 2000s. With the trend for high- and middle-high-income groups to move into the new supply of housing found in the outer suburbs, the inner city was left to the low- and low-middle-income groups. The people remaining in larger metropolitan cities consisted of unmarried young professionals, married couples without kids and the elderly. This movement created a sheer level of segregation of who is frequently visiting the city centre; it being mostly people living in the proximity who patronize the city centres (Ercoskun and Ozuduru 2014). In the larger metropolitan cities of Turkey, the CBDs do not involve housing, but the CBDs of middle to smaller sized cities are still populated by housing units. This appears as a resilience feature of middle sized or smaller Turkish cities.

In city centres, social interaction across households with different ages, economic status or ethnicity should be supported through design and planning. A city centre should offer housing, public spaces, and amenities for people from various socio-economic backgrounds and should encourage social interaction among them. Overall, this would increase tolerance for each other, decrease social polarization, and support the sense of community that adds to social sustainability. In the last two

decades, several inner city neighbourhoods have been the topic of urban transformation projects but in most cases, households moved out and these inner city neighbourhoods have been redeveloped. Some projects have displaced the ethnic groups living in inner city neighbourhoods such as Romanians in Sulukule, Istanbul or Kurds in Sur, Diyarbakir. With the urban transformation projects, these ethnic minorities have been displaced to reside at less accessible sites of cities located on their fringe. The new housing units constructed on the original sites are not affordable by the displaced population, and the housing units do not offer the same variety and diversity of use and design. Such displacements marginalize some groups of people, which is in contrast to the fundamental idea of public space and city centres.

Small-scale urban transformation projects have also appeared in city centres after the legislation of 2012 that supports the renewal of the old housing stock prone to demolition in the event of an earthquake was put through. Due to this new legislation, the housing stock in city centres was replaced with new buildings with larger floor areas and a higher number of housing units, with the consequence of densifying city centres. This transformation helped city centres to attract residents back to the city again, thus they are advantageous to the resilience of the centres because they keep the population close to the city centres. On the other hand, a negative aspect of the densification is that it brings about parking problems and a lack of green space.

Traffic allocation and planning are two of the biggest challenges that city centres face because of increasing car ownership, mobility of people, traffic congestion, lack of parking spaces, and air and noise pollution. The importance for city centres to reduce traffic-related pollution is well documented. There is evidence that compact cities decrease energy consumption and pollution because they encourage walking and have improved public transport access (Bromley et al. 2005). Banister (1997), investigating density, settlement size and location of employment facilities, implies that local shopping areas should be promoted. He points out that a higher-densified location can reduce trip lengths as well as the proportion of trips made by car, and that it is also easier to provide public transport services to such locations. City centres are located at the most accessible points of cities, and how to get people to the city centre for work, entertainment and other activities has become a major concern (Murphy 1971). The USA offered shopping centres as a solution to this concern, and they solved the traffic-induced problems providing ease of parking, easy access and walkability levels (Gruen 1964). For these reasons, they gained popularity. An effective transportation planning policy for city centres should be designed to minimize the traffic (including the use of private vehicles), encourage pedestrian circulation and walkability, and promote developments at readily accessible locations with alternative means of public transportation or to develop clustered units to encourage multi-purpose trips (Guy 2007).

Turkish city centres are the hubs of transportation networks and are important because of the high amount of people using public transportation as a means for commuting in the city. Although it is a common view that shopping centres increase private car use, in Ankara, they equally increase the use of public transportation modes as they are located at the most accessible and visible areas of the city. Once a shopping centre is built, the public transportation routes are rerouted to provide

access to those centres. Prioritization of environment-friendly transportation modes, such as walking and biking, is very important for city centre viability and vitality. The locational advantages of the city centres are helpful as there are still a significant number of residential units in proximity to these areas. The number of pedestrianization projects is significantly low in Turkish city centres. This is due to local retailers objecting to the idea, claiming that such projects would increase crime rates and have a negative impact on their business even though customers perceive pedestrian areas as comfortable areas for strolling and shopping (Ercoskun and Ozuduru 2011). Since the 1990s, no new pedestrian zones have been designed in Ankara.

Parking management is very important for accessibility and the vitality of any centre. The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization has attempted to manage and regulate parking facilities in city centres by using a recent regulation introduced in 2017. The regulation discourages access to city centres by car and offers encouragement to park and ride facilities, with strong public transportation connections, around city centres. ISPARK (Istanbul Park) in Istanbul is another large-scale attempt by the Greater Municipality of Istanbul that manages various types of parking facilities across the city. Effective traffic management schemes would be helpful for city centres' resilience. Preparation of transportation master plans for larger metropolitan areas is obligatory and, in most cases, it is emphasized that the city centre traffic must be managed more carefully. In general, the specifics are not provided, and only guidelines are given in the plans. It is left to the local governments to follow these guidelines by innovating plans and projects.

4.3.2.3 Urban Policy and City Centres

It has been a widely discussed issue that city centre planning and policy in Turkey has been undervalued (Gunay 2012) and city centres have struggled due to the lack of appropriate planning schemes. In 2004 and then in 2006, Turkey's Ministry of Industry and Commerce initiated a major regulatory effort to balance the competition between shopping centres and shopping streets. They called for holistic planning, accounting for demand analysis, traffic planning, infrastructure development, environmental analysis, and sustainability measures. However, all remained as drafts and have never been realized because of the power structure in favour of large-scale investors, developers and retailers (Erkip and Ozuduru 2015).

Another important attempt was the report from the Council of Urbanization of the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (now the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization) in 2009. The report was called the Integrative Urban Development Strategy and Action Plan for Sustainable Urban Development (KENTGES) and aimed to increase the level of livability in urban areas by taking a holistic approach to all aspects of urban development in Turkey. This report was in accordance with the last (ninth) national development plan, effective between 2007 and 2013.

The KENTGES initiative was proposed as a guide for urbanization, settlement and planning with the collaboration of public institutions, local governments, private investments, NGOs, and citizens. In other words, it attempted to cover all parties

affected by the urban development process (Erkip and Ozuduru 2015). Various topics related to urban planning were discussed in the action plan of this initiative and although retail planning and city centre development were not listed as separate topics, along with their links to the urban planning topics, they were discussed as part of urban sustainability (Erkip and Ozuduru 2015).

A recent government attempt to organize urban planning activities in Turkey has been the Urbanisation Strategy Action Plan (Şehircilik Şurası) of 2017 initiated by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. Many institutions and experts have been called upon to contribute to this strategic document with the major subjects including identity, planning, and design in Turkish cities. Once again, with an emphasis on design, quality of cities and effective planning, the plan calls for historic preservation and special design of historic areas along with their surrounding area; transcendence of qualitative value instead of exchange value; importance of urban design to grasp the local identity of places in central areas; coordination across planning scales; preparation of legislation for urban design and revitalization projects along with their application tools; effective transportation planning that prioritizes pedestrian circulation, balanced parking, integrated design of public transportation and environment-friendly vehicles, management and elimination of transit traffic; and sensible urban transformation that accounts for the existing urban fabric and identity.[3]

However, common features of these action plans are that they remain in the form of a standard report that is not integrated with other legislation, they do not refer to any implementation tools (such as urban strategies and policies, plan-making processes, and investment plans), and they do not give any direction to the designated institutions to take action. Therefore, although these reports define a framework, other issues remain unresolved such as the application of planning strategies, coordination and facilitation of actors, community participation, and budgeting for urban revitalization projects.

4.4 Conclusion

Urban planners rely on comprehensive plans with strategic forecasts about city centre formation and development. Using these plans, urban planners can foresee the future locations and composition of centres and subcentres, as well as their relationship to demographic growth and urbanization. However, due to the irregularity of interactions between people and places because of changing mobility and communication patterns (such as movement of people to the suburbs, people shopping at various outlets, and collaboration of people to form enterprises in various ways), planners must look at the local characteristics and market forces of the built environment, therefore suggest other methods to identify urban centre locations.

Turkish city centres, and the future that they are facing, are not much different than other city centres in developed countries except that the Turkish resilience levels are slightly higher than these centres. The major reasons for this difference

[3] http://webdosya.csb.gov.tr/db/sehirciliksurasi/icerikler/kom-syonraporlar-son-20180226140426.pdf Accessed 14 August 2018

lies in Turkey's economic, social and cultural characteristics, and its laissez-faire approach to retail (Erkip and Ozuduru 2015) and other planning actions related to city centre development. As a result, independent retailers and other actors take actions themselves, by innovating or reinventing business strategies to survive the negative impacts of change due mainly to shopping centres in Turkish cities. The best approach for local and central governments would be to collaborate with the independent retailers on shopping streets and other actors active in city centre development. Turkish planners could benefit from the experiences of other countries, which are in a later stage of city centre revitalization processes. Such efforts would make Turkish cities more sustainable and liveable with a healthy urban core more resilient to global and/or domestic crises and changes.

Once successful resilient city centres are designed, the urban core will also have a historically preserved, equally accessed, socially integrated, and planned environment. Historically in most cities, various forms of legislation have been put forward to help with city centre development. The current challenges of urban planning, however, must be thought over sensibly and special legislation for the special needs of city centres must be introduced. For example, a provision for a city centre planning committee and the creation of applicable plans just for city centres will help forecast the future of city centres more easily. Such planning attempts should include various types of public space; large pedestrian areas, and pedestrian oriented policies; efficient, and comfortable means of public transportation; and clean, comfortable, and secure open spaces with certain amenities. Local governments are the main organizations that could implement these plans and increase the resilience of city centres, therefore they should develop effective project management strategies that can control and plan the spontaneity and chaos of these areas.

City centre development is a multiscale, multisectoral, and multiactor process and for that reason, it should be tackled with specialized urban policies similar to the ones in the UK as the PPGs directed for the urban revitalization projects and shopping centre developments have been extensively discussed in the planning literature. For example, the assessment of need, or town-centres first and sequential approaches, should be offered for city centre planning in Turkey. Along with such policies, regulation of the relationship between large-scale and traditional retailers, provision of definitions and standards along with guidance to evaluate local characteristics of centres, site selection feasibility analysis and relationships to development plans, arrangement of the roles of citizens, traditional retailers, public, private, and non-governmental organizations in city centre revitalization processes will increase the efficiency and impact of the urban policies.

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Chapter 5
The Effects of Large-Scale Public Investment on Cities and Regions in Turkey

Müzeyyen Anıl Şenyel

Abstract Large-scale government investments have crucial impacts on the economy as well as social, environmental, and cultural realms in Turkey. These investments, targeting the building of a nation state once, turned into economic-oriented profit-seeking projects after the 1980s. The large-scale projects, also named as megaprojects in the literature, have been successful to a certain extent, while their negative repercussions have been evident due to prioritizing economic gains over social and environmental benefits, and accounting for limited participation. The large-scale projects discussed in this section are; The Southeastern Anatolia Project which aimed to support socio-economic development via agriculture and industry in the most disadvantaged region of the country; tourism investments after the enactment of the "Law for the Encouragement of Tourism" which favored economic growth primarily in coastal zones; critical infrastructure projects such as highway projects, the High Speed Train, and the İzmir suburban rail which focused on improved connections. These projects are discussed with regard to their initial intentions, scopes, performances, and consequences. Most of them are criticized for disrupting social and natural values while economic benefits have also been limited, except for some successful projects such as Izmir suburban rail (IZBAN) which supports networking while amalgamating technical know-how and local experience.

Keywords Large-Scale investments · Megaprojects · Public investments

5.1 Introduction

Public investment was the primary growth engine of the Turkish economy until the 1980s. Almost all large-scale capital investments were made by the government since the private sector was not mature enough to shoulder the heavy financial and technical burdens of infrastructure and industrial development. Import substitution policies

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were introduced during the planned period to protect local entrepreneurs, help the fragile economy operate, and support the idea of the self-sustaining nation-state. After the 1980s, however, the economy underwent fundamental structural changes. Neoliberal policies, highlighting free market, privatization, and foreign investment, were adopted in accordance with the global trends, while the share of government spending in direct capital investment started to decrease. The State, once the major investor, intended to turn into a facilitator to channel growth and counsel the other actors of the economy, such as the private sector, and local and foreign entrepreneurs, although that intention failed to be entirely fulfilled. The neoliberal phase had some socially and environmentally undesirable results besides its short-term economic benefits. Being an emerging economy which aims to achieve high growth rates and alleviate regional disparities, Turkey has continued to rely on government intervention, particularly in infrastructure, and in some low-profit sectors as well as in socio-economically disadvantaged areas. Therefore, government investment has continued to have significant reflections on the macro-economy as well as urban and regional development although their intensities and scopes have been transformed throughout time. In the last two decades, the economy went through a new phase and so did the characteristics of government investment. For instance, infrastructure investments have focused on high technology, and the share of international capital has increased in large-scale projects.

In this section, the socio-economic and spatial effects of direct public investment will be discussed in the light of large-scale projects. The discussion starts by framing large-scale/megaprojects in general. Then, the historical background of large-scale government investment within the framework of political and economic conjunctures with a special emphasis on the neoliberal period and beyond is explained. Three main investment areas (agriculture and production, tourism, and infrastructure) and case projects related to those areas will be discussed in detail in the third section. The cases reflect some of the most significant and impactful public investments, which had serious socio-economic and spatial outcomes in various sectors, particularly after the 1980s. The first case is the South-eastern Anatolia Project, which is one of the greatest government projects in the nation's history. The project dates back to the late 1970s, and its basic premises were to decrease regional disparities and support socio-economic development via agriculture and industry in the most disadvantaged parts of Turkey. The discussion will continue with the government interventions on the tourism sector and their impact on the environmental and cultural assets of the country after the enactment of the "Law for the Encouragement of Tourism". In the following part, critical infrastructure projects, such as highway projects, the High-Speed Train project, and the İzmir suburban rail, will be presented, and their socio-economic and spatial repercussions will be addressed. Finally, a critical discussion will wrap up the discussion.

5.2 The Evolution of Large-Scale/Megaprojects

Large-scale projects have been on the agenda worldwide since the 1950s, as tools of post-war economic recovery and urban redevelopment. US highway projects are among the most well-known examples of such projects. Economic returns and growth were the main focus, yet they had a dramatic impact on space and communities. The negative social and environmental outcomes of the large-scale projects were heavily criticized in the 1960–1980 period, together with intellectual dissent and protests, which resulted in a decline of these projects in the 1980–1990 period (Orueta and Fainstein 2009), mostly in the USA and a few in Europe. After that period of stagnation, however, globalization, and the cities' and regions' pursuit of competitive power again led to the rise of large-scale projects in the 2000s. The projects, named "megaprojects" in the literature, are characterized by complexity, high cost, longer construction time, and the inclusion of various public and private actors (Bornstein 2010; Zidane et al. 2013), in addition to their requirement of high amount of labour, physical and financial resources, and considerable impact on the environment and society (Capka 2004; Kardes et al. 2013). Megaprojects may subject to influential and lasting conflicts due to their amplified impact and proliferated stakeholders, and they usually have political overtones (Jia et al. 2011). Governments promote megaprojects since they contribute to global competition among cities for investments (Bornstein 2010). The role and the weight of governments may change in such projects, yet partnerships with the private sector are almost indispensable. In most cases, although being the object of the direct and indirect outcomes of megaprojects, local communities are excluded from the process. The literature identifies megaprojects as a factor increasing spatial and socio-economic polarization in contemporary cities (Bornstein 2010, p. 200).

The characteristics and the impact of large-scale projects in Turkey are similar to those discussed in the literature in many aspects. They are considered as strategic projects which aim to create high-profile spaces and provide high-quality services. They are aimed at stimulating the economy, attracting foreign capital and increasing the global competitiveness, usually at the expense of social and environmental degradation. Governments, whose characters have evolved over time from a Keynesian welfare state to becoming similar to entrepreneurs, play a crucial role in the process.

5.3 A Historical Perspective on Public Investments in Turkey

Structural changes in the economy have considerable repercussions on social, cultural, and spatial realms. In connection to that, themes, contents, and scopes of government investment have changed over time depending on economic and political conditions. Initially, the manufacturing sector was believed to strengthen the economy; thus, the government focused on large-scale industrial investments all

over the country. Then, the idea of planning carried out by a strong central government gained importance, which directed the economy towards more organized and larger-scale investments. The closed economy could not sustain itself for a long time, and the economic and political systems were dissolved in the 1980s. Liberalization became evident and the service sector started to gain importance alongside the industry. The government directed its attention to other sectors, such as tourism and high-technology infrastructure. The following part is devoted to a discussion on how characteristics of large-scale government investments changed over time with regard to economic and political conjuncture.

5.3.1 The Role of Government Investment in Building the Nation State and the Planned Period

The Turkish Republic was founded in 1923. Creating a nation state was the basic premise, and the reflections of this idea could be observed in all social, economic, and spatial policies and implementations. After the long and devastating First World War, the nation put all its effort into restructuring and establishing the new institutions of the Republic, and constructing settlements with all its housing, infrastructure, and production components. Factories were established throughout the country producing and processing textile, sugar, tobacco, etc. Furthermore, roads, tunnels, bridges, dams, and power plants were built, and urban services were provided. State-owned enterprises (SOEs)[1] were established for industrial production. The factories were built in various cities all around Turkey to support a comprehensive overall growth. The new production facilities brought not only employment opportunities and economic growth but also new settlement forms and lifestyles. Most of the manufacturing facilities were designed as campus settlements including housing units, sports areas, and social units, providing economic well-being as well as sociocultural dynamism to the cities where they were built.

Economic growth was highest during the 1923–1950 period, with an 8.1% annual growth rate on the average (Businessht 2015). The case can be considered as an example of the catching-up growth of the Solow model. Building a new nation from scratch led to that high economic growth rate since each new investment, such as a factory or a road, created a hugely significant positive impact on the economy. The government was almost the only actor in all types of investment during that period, since the market was immature and private capital accumulation was quite limited.

The economic and political turbulence of the late 1950s ended up with a military coup in 1960. The growth rate fell to 3.9% (Businessht 2015) after the coup. Statism was adopted as the national policy, and import substitution economy was

[1] State-owned enterprises (KİT'ler in its Turkish acronym) such as Sümerbank for textile and other manufacturing, Etibank for mining and metallurgy, Tekel for tobacco and alcohol, Türk Şeker Fabrikaları for sugar, Makina Kimya Endüstrisi for machinery and chemicals, Devlet Ziraat Işletmeleri for food and agriculture.

put into practice in the 1963–1976 period (Eşiyok 2004). This economic system can be considered as protectionist and closed, in which the state has the utmost power and control over the economy. The State Planning Organization (DPT in its Turkish acronym) was in charge to make development plans, which intended to analyse sectoral potentials and problems to guide the economy. Different from the previous experiences (from the Industrial plans of Statism applications and stillborn 1947 Economic Development Plan), development plans that were prepared after 1963 include all aspects of economic and social development, being more holistic in nature (Kepenek and Yentürk 1994, p. 131). Economic growth was considered as the basic indicator of development, and the emphasis was on industrial production. In order to protect the internal market and encourage domestic producers, income substitution policies were adopted during the 1960–1980 period. Four 5-year development plans (1963–1967, 1968–1972, 1973–1977, 1979–1983) were introduced. Development plans were "imperative" for the public sector and "guiding" for the private sector; therefore, their effects on the economic development were limited to that framework (Kepenek and Yentürk 1994, p. 131). The private sector was intended to be encouraged by incentives and credits rather than direct intervention.

The government was still the major investor in all sectors. One of the spatial repercussions of the policies favouring industrial production could be given as the establishment of the organized industrial zones (OIZs). Today, there are 292 active OIZs throughout Turkey, 8% of which were established during the planned period (from the 1960s to the 1980s). The very first OIZ was established in Bursa, a city in the Marmara Region, in 1961, followed by 3 OIZs[2] in the 1960s, and 19 more[3] during the 1970s. Government institutions, both at national and local levels, participated in the various stages of the establishment, service and infrastructure provision, and administration of OIZs. The government also provided credits and tax incentives to attract private sector investors and entrepreneurs to OIZ areas. OIZs affected not only national and local economies and social structures, but also land use pattern and urban macroform.

Provision of critical infrastructure was another important task of the government. The Keban Dam, whose construction started in 1965 and started operating in 1974 (Keban Barajı, n.d.), was one of the most important national infrastructure investments. It was the largest dam in Turkey until the construction of the Atatürk Dam, which started operating in 1992, in terms of water retention capacity. Keban, located on the Euphrates River and serving for energy production purposes, changed the production pattern and urbanization of the Central-Eastern part of the country. This project had significant benefits on the socio-economic development of the area, particularly due to the provision of domestic energy. However, it was also criticized for its destructive consequences. Economic growth was the only aim of the project, so the environmental impact and cultural heritage preservation were disregarded. The dam affected 5 cities, 9 towns, and 258 villages, 94 of which were submerged, 1 city

[2]Manisa, 1964; Eskişehir and Gaziantep, 1969.

[3]Adana and Kütahya, 1973; Erzurum, 1975; Antakya, Aydın, İzmir, Kayseri, Konya, Tekirdağ, Bilecik, Kars, Mardin, Sivas, 1976; Ankara, 1977.

and 115 villages were partially affected, and the impacts on 23 settlements could not be detected (Çakırca 2015, p. 552). 158 immovable cultural heritage items were detected in the affected area, only 3 of which were moved and 40 of which were documented, while the rest were ignored (Çakırca 2015). Moreover, the project changed the natural habitat of the water and soil resources, but the environmental impact had never been assessed beforehand.

Economic growth is not a plausible indicator alone since it does not give any information on income distribution, access to quality services, liveability, environmental protection, and heritage conservation, although a strong economic base is a priority for development. The above-mentioned government investments, all stimulating economic growth, were successful only to a certain extent, while the economy continued to struggle. Another important factor affecting the nation's economy at that time was the oil crisis of the 1970s hitting the Western world. Protectionist policies regarding growth and supporting the domestic market together with the global economic recession paved the way for an economic crisis in the second half of the 1970s. Economic and political turbulences ended up with another military coup in 1980 which collapsed the system, while the growth rate fell as low as 2.7%. Structural changes were in urgent need to revive the economy and integrate it into the world markets.

5.3.2 Changing Role of the Government in the Neoliberal Era

The economy remained vulnerable and tight until the 1980s due to national and international crises, centralized top-down governmental approaches, and import substitution policies. The private sector remained relatively immature, and the government was still in charge of most investment. A fundamental structural change was put into practice in 1980 (known as 24th January decisions) to bring stability to the economy, which declared a shift from the closed protectionist system to the free market economy. The government started to become a facilitator intending to create a convenient economic environment and provide infrastructure to encourage the private sector and foreign investors, rather than being the one and only actor in the economy. Privatization was an effective tool to start the transformation while the post-1980s would be characterized by the privatization of SOEs.

The principle of Statism started to be abandoned, and a transformation towards globalization was initiated. First, the goods markets were liberalized and trade quotas of the import regime were abolished. The process was followed by financial market deregulations and articulation to international financial institutions. The Turkish economy became fully open to foreign markets in the 1990s (Yeldan 2013). The aims were to increase the size of the market, introduce economic and political flexibility, and accordingly enhance competitiveness through promoting the role of the private sector in production and service provision while minimizing government intervention in the market. Privatization was institutionalized with the enactment of the Law on Promoting Savings and Facilitating Public Investments (Law No. 2893) in 1984,

followed by related legislations on the privatization of various public institutions and services. Policies put into effect in the 1980s, which were based on export activities and supporting foreign capital inflows as well as foreign-oriented growth policies that ensure integration into the capitalist world, had influences on budget practices and formation of socio-economic problems (Güzelsarı 2008).

Despite various measures, the economy never reached stability and sustainable growth. Although many projects were put into practice, it never experienced a take-off. Indeed, continuing political turbulences affected all sectors in the economy. The government was not willing to forgo its utmost power in all stages of decision-making, planning, and implementation so that participatory approaches have never been fully practiced. The economy started to experience a decline in growth in the 1990s, and growth rates, which were around 5% at the beginning of the 1990s decreased to 1.4% levels in the 1999–2002 period (Businessht 2015). In addition to economic and political issues, two major earthquakes, Gölcük and Düzce, devastated the country in 1999. There were serious amounts of casualties and property losses due to the disasters. Foreign investors and entrepreneurs started to pull out as a result of political and economic insecurity, as well as the devastating incidences. Finally, a major economic crisis hit the country in 2001.

The 2002 elections changed the political and economic conditions. The Justice and Development Party (AK Parti in its Turkish acronym), a new conservative political party, came to power, and still is at present. New economic measures were introduced to help the economy recover. This period can be characterized by massive investments and the rise of the construction sector. Privatization gained speed, and several public institutions and services in telecommunications, transportation, manufacturing, mining, and energy provision were privatized in the last two decades. The government has been announcing megaprojects in various sectors, such as transportation, energy, and housing. The impacts are expected to be more dramatic than ever as the scale and scope of the projects have increased excessively. Most of them, such as Kanal Istanbul[4] and nuclear power plants, are in their planning stages, so their details are not yet clear. However, the possible socio-economic and environmental outcomes have already been discussed. Such projects promoted by the government need to follow a participatory approach to prevent the possible negative externalities and legitimize its actions. Environmental, social, and cultural impact analyses should be conducted before the projects start, and they should be monitored by independent institutions/organizations. Otherwise, the environmental and social costs will likely surpass the expected economic benefits. The past experiences, which support this argument, will be exemplified in the following part.

[4]Kanal Istanbul is a mega-project proposing the construction of an artificial water canal parallel to the Bosphorus on the European side of Istanbul.

5.4 Large-Scale Public Investments in Turkey After the 1980s and Their Socio-economic, Cultural, and Spatial Repercussions

The 1980s can be characterized by a structural shift towards liberal economy. Government investment changed in size and scope after the fundamental economic and political transformation. Projects focusing on specific regions or specific sectors became more prominent. The government started to focus on creating a favourable economic environment for development through infrastructure provision and service sector promotion. Grand infrastructure projects at the national and regional scales and tourism incentives were some of the government interventions targeting economic growth and social well-being. It is important to mention that the projects were carried out with a top-down approach, rather than enabling the participation of local stakeholders and target groups. Bearing that in mind, the South-eastern Anatolia Project, tourism incentives, and transportation infrastructure investments will be critically discussed in the following part.

5.4.1 Regional Development: The South-Eastern Anatolia Project (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi, GAP)

The South-eastern Anatolia Project (GAP in its Turkish acronym) has been a milestone in the socio-economic development history of Turkey. GAP was the largest and the highest cost regional project in the nation's history. The project area includes nine provinces (Adıyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Şanlıurfa, Siirt, Şırnak), and Euphrates and Tigris river basins (Fig. 5.1). The core intent of the project was to decrease regional disparities and enhance development through infrastructure investments. The project targeted integrated regional development through a holistic approach considering all socio-economic and technical components. The South-eastern Anatolia Project included not only a giant water resources development plan, but also large-scale investments in a wide range of development-related sectors, such as agriculture, energy, transportation, telecommunications, healthcare, education, as well as urban and rural infrastructure (Çarkoğlu and Eder 2005, p. 167). The project targets were the construction of 22 dams, 19 hydraulic power plants, and an irrigation network, but dams were without doubt the most iconic investments in GAP. The construction of the Atatürk Dam, the most important component of the project, started in 1983 and was completed in 1992. It is the largest dam in Turkey and serves for energy and irrigation purposes. Similar to the Keban case, many settlements were affected by the construction. The Atatürk Dam expropriation was the largest in Turkey, governing 81,700 ha of land while affecting approximately 45,000 people (Akyürek 2005).

GAP was initiated in the 1980s although the planning phase had started in the 1970s. The GAP Master Plan was prepared by the State Planning Organization (DPT

Fig. 5.1 GAP region (Prepared by the author)

in its Turkish acronym) in 1989, and the GAP Regional Development Administration[5] was founded the same year. Initially, the project was considered as purely technical, aimed at providing energy and irrigation facilities to the area, which would result in the development of agriculture-related industries. Although the economic growth and its social interactions were considered, the real social aspects of GAP, which would be probably seen soon after the project implementation, were not considered realistically in a multidisciplinary way (Akyürek 2005, p. 29). As a result, a Social Action Plan was prepared between 1992 and 1994 to reveal the social characteristics of the area and provide a framework for sustainable social and human development. In the light of the gathered information, a set of objectives were put forward with the participation of academics, professional and voluntary organizations, and governmental agencies. The objectives were to highlight social progress and to develop human resources as well as intervening in education and health sectors (GAP Social Action Plan n.d.). Two action plans were prepared recently, covering the 2008–2012 and 2014–2018 periods. Four main development axes—economic, social, infrastructure, and institutional capacity—were defined in the Action Plans, covering major actions and individual projects and activities (GAP Action Plan n.d.). The Action Plans, different from the previous planning studies, prioritized the acceleration of investments.

This Plan had ambitious targets, such as a 445% increase in GRP, increasing per capita income by 209%, providing 3.8 million employment opportunities, producing 27 billion kWh hydraulic energy, and providing irrigation to 1.7 million ha of land (GAP Master Plan n.d.). 74% of energy investments and 45% irrigation projects were realized by 2015, while 19 dams and 13 hydraulic power plants were built (Latest State in GAP n.d.). After approximately 3 decades, the project targets have not been completely fulfilled. It should be noted that national political and economic conditions have adversely affected GAP, but the project itself has been heavily criticized due to its sociocultural and environmental impacts. Despite its ambitious undertaking

[5]The unit was tasked to plan for regional development and to steer, monitor, and coordinate GAP investments which were undertaken and given effect by different organizations in various sector (History of GAP, n.d.).

(and perhaps because of it), GAP has not reached its integration targets, and divergence of the region in terms of social and economic indicators remains (Çarkoğlu and Eder 2005, p. 168). Moreover, the project has not accounted for the social structure of the area, such as hierarchical tribal land ownership pattern. The government could have transformed the social structure (for instance through a land reform), but rather than that, they preferred to make alliances with big landowners either openly or confidentially (Keyder 2004, p. 115). Çarkoğlu and Eder (2005) emphasize the negative impacts of a top-down approach and high modernization strategy, while Keyder (2004) claims that the timing of the project is late, and it should have started in the 1960s or in the 1970s at the latest, like the other large-scale national integration and regional development projects.

In terms of cultural aspects, the project had some devastating impacts as well. Besides the resettlements and related sociocultural traumas, the dam projects have destroyed the historical sites of Zeugma and Hasankeyf. The ancient city of Zeugma was affected by the reservoir of the Birecik Dam. A rescue operation was initiated by the GAP Administration and the Ministry of Culture, and some archaeological items and mosaics were transferred to the Zeugma Mosaic Museum. However, almost one-third of the ancient city was submerged. Another issue has been the destructive consequences of the Ilısu Dam on the ancient city of Hasankeyf. The dam was planned around a decade ago, and the construction is almost completed. According to the Report on the current status of the Ilısu Hydroelectric Power Plant Project and Hasankeyf, 199 villages and the ancient city of Hasankeyf would be submerged and the project would affect up to 400 archaeological sites (Initiative to Keep Hasankeyf Alive 2017). A detailed survey has not been conducted for the area, particularly on the unexcavated parts. Any study aiming to fully excavate the city and its surroundings is estimated to require 50 years at least (Akyürek 2005, p. 107). Only one structure, Zeynel Bey Tomb, was relocated in 2017 (Initiative to Keep Hasankeyf Alive 2017).

Some environmental issues regarding GAP are also worrying. Such a large water-related project is expected to transform the natural habitat of the rivers, lakes, and other water resources, as well as the soil composition and vegetation. This sharp transformation of the region not only affects the quality of life economically and socially, but also contributes environmentally through resource allocation, protection, and sustainability standpoints (Akyürek 2005, p. 102). The industrial production and rapid urbanization realized with the implementation of the project have had both direct and indirect impacts on the environment, which could not be easily calculated in detail beforehand.

As a result, being one of the nation's greatest large-scale government projects of all times, GAP has fulfilled the pre-defined targets only to a certain extent. In technical issues, such as energy provision and irrigation, direct impacts of implementations and the success rates are measurable, and it can be claimed that the project has achieved desirable results, particularly in energy provision. However, in terms of the social, cultural, and environmental aspects, the results are controversial, while the indirect effects such as changes in demographic structure, biodiversity and employment pattern, and cultural loss can be more extensive and yet harder to estimate. Çarkoğlu and Eder (2005) are proposing a reform to improve the project, highlighting polit-

ical participation and local involvement, which could create a spillover effect and encourage a region-wide cooperation.

5.4.2 *Tourism*

The economic meltdown of the 1980s necessitated an urgent search for new resources. Tourism was an ideal sector for the government to revive the regional and the national economy and create employment opportunities through the promotion of service sector investments. Turkey has environmental, natural, archaeological, and cultural resources that can serve for various tourism types such as recreational, coastal, cultural, and culinary tourism. However, most of its potential had remained either underutilized or unexplored until the 1980s. The government followed a different strategy with this issue and provided incentives to encourage the investments rather than being the direct investor, except for the infrastructure provision. The Law for the Encouragement of Tourism (Law No. 2634) was enacted in 1982 in order to promote tourism investment and attract foreign capital. Several incentive tools were provided with the law such as the appropriation of public lands, credit options, tax allowances, and incentive bonuses. As a result, tourism investment increased in a significant way after the second half of the 1980s, and the number of facilities proliferated (Fig. 5.2).

Coastal cities such as Antalya and Muğla are the areas which have been most affected by the encouragement policies both positively and negatively. Tourism, being a labour-extensive sector, has created many employment opportunities, which has resulted in population increases in both cities; the population almost tripled in Antalya and doubled in Muğla from 1980 to 2015. However, urbanization and the change in land use have been more dramatic, and environmental assets were sacrificed for the sake of touristic facilities. Natural and cultural resources, once underutilized, have either been over-utilized or destroyed. The economic returns of the tourism sector are

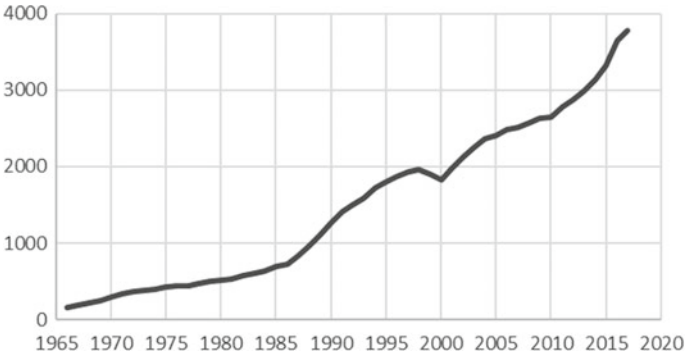

Fig. 5.2 Number of facilities with tourism operation licence (Prepared by the author based on TÜRSAB 2018 data)

unquestionable, and the sector has also provided a social medium to bring different cultures together. Nevertheless, tourism policies in Turkey, promoting mass tourism and large-scale facilities, such as resorts and holiday villages, are obviously not sustainable and do not sufficiently contribute to local socio-economic development. Moreover, the establishment of resorts and holiday villages restricts public access to beaches, which creates a social equity problem in terms of the utilization of public space and natural resources.

The South Antalya Tourism Development Project is a striking example which shows the impacts of large-scale tourism investments fuelled by government incentives. The legal foundation of the project was 1/25,000 scale South-Western Antalya Coastal Area Plan (Atik et al. 2006, p. 166). The project, started in the early 1970s by the State Planning Organization, initially had modest objectives of developing the tourism sector in the Southern coastal line of Antalya covering the Olympos Beydağları National Park, with relatively conservationist interventions. The multidisciplinary project team, including architects, urban planners, engineers, sociologists, and economists, analysed the relationship between humans and environment, and optimum land-use allocations in decision-making (Atik et al. 2006). The project was designated as an integrated tourism development project, covering economic growth, rural development, environmental protection, and provision of critical infrastructure with the participation of local municipalities and private investors, besides the governmental entities. In order to provide financial support, the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Finance, and the Tourism Bank of Turkey[6] made an agreement with the World Bank for a 25 million USD credit in 1976 (Örs 2005).

The revision plans of 1988, 1990, and 1996, together with the government incentives introduced with the Law for the Encouragement of Tourism and the inclusion of the World Bank, however, changed the fate of the Project. Private investment, which had been quite low until the 1980s, increased substantially after that. The Project, which originally targeted low-density tourism developments and rural housing areas in 1974, started to include organized tourism developments and high-density urban and rural areas in 1988, and golf courses and recreational areas in 1990 and 1996 (Atik et al. 2006, p. 173). The transformation of forest lands, agricultural areas and rural settlements into high-density settlements, hotels, resorts, and recreational areas not only caused environmental degradation, but also triggered a rapid socio-cultural transformation of communities from agrarian rural based into service-sector oriented urban based.

The Project started with desirable intentions such as a balanced development in terms of conservation and economic growth, and a participatory approach including professionals, central and local governments, private sector, and an international organization. However, it later gained a profit-oriented character and focused on economic aspects while disregarding environmental and social issues.

[6]The Tourism Bank of Turkey was founded in 1962 and financed by the Government to make tourism plans, projects, and implementations, and all of its assets and liabilities were transferred to the Development Bank of Turkey in 1989.

Structural changes seem to be needed in the tourism sector. Sustainable approaches placing emphasis on environmental protection, equal access to resources and heritage conservation, as well as encouragement of local entrepreneurs, should be adopted to prevent the destructive consequences of the investments and have positive returns in socio-economic and environmental senses.

5.4.3 Transportation Infrastructure

Transportation is one of the major sectors reshaping geography and driving economic development. Higher mobility paves the way for spatial flexibility and a more vibrant economy through enhanced accessibility and networking opportunities. Hence, transportation investments call for critical planning approach which considers the sector's social, economic, spatial, and environmental impacts. Large-scale transportation investments, indeed, have many comprehensive and intricate effects; therefore, the projects should be carried out with a participatory approach emphasizing strategic decision-making, transparency, and accountability. However, transportation planning, often being considered a purely technical issue, has been conducted exclusively by the experts in a top-down process. The government has been the major actor in decision-making and planning of large-scale transportation investments in Turkey, through its specialized institutions. The Turkish State Railways, the General Directorate of Highways, and the General Directorate of State Airports Authority, all under the roof of the Ministry of Transport, Maritime Affairs, and Communications carry out planning processes, and coordinate and control the implementation and operation of facilities in their areas of expertise.

Transportation receives a significant share of government investment. The sector acts as a facilitator in all types of socio-economic activities and this close relationship makes it stand out in all plans and investment decisions. The budgetary share of the transportation sector tends to increase throughout years, rising from 18% in the early 1980s to 32% in recent years (Fig. 5.3). Infrastructure investment covers all system components such as roads, railroads, bridges, tunnels, stations, ports, and airports, most of which are associated with high investment costs and advanced technologies.

Investment decisions on modal shares reflect a changing pattern in the transportation sector. Investment shares on roads and motorways reached their peak during the 1990s and the early 2000s, whereas the share of railway investment gained significant importance particularly in the past decade (Fig. 5.4). When the mode utilizations are considered, road transportation overwhelmingly dominates all others (Fig. 5.5). It has been the most utilized system for domestic passenger transportation since the 1950s and for the freight transportation since the 1970s. Today, the share of roads both for passenger and freight transportation is around 90% at the domestic level. Rail transportation, historically the most utilized mode for freight, lost its precedence in the 1970s. Recent investments focus on rail transportation in terms of high-speed trains, but the system is quite new and not widespread enough to compete with the road transportation alternatives. Air transportation is getting more attention in terms

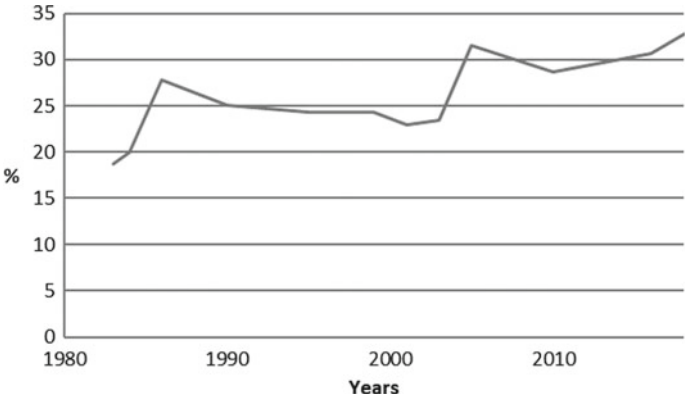

Fig. 5.3 Share of transportation out of government investment (Prepared by the author based on the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Development Data)

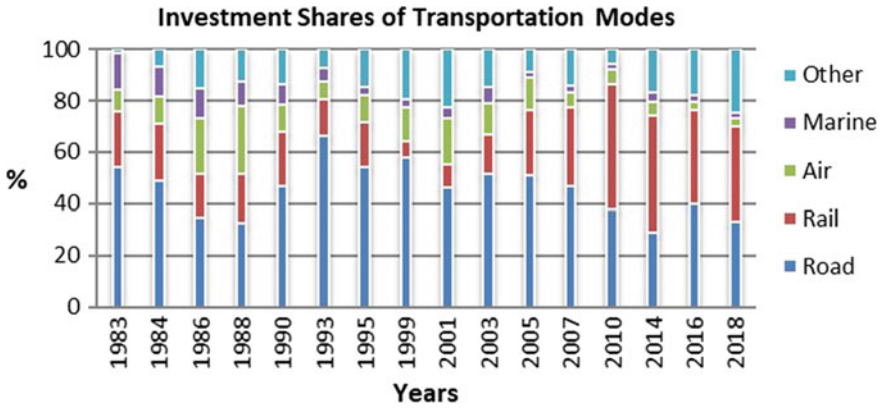

Fig. 5.4 Shares of transportation mode investments (Prepared by the author based on the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Development Data)

of passenger transportation in recent years, and its share follows an increasing trend, reaching around 9% by 2015.

In brief, transportation investment shares out of all government investments increased gradually, which can be interpreted as increasing accessibility and networking opportunities. However, modal shares reflect a clear unbalanced pattern, in spite of some improvements in the past decade. Investments have been characterized by large shares appropriated by road transportation, which has resulted in various problems regarding sustainability and efficient allocation of resources. In some cases, most of the transportation investments prioritize economic growth, at the expense of environmental and social issues. In the following part, the outcomes of large-scale transportation investments will be discussed in all aspects considering both the advantages and disadvantages in terms of different sectors.

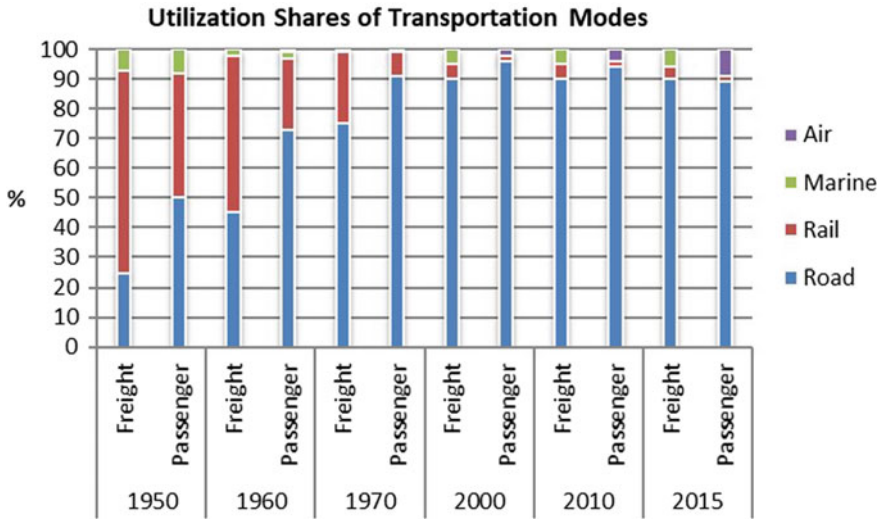

Fig. 5.5 Usage shares in freight and passenger transportation for different modes (Prepared by the author based on the Turkish State Railways, Rail Sector Report 2016 2017)

5.4.3.1 Motorway Investments: Istanbul Case

Road transportation is the major determinant that shapes land-use pattern. It is more flexible than the other transportation modes, namely rail, sea, and air, due to relatively lower capital investment costs, and more available, fast, and relatively cheap construction technology. Road networks drive urban development and lead to increasing densities along the arteries. Although railways had historically been the oldest means of connecting coastal areas to the inner parts of Turkey, it was road transportation which had the most dramatic impact on urbanization and the socio-economic structure. Road investments picked up speed after the late 1940s, particularly with the help of the Marshall Aid.[7] Drawn up by American experts, the road programme involved road reconstruction, repair, and widening of 23,000 km of a total of 43,000 km of Turkey's road network (Üstün 1997). The road network reached almost every settlement in the country except for some small ones by the end of the 1950–1960 period (Çetin et al. 2011). Roads, first planned to provide connection among railways, turned out to be the primary transportation system after the 1950s (Avci 2005). Some of the reasons for the shift from railways to roads can be the high capital investment and maintenance costs of the rail system, and the foreign aid's preference of encouraging oil-dependent sectors. Road transportation has had insuperable dominance over the other modes, and its share has continuously increased over time. For instance, motorway constructions increased significantly after the 1980s, and the

[7]Marshall Aid, offered to European countries in June 1947, was rooted in American interests to revive the European economy as a strong trading partner and to strengthen Europe politically against further Soviet expansion westward (Üstün 1997).

total length of motorways reached 2157 km by 2018 (Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü Yol Ağı Bilgileri n.d.). The construction of motorways was a milestone, since road speeds, quality, and capacities all improved, yet it failed to provide sustainable and permanent solutions for transportation-related problems, such as congestion, foreign dependency on energy, the use of fossil fuels, affordability, and car accidents.

Istanbul is a practical example to show the impact of motorway investment on urbanization and environment both at the local and regional scales. The first motorway, named as the Istanbul Inner Beltway, was opened in 1973. It is a 24-km controlled-access highway connecting the Asian and European sides via the Bosphorus Bridge. The motorway increased accessibility and transportation opportunities for both sides of Istanbul. However, urban densities unavoidably increased along the beltway in a few years, which made the connections inadequate and the traffic load of the Bridge intolerable. Therefore, an urgent need for a new connection, i.e. a new beltway and a bridge, emerged in a few years. The second bridge, the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge (FSM), located on the North of the Bosphorus Bridge, was opened in 1988. FSM not only connects the two sides of Istanbul, but also serves as a connection point for the Trans-European Motorway (TEM), which started to serve as an outer beltway for Istanbul. The traffic was temporarily relieved due to the new transportation opportunity, but it eventually shared the fate of the first Bridge connection. A rapid urbanization was experienced along TEM, similar to the previous inner beltway while increasing densities caused ungovernable traffic loads and congestion. Increasing problems called for new and innovative solutions. However, the proposed project was just a duplicate of the previous ones: an outer belt motorway and a bridge as the connection point. The Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge was opened in 2016 as a part of the Northern Marmara Motorway. The network is planned to provide a connection to the third airport, which is under construction. Following the same path would probably bring similar outcomes: rapid urbanization and increasing densities along the highway. However, this time, the destruction is expected to be greater than the previous ones, because the motorway stretches through the Northern Forests of Istanbul and water basins. A large forest land has already been wiped out, but more destruction is likely on its way. Moreover, except for the direct effects, such as the loss of forest land and depletion of water resources, indirect effects, such as salinization of groundwater, and urban heat islands, are expected. Public participation has not been considered in these projects. There were even protests against them by some environmental NGOs, such as The Northern Forests Defence. These projects also disrupt planning integrity and contradict the larger-scale plan strategies that have been adopted to control the urban macroform, such as keeping the Northern Forests as a green buffer to limit urban sprawl.

Briefly, there is a tendency in transportation towards road networks. However, land transportation is problematic in terms of sustainability because it has considerable negative environmental impacts, increases oil dependency, and promotes uncontrolled urban development. It is clearly observed in the Istanbul case that road investments provide short-term solutions while creating greater problems in the long-run.

5.4.3.2 The High-Speed Train Network

Railways have been in operation for more than 150 years in Turkey. The construction of the first line started in 1856, and it connected İzmir to Aydın, cities in Western Anatolia. British and German capital played a major role in the construction of the railways during the Ottoman period (Turkish State Railways, 161-Year History of Turkish Railways 2017). Aksoy (2016) defines the case as the half-colonialization and the first implications of capitalism and industrialization of the Ottoman Empire. Railways were nationalized after the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923, and around four thousand kilometres of railways remained within the national borders. Railway lines almost doubled until the 1940s, covering most of the populated urban centres. Investments slowed down significantly after the 1940s and railway transportation remained quite stagnant until the 2000s.

The past decade was a breakthrough for railway transportation. The conventional system started to be replaced by the new high-speed train (YHT in its Turkish acronym), whose plans were initiated in 2003. The first line was put into operation in 2009. YHT currently has four lines, operating between Istanbul, Ankara, Eskisehir, and Konya, with 11 stops in total (Fig. 5.6), and additional lines are on the way. The most perceptible impact of the HST has been on time distances (Table 5.1). The most significant time savings have been observed in the Ankara–Eskişehir, Ankara–Konya, and Eskişehir–Konya lines. For instance, the travel time between Ankara and Eskisehir, which takes around three hours by bus and two and a half hours by private car, has been reduced to one and a half hour with the HST, which made commuting possible for the two cities. There are train cards available at reduced rates, for those who use the system frequently, particularly for commuting purposes. The Ankara–Istanbul line does not seem efficient, since the travel time does not provide considerable time savings, and the location of the Istanbul Station, Pendik, is not a quite favourable location. Seven intermediate stops along the Ankara–Istanbul line, except for Eskişehir, slow down the system, but are located on relatively small settlements, whose populations do not justify such an investment.

YHT is a relatively new technology, and unfortunately, there are few lines to make detailed comparative studies. The system is expected to become more widespread and reach various points all around Turkey. Capital investment costs are quite high so that the decision to invest is critical in route planning and selection of the service areas. In order for YHT to be economically feasible, it should provide time and/or monetary advantages over the other transportation modes. YHT cannot serve each and every settlement due to economic and time considerations, and thus, it can be supported with feeder lines through the investments on conventional system and other transportation modes. Such an integrated system would provide accessibility and social equity, particularly when relatively smaller settlements are considered. When the whole system is completed and put into operation, regional networking is expected to be improved, which will also help socio-economic development and spatial integration. Future plans should consider the potential passenger volumes that will be brought by the YHT and also new commuting patterns among neighbouring cities.

Table 5.1 Comparison of YHT and bus in terms of speeds, travel times, and time savings

	Road length (km)	Max speed—bus (km/h)	Travel time—bus (min.)	Railway length (km)	Average speed—HST (km/h)	Travel time—HST (min.)	Time savings (%)
Segment							
Ankara–Eryaman	45	60	43	23	49	28	−35
Eryaman–Polatlı	72	90	48	66	208	19	−60
Polatlı–Eskişehir	157	90	105	163	200	49	−53
Eskişehir–Bozüyük	46	90	30	41	129	19	−37
Bozüyük–Bilecik	34	90	23	28	76	22	−3
Bilecik–Arifiye	93	90	62	92	123	45	−27
Arifiye–İzmit	39	100	23	38	104	22	−6
İzmit–Gebze	47	100	28	42	79	32	13
Gebze–İstanbul	21	100	13	19	67	17	35
Polatlı–Konya	223	90	149	212	193	66	−56
Eskişehir–Konya	364	90	244	375	216	104	−57
Ankara–İstanbul[a]	414	100	248	512	121	253	2
Route							
Ankara–Eskişehir	233	90	155	252	159	95	−39
Ankara–Konya	258	90	172	301	161	112	−35
Eskişehir–Konya	364	90	244	375	216	104	−57

(Prepared by the author based on the information provided on the websites of the Turkish State Railways and the general directorate of highways)
[a]Direct connection via E89 and E80 motorways between Ankara and İstanbul

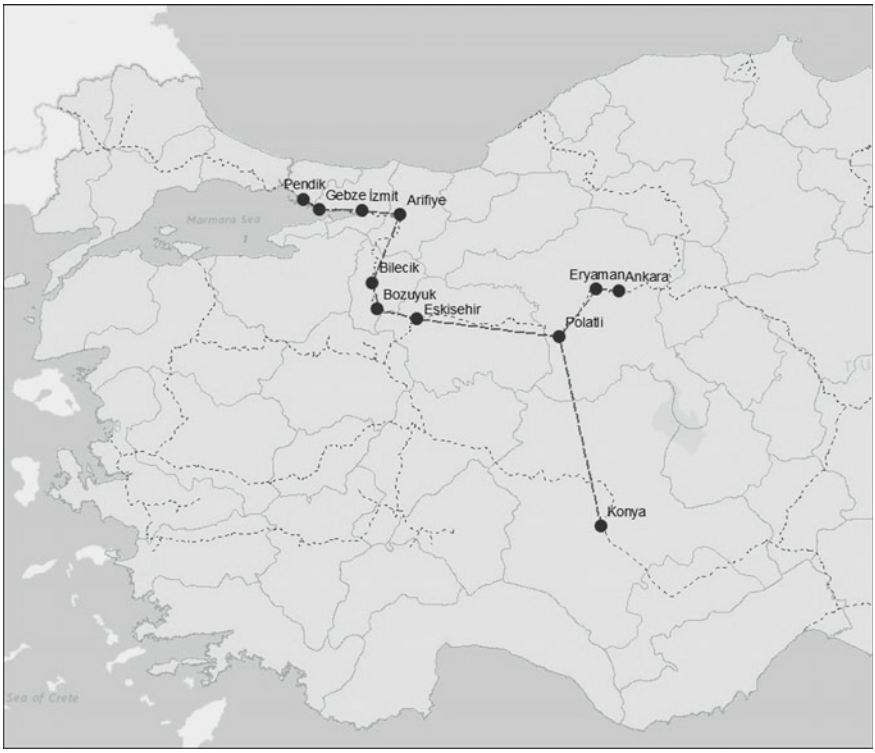

Fig. 5.6 High-speed train stops in 2018 (Prepared by the author)

5.4.3.3 Izmir Suburban Rail (IZBAN)

Rail investments have been reshaping time distances and networking patterns not only at the national scale, but also at regional and local scales. The Izmir suburban rail (IZBAN in its Turkish acronym) is one of the most well-known and successful regional transportation investments in Turkey that serve the Izmir city region (Fig. 5.7). Izmir is the third largest province, with a population of almost 4.3 million in 30 districts.[8] The region is quite vibrant and organized in industrial and agricultural production, as well as education and research activities. There are 8 universities, 138 university research and implementation centres, 13 organized industrial zones, 4 technoparks, 34 research and development centres, and 4 design centres in the region. Izmir comes right after Istanbul in foreign trade capacity and holds 6.2% of the GDP (EGIAD 2017). In addition to its economic performance, the region stands out with

[8] 11 Central Districts: Balcova, Bayrakli, Bornova, Buca, Cigli, Gaziemir, Guzelbahce, Karabaglar, Karsiyaka, Konak, Narlidere; and 19 Regional Districts: Aliaga, Bayindir, Bergama, Beydag, Cesme, Dikili, Foca, Karaburun, Kemalpasa, Kinik, Kiraz, Menderes, Menemen, Odemis, Seferihisar, Selcuk, Tire, Torbali, Urla.

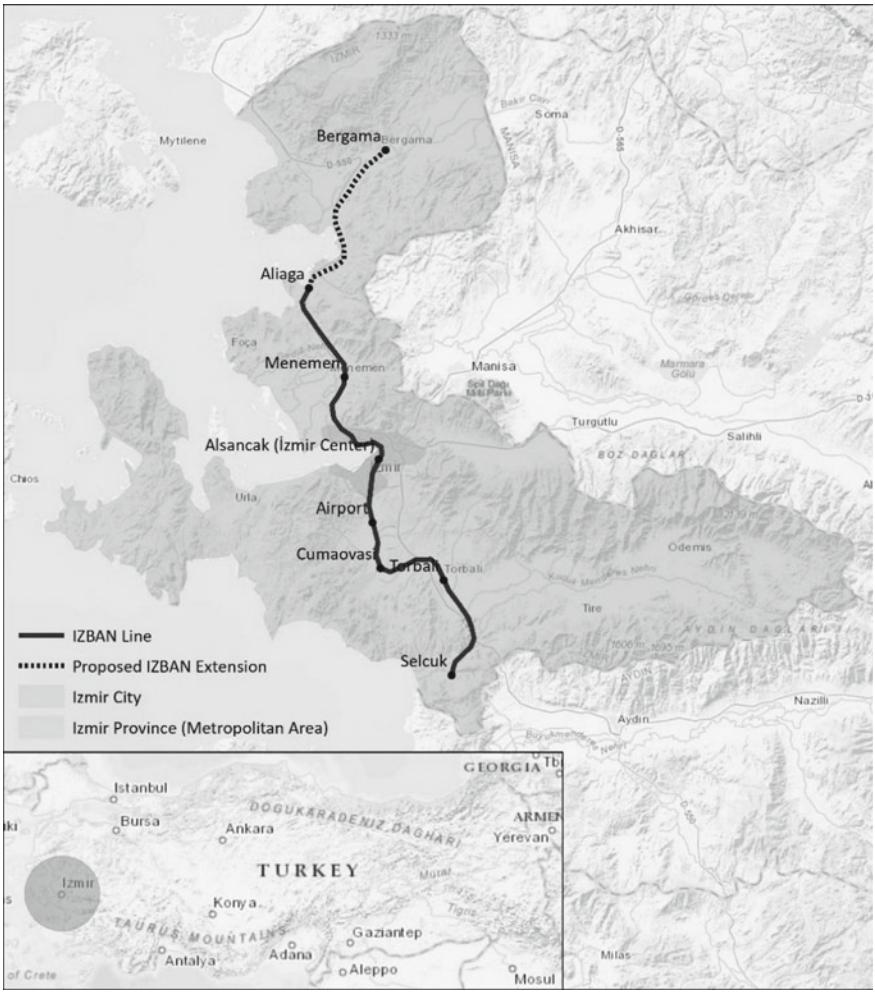

Fig. 5.7 IZBAN line (Prepared by the author)

its various touristic and cultural attractions due to the long coastline, favourable climate, natural assets, and historical sites such as Ephesus and Pergamon.

IZBAN has been an important infrastructure investment supporting economic, commercial, social, cultural, and educational relations in the region. The line operates in a North–South direction covering 136 km, connecting the most populated parts of the region with 40 stops including the Izmir city centre, the airport, the Aliaga refinery, the Ataturk Organized Industrial Zone, Selcuk (the district hosting Ephesus), etc. It takes around one and a half hours from the first stop to the last one. There are also transfer stations connecting IZBAN to the Izmir City Metro Line, and bus connections which make the connections even stronger. IZBAN was put into operation in 2010,

with an equal share partnership of the Turkish State Railways and Izmir Greater Municipality. The old state railway was renovated, and new carriers were introduced allowing a faster and more comfortable trip. The daily number of passengers, once around 3 thousand, increased to 225 thousand (IZBAN, n.d.) with the introduction of IZBAN. The line has created a commuter corridor and changed the travel pattern of the region. An extension line to Bergama, another historical settlement hosting the ancient ruins of Pergamon, is on the way. The project targets 550 thousand daily passengers covering almost all settlements along the North–South corridor of 185 km. It is not only IZBAN, but also the presence of all other complementary transportation facilities that contributes to increased networking, such as international ports (Alsancak and Aliaga), the international airport (Adnan Menderes Airport), railways, highways, ports, piers, and logistics centres. The area started to act as a hub, particularly for the Western part of Turkey, providing domestic and international connections.

The project exemplifies the importance of State institutions participating with local government. It has a different character through enabling the inclusion of technical knowledge and local experience rather than a dictated top-down approach. IZBAN is likely to improve local and regional development more and more through increased networking in the near future.

5.5 Conclusion

Government investment plays a crucial role in the national economy as well as socio-economic development levels and urbanization patterns. Investments, particularly on large-scale projects, favour economic growth. However, they have serious social, spatial, environmental, and cultural outcomes which necessitate further critical assessments of the projects to reveal the potential and actual achievements and failures, as well as their indirect effects. Investments are closely related to the political and economic conjunctures, and in emerging economies such as Turkey, this relation tends to be more direct and disruptive. Whenever politics or economy experienced a transformation or a crisis in Turkey, so did investments. Hence, objectives, sectoral composition, scope, and size of investments have changed over time depending on the political and economic transformations.

Initially, industry was believed to strengthen the economy; therefore, government investment targeted the manufacturing sector. Following the nation-state idealism, it was intended to achieve a comprehensive development all over the country through establishing factories and improving infrastructure. However, limited resources and the fragile economy as well as political instabilities and international crises made it impossible to achieve an overall growth, and manufacturing and infrastructure investments turned out to be inefficient. The economy gained a neoliberal structure after the 1980s. Investments in that period focused on the development of particular areas and sectors. Liberalization was intended to bring efficiency and productivity in the economy, but it was also criticized for harming social equity, increasing

income inequality, foreign dependency, and the loss of public resources. More recent practices favour technology-intensive infrastructure investments and megaprojects. Since the scales of projects increase, so do their socio-economic and environmental impacts. In fact, the economic spillover effect draws much attention; thus, other sectors can easily be overlooked by the decision-makers. Increasing networking and economic growth can be considered as their positive outcomes at the expense of social inequality, environmental degradation, and loss of cultural heritage in most of the cases.

Targeting primarily the economic growth and following a top-down approach which highlights the central government as the major actor rather than a participatory approach has been the major problems of the large-scale government investment. Social, cultural, and environmental repercussions of the projects should be assessed beforehand, and these attributes should have equal importance to economic returns. Such investment impacts can be perceived on the local, regional, and even on national scales. Therefore, all groups those are potentially being directly or indirectly affected by the investments should be included in the process. Participatory, democratic, transparent, and accountable approaches should be adopted in order to alleviate the undesirable outcomes of large-scale projects and achieve sustainable development.

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Chapter 6
The Urban Growth and Development Periods of Turkish Cities: A Fringe-Belt Perspective

Tolga Ünlü and Yener Baş

Abstract This study aims to elaborate a discussion on the urban growth of Turkish cities from an urban morphological viewpoint and to question the applicability of the urban fringe-belt concept to explain the growth of Turkish cities and their urban structure. It has been recognized that the inner fringe belt that surrounded the historic core emerged and developed during the late Ottoman period was consolidated during the early Republican period and then experienced further changes in the subsequent periods. The inner fringe belt was enveloped by residential accretions, produced as a bourgeoisie environment by jumping over the inner fringe belt. The units of the middle fringe belt began to appear in the early Republican period and intensified during the 1950s. It was consolidated after the second wave of sprawl through large-scale housing projects, while at the same time, informal residential environments encircled the inner and middle fringe belts. This study suggests a tentative framework for a discussion on the development periods of Turkish cities in relation to fringe-belt development. The more these cities are studied, the more accurate results will be acquired.

Keywords Urban fringe belt · Urban growth · Urban structure
Development period · Turkish cities

6.1 Introduction

The cities of Europe experienced rapid growth during the Industrial Revolution, and they began to sprawl to the peripheral lands of settlements. In this period, the urban

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population of Europe grew sixfold, and small settlements were turned into urban areas (Hohenberg and Lees 1996). This was the first wave of development through which the historic core of many European cities was shaped (Rykwert 2000), followed by urban sprawl. The process of London's sprawl to the peripheral land resulted in the emergence of a few parts of the city being more than 11 km from the city centre at the end of the nineteenth century, while the built-up areas of other cities were limited to a radius of 5 km of commercial core (Whitehand and Carr 2001).

The growth of cities during the nineteenth century brought about problems due to the rapid population increase, including unhealthy and unsustainable urban environments, insufficient provision of infrastructure, and unsatisfactory urban spaces. A range of visionary proposals was developed in this period in order to overcome these problems, such as Ebenezer Howard's Garden City in Britain, Soria y Mata's Linear City in Madrid, Daniel Burnham's City Beautiful in Chicago, and the modernist alternatives of Tony Garnier, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier for building a new city and a new life. There are many other examples like these, and their common ground was the search for a new vision of a new life that would solve the problems of the nineteenth-century city.

Apart from these visionaries, the rapid growth of cities also made them a field of study to question the basic motivations and reasons for the quick development and to explain the structure of these newly emerging cities. Among these studies, a group of sociologists from the University of Chicago developed a framework for the explanation of the urban growth of cities; the approach to this framework was manifested in the publication of their seminal book, *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment* (Park et al. 1925). The researchers in this field explained cities under the umbrella of the Chicago School as "constantly evolving mechanisms, subject to the processes of growth and decay, interdependence, competition and cooperation, health, and disease" (Judd 2011).

The explanations of the Chicago School for the nature of urban growth were materialized through diagrams. First, there was the concentric zone model of Burgess (1925), followed by the sector model of Hoyt (1939) and later by the multiple nuclei model of Harris and Ullman (1945). Although transition from the concentric zone model to the multiple nuclei model draws attention to a change from a monocentric to a polycentric view of cities, the three models all highlight the importance of the central city as a dominant phenomenon to effect the shaping of the entire urban area. The simplicity of the primary logic of the Chicago School made its application available to many different cities (Dear 2002).

The Los Angeles School emerged in the last two decades of the twentieth century through its challenge to the urban growth paradigm of the concentric circles of the Chicago School (Erie and MacKenzie 2011). The Los Angeles School reversed the concept of the dominant centre into the idea that the hinterlands of the city determine what remains in the centre (Dear 2013). During that time, the New York School (although it is questionable to describe it as a school) was paying attention to the significance of the city centre as a place to work and live through the participation of researchers from various disciplines. Despite the heterogeneity of these participants,

the members had a common ground: "a unique culture that acted as a glue binding together the diverse neighbourhoods of Manhattan and it boroughs" (Judd 2011, 9).

The Los Angeles School emphasized the decentralization and fragmentation of urban areas, while the New York School highlighted the potential of the urban core, with a strong interest in Manhattan. The former paid attention to the polycentric structure of the urban area and the existence of unitary places in the peripheral regions, which were a result of rapid urban sprawl. The latter points out the importance of the coexistence of different social groups in the city centre, who together would create an urban life that was superior to suburban life (Halle and Beverige 2011).

As the Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York Schools emerged mostly within urban sociology and in part from politics, planning, and architecture, the field of urban morphology extended the discussion on the growth of cities towards the physical characteristics of urban landscapes and opened certain new paths for the explanation of the growth of cities. To this end, the "urban fringe belt" is introduced by Conzen (1960, 1969) and elaborated by Whitehand (1972a, b, 1974) as a phenomenon to explain the physical structure of urban areas on a citywide scale. The current study aims to elaborate a discussion on the urban growth of Turkish cities from an urban morphological viewpoint and to question the applicability of the urban fringe-belt concept to explain the growth of Turkish cities and their urban structure.

6.2 An Urban Morphology Approach to Urban Growth: The Concept of the Urban Fringe Belt

When Conzen's seminal book *Alnwick, Northumberland: A study in town-plan analysis* was published in 1960, he began paving the way to strengthening urban morphology as a field of knowledge in Britain. In his book, he constructs a method of town-plan analysis in order to investigate the changing character of cities, which is expressed in the physiognomy of the urban environment. That is to say, he formulates the field of urban morphology as "the study of urban form" (Larkham and Jones 1991). With a more thorough perspective, urban morphology examines the internal process of urban change and explains the cyclical nature of urban growth through an analysis of adaptation and redevelopment, which helps to foster opinions for the management of future developments (Whitehand 2001).

Although the roots of the study of urban form date back to the late nineteenth century to the studies of German geographers, Conzen established the basis of morphogenetic tradition in Britain (Whitehand and Larkham 1992). Through his studies, Conzen introduces the concept of the urban fringe belt as the most important singular contribution to the field of urban morphology (Whitehand 1987). In the elaboration of the fringe-belt concept, Conzen is apparently influenced by Louis (1936), whose lectures and seminars he attended during his intellectual development at the Geographical Institute at the University of Berlin (Whitehand 1981). Louis (1936) identifies a distinct morphological unit, the *Stadtrandzone*, which is characterized

by separated residential zones of different periods throughout the urban growth of Berlin.

At this point, it is crucial to highlight the differences between the concepts of urban fringe and an urban fringe belt. "Rural-urban fringe is the zone of transition in land use, social and demographic characteristics, lying between the continuously built-up urban and suburban areas of the central city and the rural hinterland". As a part of this transition zone, the urban fringe is the "subzone of rural-urban fringe in contact and contiguous with the central city, exhibiting a density of occupied dwellings higher than the median density of the total rural-urban fringe" (Pryor 1968, 206). It is essentially "identified less as an expansion area of the city and more as a transition zone in which the rural land pattern begins" (Andrews 1942, 169). On the other hand, Conzen (1969) points out that urban fringe belts are formed in the peripheral locations of the city, through temporarily station and slow advancement. When the fringe-belt uses grow into and combined to each other, a belt-like zone appears at the fringe of the city, surrounding the built-up area. This is the urban fringe belt, composed of a mixture of various land-use units such as industry, institutions, community services, and open spaces. That is to say, urban fringe belts appear at the urban fringe of a city, consisting of basically non-residential and non-commercial uses. When it is enveloped by residential accretions in the later phases of urban development and becomes embedded in the urban form, it begins to appear as a belt-like morphological unit that allows us to scrutinize the development phases of the city.

Although urban fringe belts consist of some definite land-use units located in the peripheral lands of the city, they are not simply artefacts of a location, but rather they are historico-geographical forms that allow us to develop a comprehensive evaluation of the growth phases of cities and their physical forms in each period (Whitehand and Morton 2003).

Conzen (1960, 1962, 1966, 1969) elaborates upon his theory of urban form through utilizing the concept of the urban fringe belt to identify the processes of urban growth in distinct development periods. Conzen's essential but more descriptive studies were elaborated by Whitehand's (1972a, b, 1974) studies through questioning the main rationale of the formation and transformation of urban fringe belts. He puts forth an economical explanation and relocates the fringe-belt theory to a wider (national) context through relating the development of fringe belts to bid-rent theory, building activities, and innovation. "During a housing boom, existing institutional sites would tend to the bids of house builders, the institutions themselves being displaced to sites farther" (Whitehand 1972b, 217). Since they require much more initial site development costs and are sensitive to changes in the price of land, housing slumps provide an opportunity for institutions (or other fringe-belt units) to acquire sites that otherwise tend to be taken up by house builders. Similarly, periods of housing booms are characterized by the acquisition of sites adjacent to the built-up areas for the formation of new residential areas, while the development of institutions in these areas is much more probable during periods of slumps.

Whitehand (1994) describes the differences between Burgess' concentric zone model and Conzen's historico-geographical model in terms of their understanding of

urban growth. He terms the former as an "additive model", in which "old buildings are succeeded outward by younger buildings until the zone of current construction at the urban fringe is reached" (Whitehand 1994, 7). In this vein, the Victorian terraced houses in British cities were followed by inter-war semi-detached houses, and then the modern terraced houses in the Anglo-Scandinavian style emerged during the post-war period followed by the pseudo-vernacular style in the 1980s. However, Whitehand criticizes the "additive model" for its conception of urban growth as a smooth and continuous process. The emergence of fringe belts, which are embedded within the city, through house-building slumps or deliberative actions to create green belts or fortification zones, brings about the "fringe-belt model", in which the fringe belts are added to the everlasting and continuous housing development of the additive model. The fringe-belt model basically stems from the descriptive studies of M.R.G. Conzen. Whitehand developed a more explanatory model, called the "innovation/building-cycle model", in which the simplicity of the fringe-belt model is enhanced by relating the emergence of new development periods and building types to the innovations and fluctuations in building activity, technical developments in building industry, and various transport eras.

Three main types of fringe belts are identified in the studies on various cities of different cultures. The inner fringe belt is a separate major morphological unit with its fixation line, defined by Conzen (1969) as a strong linear feature that causes the topographical fixation of a ring system of roads and acts as the backbone of an urban fringe belt as well as the dividing line between the intramural and extramural areas, and consequent ring road, forming a continuous, uninterrupted zone around the central city. While the middle fringe belt separates residential integuments in a less continuous way, the outer fringe belt is an open space along the periphery of the city (Conzen 1969). The inner fringe belt tends to be more continuous than the other types, thanks to the historical lineage of cities. The middle and outer fringe belts usually do not show a continuous structure (Conzen 2009).

In this light, as the fringe-belt concept allows us to explore the historico-geographical development and structure of cities, this study seeks to question the use of this concept to explain the growth of Turkish cities and to investigate their urban structure. Since most of the Turkish cities have long historical developments, dated back to antiquity, it is possible to enlarge the scope of the study to a wider temporal framework. It is probable to find the traces of an emergent inner fringe belt throughout the development of historical cities in Roman and early Ottoman periods, manifested through many institutional and religious uses, possibly along the city walls that acted as a fixation line. However, the study focuses on the period, beginning with the nineteenth century, when Turkish cities began to run into a rapid change with the effect of Ottoman modernization, and followed by Republican modernization. Articulation of the Ottoman Empire with the industrialized countries of Europe during the nineteenth century gave effect the emergence of new land-use units in urban form, and the consequent urban sprawl changed the structure of larger cities (Tekeli 1998). In this vein, this study firstly investigates the changes in larger cities, such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara, through an insight on fringe-belt formation and transformation, in order to acquire a general comprehension on the growth

of Turkish cities since the nineteenth century. Following that, discrete outcomes of fringe-belt formation and transformation are scrutinized through the detailed study on the city of Mersin.

6.3 Research on the Growth of Turkish Cities

The urban growth of Turkish cities has been examined in numerous studies that investigate the urbanization process from the viewpoints of urban sociology, urban studies, planning, and urban politics. Although fringe-belt studies have increased over the last decade, they are still very rare.

Kıray (1965), an urban sociologist, introduces a comprehensive explanation for the general structure of Turkish cities, which were at that time faced with rapid growth under the guise of the modernization process. She investigates Istanbul as an example, using the approach of the Chicago School. She points out that the city grows into the peripheral lands in a continuous way, in waves that expand from the centre. When she identifies the distinct urban areas from the central business district to the periphery, she provides information that allows us to scrutinize the formation of urban fringe belts, from the nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century. For instance, the land-use units such as the railway station, bus terminal, storehouses, and workshops began to appear in the periphery of the city centre, showing the first phase of an inner fringe belt. Furthermore, she states that at the outermost regions, the city is surrounded by a probable middle or outer fringe belt, including large-scale industrial areas, sports grounds, and cemeteries. She also points out that small-scale industrial premises and bus stations tend to move from the periphery of the city centre (the inner fringe belt) to larger areas in the outer regions. This is the process of fringe-belt translation, which is defined by Conzen (1969) as "the transfer of a land-use unit from an older fringe belt to a more recent one" (126).

Kıray (1982) broadens her explanations in a similar study on the development trends of metropolitan cities in underdeveloped countries. She asserts that improvements in transportation and communication technology result in the emergence of large-scale industrial sites in the vacant areas farthest from the metropolitan city centre. In this way, the new and organized industrial sites become parts of a newly emerging outer fringe belt.

Kıray (1984) also highlights that newcomers and low-income groups begin to live in the periphery of the city centre, almost intertwined with the inner fringe belt, while middle-income groups produce their urban environment by jumping over the inner fringe belt in the close vicinity of the city centre. They later move to the urban fringe due to the pressure of low-income groups in the new residential districts. Emergent residential districts such as Gedikpaşa, Beyoğlu, and Harbiye in Istanbul experienced terraced houses as a new building type at the end of the nineteenth century as well as the apartment block as another new type. Istanbul began to sprawl to the periphery with the help of innovations and improvements in public transportation, which in this case are maritime lines and railways. This

process resulted in the emergence of the suburban environments for middle- and high-income groups in Suadiye, Erenköy, Yeniköy, and Yeşilköy while at the same time the housing environments of the working class were evident around large-scale factories in Paşabahçe and Alibeyköy. Kıray (1982) shows that Turkish cities began to take the form of a fragmented sprawl as a result of the propulsive effect of low-income groups on the middle- and high-income groups to move to the surrounding regions and the need of the working class to be closer to the new industrial sites in the peripheral lands. Tekeli (2011a) also draws attention to the fragmented sprawl in the peripheral lands of Turkish cities.

In the field of urban studies, Tekeli discusses an explanation of the urban development of various Turkish cities. In one of his earlier studies (Tekeli 1971), he states that nineteenth-century Ottoman cities experienced a transformation due to their incorporation into the world economy. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, national politics assisted in strengthening the inner fringe belts through new administrative and cultural uses. During the nineteenth century, many financial institutions began to appear in the city centre while new institutions, governmental and cultural activities, and railway stations with their related activities began to initiate an inner fringe belt just at the periphery of the historic core. These fringe-belt uses were incorporated into the existing religious uses that were inherited from the earlier periods. In the early Republican period, between 1923 and 1945, cities began to sprawl into the surrounding areas with the advent of new transportation facilities; however, urbanization was very slow in these periods (Tekeli 1998).

Tekeli (1998) asserts that the rapid population increase in the post-war period brought about two new forms of residential development, one of which was the squatter developments on the outskirts of cities, and the other is the widespread use of apartment blocks. In the period between 1960 and 1980, the workshops that were placed at the periphery of the city centre moved into new small-scale industrial sites, whereas large-scale organized industrial sites appeared far away from the city. The former signifies a fringe-belt translation from an inner fringe belt to other fringe belts, while the latter reveals the first phase of outer fringe-belt formation. Additionally, administrative uses and universities began to appear on the periphery of cities in the form of large campus areas. The large-scale residential developments were also evident, especially during the 1970s, through mass housing projects. The neoliberalization process after the 1980s resulted in some dramatic changes in the urban form, which is materialized in the dispersion of the city centre and the emergence of new sub-centres within the metropolitan region as well as the move of numerous fringe-belt uses to the campus areas in the peripheral lands, the widespread use of mass housing on the outskirts, and the emergence of new residential environments for middle- and high-income groups in the farthest areas of the region.

Izmir also underwent significant changes during Ottoman modernization. The studies of Kıray (1998) and Tekeli (2011b) reveal that the inner fringe belt of Izmir began to surround the historic core through fringe-belt uses of government houses, military barracks, the railway station, the port area, workshops, cemeteries, public parks, and factories. During the nineteenth century, the Punta neighbourhood emerged as the first residential district that jumped over the inner fringe belt and

became a place for middle- and high-income groups, dominated by non-Muslim people. This wealthy group also created their suburbs on the outskirts due to the transportation opportunities of new railway lines, taking the villages of Buca, Bornova, and Gaziemir as centres.

However, the main jump over the inner fringe belt came into being after improvements in existing roads and the opening of new ones such as the İkiçeşmelik, Hatay, and Varyant roads. These developments caused the city to extend to the west, where the Hatay district emerged and where apartment blocks were widely seen as a new building type. This new type also replaced the single-family houses in the close vicinity of the inner fringe belt. During the 1950s, the middle fringe belt of Izmir began to be formed not only through the construction of the new port area in the north but also through the large-scale storehouses related to the port. Moreover, the ring roads, built during the 1970s, facilitated small-scale industries in choosing locations around them (Tekeli 2011b) as parts of the middle fringe belt.

Şengül (2001) introduces an explanation for development periods of Turkish cities from a viewpoint of urban politics. In his view, Turkish cities experienced the "urbanization of the nation state" during the early Republican period through the national policies of the new republic that aimed to create a new nation. In this period, the organization of space was considered on a countrywide scale, and the urban space was shaped with the agency of middle classes, compelled by the state. In the post-war period until 1980, during what Şengül calls the "urbanization of the labour force", squatter settlements developed as spaces for the working class. This is followed by the "urbanization of capital" after 1980, when urban space was subject to large-scale investment in the form of shopping centres and housing estates.

In another study, Günay (2005) explores the urban development of Ankara, utilizing the viewpoint of the Chicago School, and he questions the effect of planning decisions on the emergence of discrete urban environments amid continuous growth from the city centre to the urban fringe. He points out that the peripheral lands of the city became sites for expansion, directed by development plans, which resulted in fragmentation of the settlement pattern on a citywide scale.

Among other studies, Aru's (1998) research is closest to the field of urban morphology. In his detailed investigation of Anatolian cities, he elaborates a typology of Turkish cities, describing their forms on a citywide scale. He takes into consideration the historic cores, of numerous cities such as Erzurum, Sivas, Trabzon, Mardin, Samsun, Çorum, Izmit, and Siirt, shaped throughout Roman, Seljuk, and early Ottoman periods, and he classifies them as concentric, radial, linear, saddle-shaped, and arc-shaped.

Studies on the urban growth of Turkish cities from the viewpoint of urban morphology are very limited, but they have been increasing over the last decade. Ünlü (2013b) focuses on the formation and modification of the inner fringe belt of Mersin, which is furthered by Ünlü and Baş (2016) through an investigation of fringe-belt development on a citywide scale. They examine the relationship between distinct fringe belts and provide an explanation of multi-nuclear urban growth with reference to fringe-belt development. Hazar and Kubat (2015) develop a comparison between the fringe belts of Istanbul and Barcelona, while in another study, they concentrate

on the continuity of the inner fringe belt along the city walls of Istanbul (Hazar and Kubat 2016). Kubat and Gümru's study (2014) seeks a clarification of the concept of polycentric growth.

6.4 Urban Growth of Mersin Through a Fringe-Belt Perspective

This study seeks to identify distinct fringe belts in the city of Mersin in order to provide a framework for a discussion on the development periods of Turkish cities. The nineteenth century is taken as the starting point for the study since Mersin was founded during the 1830s, when it consisted of just "a few huts on the shore" (Beaufort 1817). Mersin experienced very rapid urban development during the nineteenth century as a result of its incorporation into international trade as an exchange node between the industrialized core countries and the peripheral agricultural lands (Ünlü 2009; Selvi Ünlü and Göksu 2018; Toksöz 2000). Its rigorous development from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present day reveals a fragmented development throughout the peripheral lands, which in turn changed the city from a Mediterranean port city to a "city of clutter", as defined by Ünlü (2013a), in which a dispersed and incoherent urban pattern was created through widespread large-scale housing developments in the outer regions of the city.

Although its rapid development made Mersin an alluring city for a discussion of the forms of urban growth, a lack of detailed cartographic data makes it difficult to develop an urban morphological investigation. However, this difficulty is overcome by using a variety of sources such as aerial photographs and maps of various dates as well as postcards and photographs from different periods. The first town map, on a scale of 1:5000, is dated 1910 and shows the built-up area of the city, including special remarks on many fringe-belt uses. A similar map was prepared by the British army in 1942 depicting the street network and many units of inner and middle fringe belts. Following that, more detailed maps appeared in 1956, 1976, and the 2000s. Besides these maps, aerial photographs from 1948, 1955, 1972, 1992, and 2012 allow us to scrutinize the entire development of the city as well as the land-use maps from 1985, 1990, and 2006, prepared by the Municipality of Mersin.

A detailed study of the maps and other sources reveals that the inner fringe belt of Mersin was developed throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and consolidated from the early Republican period until World War II. A continuous inner fringe belt is an expected phenomenon; however, the lack of a fixation line such as a city wall surrounding the city centre (a common feature of historic cities) due to the lateness of Mersin's foundation caused the emergence of a discontinuous inner fringe belt.

This belt consists of three distinct sections (Ünlü 2013b) (Fig. 6.1). The eastern section of the inner fringe belt was formed in relation to the railway station and its associated warehouses and industrial premises. This section retained its charac-

Fig. 6.1 Inner fringe belt of Mersin in 1920 and 1945. Prepared by the authors

ter until the present day; however, it expanded into the surrounding areas with the advent of new storage areas, especially after the construction of the new port area in 1962. The fringe-belt extension continued to the east from then, with new storehouses and industrial uses. The northern section of the inner fringe belt was initiated

by factories, which later merged into the institutional uses to the north. In the period after 1980, a fringe-belt translation came into being through the transformation of industrial areas into commercial and office centres. In this section, the building called Mersin Trade Centre, erected at the beginning of the 1990s as the tallest building in Turkey, became a symbol of fringe-belt translation. The western section of the inner fringe belt is characterized by institutional and cultural uses, such as the People's Garden and the Arab Orthodox Church. The western section was consolidated during the early Republican period after the construction of the People's House, the Governor's Mansion, and Republican Square, and it later became enveloped by the Çamlıbel District, which emerged as a special residential environment for the newly growing bourgeoisie (Ünlü and Ünlü 2012). It was the first residential environment that jumped over the inner fringe belt. In the first phase, the single-family house in the large gardens was the dominant building type, which was replaced by apartment blocks after the 1960s in a widespread manner (Ünlü and Baş 2017).

The middle fringe belt of Mersin was also in its formation phase during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; however, its units such as the hospital to the north, the military barracks and lighthouse to the west, and factories to the east were in a distant place from the built-up area of the city. The middle fringe belt experienced rigorous development after the construction of the first ring road in the northern region of the city at the end of the 1950s, which acted as a strong fixation line for many institutional and industrial uses as well as for sports grounds, a bus terminal, and open spaces. As Ünlü (2013b) highlights, the uniqueness of Mersin in terms of fringe-belt development is the merging of the inner and middle fringe belts. As the northern part of the inner fringe belt merged with the units of the middle fringe belt along the first ring road, the new port area that was built to the east of the city not only became a significant unit of the middle fringe belt, joining with the railway station and other existing fringe-belt uses, but it also connected the eastern and western sections of the inner fringe belt to each other to the south along the seashore through the reclaimed land from the sea that was part of the port. Therefore, although inner fringe belts are expected to be continuous and strong morphological units within the urban form, the middle fringe belt of Mersin is stronger than the inner fringe belt, thanks to the port area and the first ring road as a fixation line.

The outer fringe belt displayed a dispersed pattern in the peripheral lands during the outward growth of the city. It began to be a morphological unit in the urban form with the appearance of large-scale industrial warehouse sites as well as sports grounds and new administrative uses after the 1980s. The process evident after 2000 has been the fringe-belt translation through the movement of institutional uses, such as the Government House, the Directorate of Security, sports grounds such as the stadium area, and the hospital, from the inner and middle fringe belts to the newly emerging outer fringe belt. The morphological units in the outer fringe belt have emerged in campus-type, large-scale sites of industry, institutions, education, a cemetery, transportation, and waste disposal. Moreover, these developments draw attention to the fact that such campus-type fringe-belt uses are also anticipated by urban development plans (Figs. 6.2 and 6.3).

Fig. 6.2 Development of the fringe belts of Mersin. After Ünlü and Baş 2016, 115

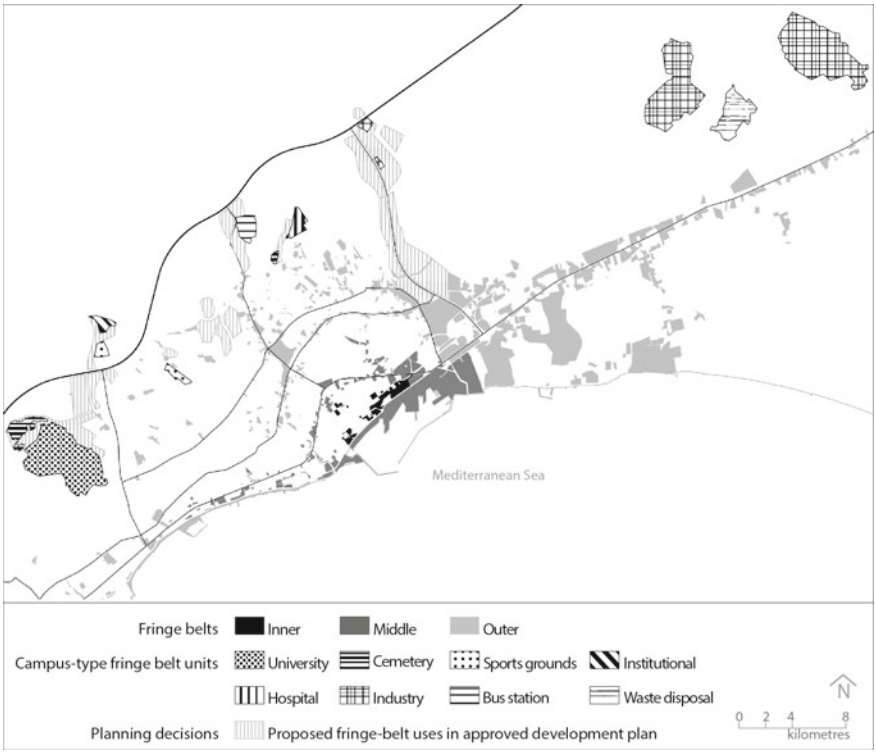

Fig. 6.3 Fringe belts of Mersin and planning decisions, 2015 (Ünlü and Baş 2016, 117)

As the Çamlıbel District emerged as the first residential accretion that jumped over and enveloped the inner fringe belt during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Pozcu district was the first residential environment that jumped over the middle fringe belt in a distant location. Pozcu district also consisted of single-family houses in its initial phase, but it experienced a replacement process during the 1980s with the widely used apartment blocks. Pozcu district became a part of the city's built-up area during its rapid development; however, it also produced its own fringe belt uses that enveloped and identified Pozcu as a housing district in the urban form. In addition to Pozcu district, informal settlements appeared as residential accretions created by migrants who came from the agricultural regions to find new jobs in the city. These settlements enveloped the middle fringe belt on the northern side.

After 2000, Mersin experienced a dispersal of large-scale housing estates in the peripheral lands. These are campus-type developments containing multiple buildings, and they were constructed as an alternative to earlier building types.

Within the rapid development of Mersin from a small village in the first half of the nineteenth century to a metropolitan city with a population of more than one million people in the present day, Ünlü and Baş (2016) highlight the appearance of

an “umbrella fringe belt” over the historico-geographical development of the city at a regional scale. It developed close to the highway (which seems to act as a fixation line in future growth) and contained the previous fringe belts as well as the fringe belt of Pozcu district and other possible fringe belts of discrete settlements.

6.5 Discussion: Development Periods of Turkish Cities

Having questioned the urban growth of Turkish cities from the nineteenth century until the present day, the research on the urban growth of Turkish cities from a variety of disciplines as well as the detailed morphological investigation of Mersin from a fringe-belt perspective revealed that the urban growth of Turkish cities came into being in six periods. First is the late Ottoman period that began with the modernization process of the empire and ended with the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The second is the early Republican period, from 1923 to 1945, which is followed by two successive phases of the post-war period, from 1945 to 1960 and 1960 to 1980. The period after 1980 is dominated by the neoliberalization trends reflected throughout the entire world; however, the period before and after 2000 revealed some differences.

Turkish cities faced with the first sprawl during the late Ottoman and early Republican periods, while the second sprawl emerged during the post-war period. Turkish cities experienced another sprawl during the neoliberal period, which depends on discontinuous and disjointed development. Parallel to developments and changes in urban form, expansion, consolidation and envelopment of urban inner fringe belt (IFB) occurred during late Ottoman and early Republican periods, when middle and outer fringe belts (MFB and OFB) are in the phase of initial development. In the post-war period, MFB is expanded with the advent of new fringe-belt uses, enveloped with the emergent residential areas and thus consolidated in urban form, while the expansion of OFB was experienced with especially new industrial uses. The expansion of OFB continued in the neoliberal period, when fringe-belt translation arose through movement of fringe-belt uses from the inner and outer fringe belts to outer fringe belt. In this period, an umbrella fringe belt emerged as a new phenomenon in a metropolitan scale (Table 6.1).

The inner fringe belt of Turkish cities that is inherited form the previous periods (Roman, Seljuk, and early Ottoman) began to take their distinct form during the Ottoman modernization period in the nineteenth century. In this period, a duality occurred between port cities and inland cities, in which the former tended to integrate into the new world economy by becoming an exchange area to transfer raw materials from the fertile agricultural lands to the industrialized core (Ünlü 2009; Selvi Ünlü and Göksu 2018). As inland cities became more conservative in reaction to modernization movements, port cities became the arenas to experience a westernized way of life and related land-use units (Tekeli 1971, 1998).

Izmir and Mersin were port cities that experienced rapid urban growth and changes in the urban structure during the nineteenth century as well as the city of Istanbul

Table 6.1 Changes in urban form and fringe belts from the nineteenth century until the present day

Period		Change in urban form	Change in fringe belts
Late Ottoman		Residential environment of emergent or established bourgeoisie	Inner fringe belt expansion (advent of new land-use units) Inner fringe-belt envelopment begins Initial formation of middle fringe belt
Early republican		New residential environment of middle-class (mostly mass housing projects by the state)	Inner fringe-belt consolidation Initial formation of outer fringe belt and development of middle fringe belt
Post-war	1945–1960	Informal housing Transformation of existing built environment (replacement of single-family houses with apartment blocks)	Middle fringe-belt expansion (campus areas for new ports and institutional and industrial uses) Middle fringe-belt envelopment Outer fringe-belt expansion Ring roads as fixation line to fringe-belt uses
	1960–1980	Large-scale residential environments in peripheral lands (mass housing)	
Neoliberal	1980–2000	Mass housing development Campus-type housing begins	Outer fringe-belt expansion Fringe belts of distinct settlements in the wider urban region Emergence of an umbrella fringe belt Fringe-belt translation Fringe-belt alienation
	2000–	Widespread campus-type housing Urban regeneration projects	

as the capital of the empire. Therefore, inner fringe belts of these cities faced with certain similar changes. The advent of the railway station and its close relationship to the port area was one of the most significant triggering forces to cause the emergence of a distinct inner fringe belt around the historic core. Storehouses linked to the port area and the railway station complimented the identification of the inner fringe belt in the urban form. In this period, the administrative and institutional uses that emerged as a result of Ottoman modernization also became parts of the inner fringe belt as well as military barracks, cemeteries, and public open spaces.

As new land-use units were initiated in the inner fringe belt and made it more apparent in urban form in the late Ottoman period, cities also experienced the first wave of new residential environments, which were established with a jump over the inner fringe belt. These were the housing districts that became the spatial manifestations of a class differentiation in the pseudo-capitalist society since they were home to the established or emerging bourgeoisie. Punta in Izmir, Çamlıbel in Mersin, and Galata and Pera in Istanbul are examples of such developments. They mostly enveloped the inner fringe belt and clarified its embeddedness in the urban form. The Izmir example also reveals that the railway network allowed the production of the first suburban environments on the outskirts of the city. On the other hand, the rapid population increase after the vigorous commercial development in Istanbul brought about the arrival of the apartment block as a new building type in the Galata and Pera districts at the end of the nineteenth century (Öncel 2010).

The early Republican period produced new land-use units in the shade of the new political regime of the national state. People's Houses, which were the cultural centers founded in each city as a part of national policies to spread the new Turkish identity across the country, was one of these uses. The addition and extension of various fringe-belt uses resulted in the consolidation of the inner fringe belt. Consequently, the inner fringe belt became more embedded and recognizable in the urban form. The priority of the new nation state to construct a railway network across the entire country resulted in the initiation of railway stations as distinct land-use units in the inner fringe belts of the inland cities. In this period, the nation state was also influential in the production of residential environments since it sought to provide affordable housing to the citizens. The earliest example of this pursuit was the Bahçelievler district in Ankara, designed by Hermann Jansen according to the principles of the garden city approach. Later examples were the Saraçoğlu district in Ankara and the Levent district in Istanbul (Sey 1998). These were the first mass housing projects of a new urban life for the new state. These were also the modern urban environments of the middle class, who sought to differentiate themselves from their historical precedents. The single-family house with a simple architectural style rather than ornamentation was the dominant building type (Bilgin 1998), and they were located in locations distinct from the inner fringe belt.

Dramatic changes in the structure of Turkish cities came into being in the post-war period, when the country ran into a liberalization process. The private sector was prioritized in the national economy parallel to the modernization taking place in the agricultural regions. In particular, technological improvements resulted in the migration of the workers released from the agricultural lands to the cities. The

consequence was a rapid population increase in all cities across the country, but which was more evident in the larger ones. For instance, as Tekeli (1998) highlights, the rate of population increase per year in Ankara in this period was 6%. Informal housing areas appeared in response to the rapid population increase, and an inadequate housing supply in the form of squatter settlements began to appear just after World War II and became widespread during the 1950s. At the same time, the built-up areas underwent an intensive transformation process in which apartment blocks quickly replaced single-family houses and became the dominant building type. As the newcomers produced their own housing environments through informal settlements, there were residential accretions located in the peripheral lands of the city just at the outside of the inner or middle fringe belt, which appeared so residents could be closer to the places of work in the city centre. The informal settlements came into being in two forms. The first form is the squatter settlements, which are located on the publicly owned land and are occupied by newcomers. The second form is the title deed settlements, which are produced through the subdivision and selling of land by landowners to migrants without any consideration of planning decisions. Since the squatter settlements are laid out on public lands that have the potential to be places of fringe-belt expansion through new institutional and governmental uses, these settlements began to limit the possible development of the inner and middle fringe belts.

Large-scale residential environments were produced during the 1970s through mass housing projects in the peripheral lands. These were realized as middle-class places thanks to an increase in cooperative organizations, land supply, state incentives, and municipal development plans (Altaban 1996; Tuna et al. 1996). This development can be regarded as the second wave of sprawl since the large-scale housing environments jumped over the middle fringe belt and developed in a place distant from the city centre.

The post-war period experienced the expansion of middle fringe belts through the construction of new port areas and new institutional and industrial sites in the form of campus settlements. New fringe-belt units were located along the ring roads constructed during the 1960s and 1970s, which acted as fixation lines to fringe-belt uses. In the later phases of this period, the cities experienced a movement of industrial uses to the most distant locations in the periphery through establishing their campus areas.

Under the influence of neoliberal policies since the 1980s, cities began to sprawl into the surrounding areas, where small sub-centres emerged. Discontinuous and disjointed development strengthened the fragmented sprawl of Turkish cities. The fragmentation appeared through widespread mass housing projects with the support of the Mass Housing Law (enacted in 1984) (Altaban 1996), and development plans opened new lands to settlements (Günay 2005) and campus-type housing estates (Ünlü 2013a; Ünlü and Baş 2017). These morphological units are located in the peripheral lands with a jump over the outer fringe belt, which has been occurring especially in the last decade with the advent of ring roads and improvements in transportation facilities, or as Türkün (2014) denotes, in the former squatter areas through urban regeneration projects.

After 1980s, Ünlü and Baş (2016) show that the sub-centres have also created their own fringe belts although they are still parts of a strong centre. Generally, a new fringe belt seems to emerge in places very distant from the centre through large-scale campus developments of industry, universities, hospitals, and storehouses as well as cemeteries and sports grounds. The emergence of this imperceptible fringe belt is termed "umbrella fringe belt" by Ünlü and Baş (2016) since it embraces the previous inner, middle, and outer fringe belts as well as the fringe belts of each sub-centre. Beginning in the 1990s and accelerating after 2000, the fringe-belt uses, especially the industrial, storage, and military areas and sports grounds, began to move from their place in the inner and middle fringe belts to a new fringe belt, which implies a fringe-belt translation. As a result, their previous location acted as the new place for residential, office, and shopping centre developments. This process is called fringe-belt alienation by Conzen (1969) and defined as "the absorption of a fringe-belt component by a functionally different integument". The fringe-belt alienation is evident in the mixed-use development in the area between Zincirlikuyu and Maslak along Büyükdere Road in Istanbul, where formerly there were industrial and storage areas (Öktem 2005, 2011).

6.6 Conclusion

This study aimed to identify and relate the development periods of Turkish cities to their fringe belts within the temporal framework, from the nineteenth century until the present day.

Conzen's conception of urban fringe belt and the following studies by Whitehand explained the fringe-belt formation in European cities as a product of the urban growth dynamics. In this process, which was mainly an outcome of the emergence and rise of capitalist social relations, the historic core of medieval city was surrounded successively by fringe-belt uses and internalized by new growth phases of later morphological periods. Later phases of urban growth experienced emergence of middle and outer fringe belts. The research on the urban growth of Turkish cities reveals that the fringe-belt concept has also a potential to explain their rapid growth.

The introduction of capitalist relations into the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century was mainly a commercial development imposed by industrialized countries of Europe, spatial impacts of which firstly emerged in the port cities like İzmir, Mersin and in İstanbul as the capital city. It has been recognized that the inner fringe belt that surrounded the historic core emerged and developed during the late Ottoman period was consolidated during the early Republican period and then experienced further changes in the subsequent periods. The inner fringe belt was enveloped by residential accretions, produced as a bourgeoisie environment by jumping over the inner fringe belt. The units of the middle fringe belt began to appear in the early Republican period and intensified during the 1950s. It was consolidated after the second wave of sprawl through large-scale housing projects while at the

same time, informal residential environments encircled the inner and middle fringe belts.

This study suggests a tentative framework for a discussion on the development periods of Turkish cities in relation to fringe-belt development. The more these cities are studied, the more accurate results will be acquired. For this, further studies can concentrate on investigating the development of fringe belts with a monographic approach to a single city or through a comparison of different cities. In this vein, it would be possible to scrutinize the historic cities and to elaborate this tentative framework with the fringe-belt development before the nineteenth century. Another potential direction for future research is to examine the urban fabric that is produced in each development period, which could be scrutinized from an urban morphological viewpoint to examine the changing character of cities during their evolution. Another group of studies can focus on the effects of planning decisions on the formation and transformation of fringe-belt areas, which is very crucial in order to analyse the changing structure of Turkish cities in the last decade.

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Chapter 7
Planning Challenges for Archaeological Heritage

Burak Belge

Abstract The cultural and historical accumulation of various cultures and their socio-spatial development throughout history have left behind numerous archaeological sites in contemporary Turkey. Some of the more popular ones, Çatalhöyük, Ephesus, Hierapolis, Troy, Hattusa, Pergamon, Aphrodisias and, more recently, Göbekli Tepe, which is a unique site that has dramatically changed the understanding of human history, are listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. At all such sites, the primary concerns are related to site management, and these can be resolved through the provision of basic guidance and tools rather than through urban and regional planning strategies. This article focuses on the problems and recent planning discussions in urban or regional contexts related to the conservation of archaeological heritage. The article begins by discussing the current legislation and administrative framework to provide an understanding of recent planning issues in Turkey. Finally, the main themes of the article are two particular planning challenges related to archaeological heritage in Turkey—large-scale projects that threaten archaeological heritage and multi-layered historic city centres—which will be discussed in detail supported by case studies as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Antakya, Tarsus and Bergama.

Keywords Multi-layered settlements · Archaeological heritage
Urban conservation

7.1 Introduction

Turkey, including Asia Minor (Anatolia) and its European territory (Thrace), is usually promoted as a land bridge between the East and West, although it should never be thought of as a simple geographical corridor (Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 1). The cultural and historical accumulation of various cultures and their socio-spatial development throughout history have left behind numerous archaeological sites in

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contemporary Turkey. Some of the more popular ones, Çatalhöyük, Ephesus, Hierapolis, Troy, Hattusa, Pergamon, Aphrodisias and, more recently, Göbekli Tepe, which is a unique site that has dramatically changed the understanding of human history, are listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. At all such sites, the primary concerns are related to site management, and these can be resolved through the provision of basic guidance and tools rather than through urban and regional planning strategies. This article focuses on the problems and recent planning discussions in urban or regional contexts related to the conservation of archaeological heritage.

According to legal terms in Turkey, archaeological heritage is defined as assets, settlements and remains that reflect the social, economic and cultural characteristics of former civilisations at subsoil, seen or underwater level, although their spatial context is underestimated. In other words, neither the location of assets of archaeological heritage nor their settings are considered in legal definitions. There are, however, a broad range of issues in urban and regional planning associated with different settings and environments (urban–rural) in the context of archaeological heritage.

In Turkey, most historic city centres have been continuously occupied since the earliest ages; however, archaeological heritage—and not only buried layers, but also monumental sites—has been disregarded in the planning process and has not become integrated into urban daily life, due either to the inadequacy of spatial documentation or the lack of administrative or legal frameworks (Belge 2016, 422). Archaeological heritage is seen mostly as an obstacle to be eliminated or ignored in the wake of urban development in the Turkish planning experience (Tuna 1999a, 222). Planning terms and legislation advocate harmony between the conservation of archaeological heritage and the development of modern life, although Williams (2015, 21) suggests that this situation is an over-simplistic dichotomy between conservation and development, state further that archaeological heritage should be perceived not as an asset, but rather as an obstruction or hindrance. Actually, archaeological heritage is considered as a problem for development, due to the lack of inadequate planning strategies and spatial inventories.

This study begins by discussing the current legislation and administrative framework to provide an understanding of recent planning issues in Turkey, with the designation processes of Grade I, Grade II and Grade III archaeological sites in particular being scrutinised. The designation of archaeological sites and the associated legal documents are based on the detail and degree of intervention rather than archaeological potential of an archaeological area. In the following stage, the current discussions and issues raised in urban and regional planning discourse will be described in brief.

Finally, the main themes of the article are two particular planning challenges related to archaeological heritage in Turkey—large-scale projects that threaten archaeological heritage and multi-layered historic city centres—which will be discussed in detail supported by case studies.

7.2 Legal and Administrative Framework for Archaeological Heritage

In Turkey, the legal and administrative framework for archaeological heritage was developed in the mid-nineteenth century as a part of the modernisation efforts of the Ottoman Empire (Madran 1996, 60). The main focus of the early legislation was based on the archaeological excavations of foreign groups of archaeologists and led to the establishment of the first archaeological museums. However, the transportation of the country's archaeological assets abroad spurred efforts towards preventive archaeology in the earliest frameworks (Özdoğan and Eres 2016, 65). In the Early Republican Era (1923–1950), new institutions (the Turkish History and Turkish Language Societies) were established to develop the research capabilities of the young Republic, and the first scientific archaeological excavations, like the Ankara Roman Bath and Ahlatlıbel Excavations, Boğazköy-Hattusa and Alişar were completed in the 1930s (Madran 1996, 74). In 1951, the Superior Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments was established with the enactment of Law No. 5805, which was a milestone in the institutionalisation of cultural heritage management, and played an active role in the comprehensive documentation and registration of archaeological sites (Özyiğit 1992, 22).

In 1973, Law No. 1710 on Antiquities provided the legal basis for the change in dynamics since the Ottoman Period. The law provided new definitions and established area-based boundaries and defined different categories for the registration and listing of archaeological assets, such as monuments, complexes and sites. Consequently, in 1983, Law No. 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property laid the foundations for the establishment of a central superior council and regional councils responsible for the control of cultural heritage at varying scales. The Superior Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property was responsible for ensuring the preservation of cultural heritage by defining the principles and criteria to be applied by Regional Conservation Councils. This law was revised twice, in 1987 and 1999, and by 2004, 20 Regional Conservation Councils had been established (Arkitera 2018), and their responsibilities, as well as their economic and technical capacities with local authorities like municipalities, were increased that year with the enactment of Law No. 5226. In the following years, 34 Regional Conservation Councils and two Revitalisation Councils (İstanbul and Ankara) were established in line with new legislations (Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü 2018a). The increasing number of local conservation councils allowed stakeholders such as property owners or entrepreneurs to establish a direct relationship with authorities with a key position in archaeological heritage management and urban planning. Conservation plans, architectural projects, site management plans and all infrastructural projects were subject to approval by conservation councils, although the legal and administrative frameworks for archaeological heritage management had not changed since 1983. Archaeological heritage assets were assigned as Grade I, Grade II or Grade III archaeological sites: Grade I archaeological sites are archaeological remains or monuments that can be subject only to scientific and archaeological

studies and arrangements, with minimum interventions. Grade II archaeological sites are rare, referring to Grade I archaeological sites with a living community that does not deteriorate the archaeological heritage or make any form of physical intervention. Finally, Grade III archaeological sites contain strong evidence that archaeological remains may exist there. In Grade III archaeological sites, development may be allowed after a survey of the area by archaeological museums, and following the granting of permission by the Regional Conservation Council. In the defined context, landowners must apply to museums for archaeological investigation, after which museum experts make a survey of the soundings with the financial support of the landowner or entrepreneur, in line with the "polluter pays" regulations. However, the regulations define only basic excavation costs, with no budget foreseen for the detailed documentation or conservation of possible archaeological findings, even fencing. When archaeological artefacts or architectural remains are found, the parcel is registered as a Grade I archaeological site, resulting in the landowner giving up on their expectations for the site. As mentioned above, only scientific and archaeological studies and arrangements are allowed at Grade I archaeological sites, and so comprehensive and detailed studies including detailed documentation and site management decisions are obligatory for the in situ presentation of archaeological remains. This means detailed urban planning strategies for the management of archaeological heritage within modern life, but because of financial and institutional shortages, such parcels usually turn into vacant lots in the urban layout.

A 1993 resolution of the Superior Council numbered 338 added a further category to the Grade I, Grade II and Grade III archaeological grading, being urban archaeological sites, which are defined as areas where archaeological heritage exists together with urban conservation sites. The resolution underlines the need for databanks and inventories to support planning and decision-making (Belge 2004, 48). Due to the inadequacy of current urban archaeological databases and the inefficiency of planning tools, however, such development operations as subways, rehabilitation projects for historical centres, parking lots threaten the discovery and protection of archaeological heritage in the urban context. In most development plans, archaeological sites are indicated only as boundaries, and no special planning decisions are developed. Moreover, the low level of cooperation between planners and archaeologists prevents urban archaeological heritage from being included in the planning process and integrated into daily life (Belge 2017, 59). As a result of all the aforementioned problems, urban archaeological sites are still defined as Grade III archaeological sites to control the development process, and of course, urban conservation sites or historic city centres cannot be defined as Grade I archaeological sites, where only scientific studies are allowed (Tuna 2016, 8). The registration of archaeological sites is based more on levels of intervention and protection than on the potential and assessed value of archaeological heritage. In this respect, planning decisions are aimed more at preservation than the integration of conservation strategies. In other words, the boundaries of Grade I and Grade II archaeological sites are treated more like the boundaries of military zones in planning decisions. Urban planning decisions do not define strategies to establish a relationship with the surrounding area and urban life,

and the boundaries of Grade III archaeological sites are subject only to some legal procedures prior to the start of construction works.

7.3 Recent Discussions and Issues

The Turkish sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List include 16 cultural and 2 mixed areas (UNESCO 2018a). They are, in chronological order of listing, Historic Areas of Istanbul (1985); Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia (1985); the Great Mosque and Hospital of Divriği (1985); Hattusa: the Hittite Capital (1986); Nemrut Dağ (1987); Xanthos-Letoon (1988); Hierapolis-Pamukkale (1988); City of Safranbolu (1994); Archaeological Site of Troy (1998); Selimiye Mosque and its Social Complex (2011); Neolithic Site of Çatalhöyük (2012); Bursa and Cumalıkızık: the Birth of the Ottoman Empire (2014); Pergamon and its Multi-Layered Cultural Landscape (2014); Ephesus (2015); Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape (2015); Archaeological Site of Ani (2016); Aphrodisias (2017) and Göbeklitepe (2018). Moreover, 77 further sites are on the Tentative List of UNESCO (UNESCO 2018b). In addition to these international lists, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism have registered 15,559 archaeological sites, 282 urban conservation sites, 162 historical sites, 32 urban archaeological sites and 89 mixed conservation sites in Turkey, and there are also 359 areas that are, at the same time, of both natural and archaeological interest (Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü 2018b). While some of these are single entities, most of the listed structures and archaeological sites are combined with urban or natural landscapes in a historical setting. However, the spatial distribution of the approximate 16,000 archaeological sites of varying scales in Turkey makes the creation of a spatial database all but impossible.

There is no national archaeological database for the evaluation of archaeological potential with spatial references in Turkey, and no local database of archaeological sites has yet been established, nor a comprehensive inventory based on Geographical Information Technologies. Accordingly, archaeological heritage could be one of the main concerns at the earliest stages of the planning process. Through a spatial database, planners could be informed and made aware of the archaeological potential of a site at the earliest stages of the planning process and equip themselves accordingly. Such a database is critical for the evaluation of archaeological heritage in relation to other concerns in planning. There are only two programmes for the documentation of archaeological sites, TÜBA-TÜKSEK (Turkish Academy of Sciences-Cultural Inventory Project) and The TAY (Archaeological Settlements of Turkey) Project. The Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA) criticised specifically the low level of documentation of Turkey's cultural heritage and set up two commissions with the participation of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the General Directorate of Foundations, related departments of universities, experts and NGOs, thus launching the "Cultural Sector of Turkey" project (TÜBA-TÜKSEK). However, due to financial and technical problems, the project lacked the capacity to

cover the entire country. Moreover, due to a lack of networking, neither governmental nor non-governmental stakeholders in archaeological heritage management were interested, and only a series of pilot publications were completed (TÜBA 2018). The TAY (Archaeological Settlements of Turkey) Project, on the other hand, was a pioneering attempt to create a chronological inventory of archaeological sites and to share the data via a GIS database and publications. The project also prepared and published regional destruction reports on archaeological sites (TAY 2018a). However, this non-governmental project, which was financed through private sponsorships, made only a basic documentation of sites, mostly by means of photographs and inventory forms and contained no further plans for the identified archaeological sites. Consequently, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive and spatial archaeological heritage inventory and risk assessment model to be drawn up for Turkey. On a regional scale, decisions on such infrastructures as dams or motorways are developed without taking into account archaeological heritage, and only some of the registered and monumental sites are evaluated. The resulting tension between archaeological heritage and development projects will be discussed as one of the main themes of this article, specifically the large-scale projects that are threatening archaeological heritage in the country.

In the local context, archaeological data are traditionally stored in the archives of local museums and Regional Conservation Councils. In some cases, if there is an ongoing archaeological research, data are stored in the digital archives of the archaeological excavations teams or universities. In some cases, municipalities may also try to create a digital archive of historical and current data, although such data sets are mostly inappropriate for spatial inquires. These different institutions and archaeological teams were unable to work together or to establish a synergy to understand the overall context of archaeological potential, especially in multi-layered settlements. Archaeological teams probably focused only on their specific sites and were probably even studying in the same city or region as other teams. In any case, in Turkey, the basic problem is the existence of different archival systems and archaeological data sets in different institutions and authorities, and planning decisions are made without a full understanding of the archaeological potential of a site. In other words, development plans look for density, land-use and physical forms for modern urban life, without making an efficient evaluation of the archaeological potential of sites, and this constitutes the second main theme of article, relating to the management of multi-layered settlements.

As mentioned above, according to legal terms and definitions, archaeological sites are categorised as Grade I, II or III or as urban archaeological sites. Turkey has approximately 16,000 archaeological sites and 32 urban archaeological sites, and evaluating these registered archaeological sites within their spatial contexts provides an understanding of the issues and challenges of planning at different scales. The issues affecting different archaeological sites and contexts are tried to be resolved using the same tools and strategies. For example, the problems of archaeological sites in city centres where there is high pressure for development, like the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul, Ankara (Ancyra) or İzmir (Smyrna), are different to those of single entities in a rural context that are under threat from climatic factors or visitors, like a

Hellenistic castle, although both may be defined as Grade I or Grade III archaeological sites. However, fencing, security management or information boards are not appropriate tools for city centres, although they may be effective for rural sites. Similarly, monumental sites where there are site management issues and tourism pressures, like Ephesus or Aspendos, or multi-layered settlements like Bergama (Pergamon), Tarsus (Antiochia on the Cydnus) or Antakya (Antioch on the Orontes), are seen as a concern of archaeological researches. That said, an overall archaeological campaign has not been possible for the documentation of multi-layered settlements as a result of urban development since the beginning of the twentieth century.

In addition to the spatial context of problems, there are also legal and administrative aspects to the management of archaeological heritage, based mainly on the local capacity for conservation. Usually, the management of archaeological heritage comes under the shared responsibility of actors at different levels, from central government to local authorities, or from NGOs to individuals. However, in Turkey local authorities and the local community, as well as conservation experts such as planners, archaeologists or restoration experts, lack the necessary capabilities to share responsibility in the conservation of archaeological heritage. Moreover, at a local scale there are many different interest groups, such as property owners, tradesman, tenants, users, tourists, private firms or entrepreneurs, with mostly speculative expectations from archaeological areas. However, their degree of involvement and influence in the management of archaeological heritage is low, being related directly to the lack of community or social capacity. Consequently, archaeological sites suffer from a total lack of care due to the lack of legal, administrative and financial supports.

As a consequence, site management is a general problem among all ancient settlements conserved as Grade I or Grade II archaeological sites and open-air museums. In terms of planning, however, there are two particularly crucial topics related to the management of archaeological heritage in Turkey. The first is the dilemma between *large-scale project investments versus archaeological heritage* that has emerged since the 1960s. Recently, cases like Hasankeyf and Zeugma have been in the news, although major archaeological rescue projects can be found not only in southeast Anatolia, but all across Turkey, as a counteroffensive against archaeological risk. There have been many discussions related to the conservation of archaeological heritage based on the results of archaeological risk assessments.

The second planning issue relates to *multi-layered historic city centres or settlements* that are a unique characteristic of Turkey in the management of archaeological heritage. Different planning problems arise depending on the spatial context of archaeological heritage, as the number of urban archaeological sites is too limited to discuss an overall strategy for multi-layered cities based on legal terms.

7.4 Planning Challenges for Archaeological Heritage in Turkey

7.4.1 Archaeological Sites in the Regional Planning Context: Large-Scale Investment Versus Archaeological Heritage?

Turkey, despite its wealth of archaeological heritage, lacks awareness of the need for archaeological heritage impact assessments and management. Furthermore, the lack of administrative, technical and financial support brings an undefined risk to archaeological heritage, which has been underlined by international and national reports on cultural and archaeological heritage management.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the ICOMOS International Committee for Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) reported that much of the world's archaeological heritage was at risk. According to the first heritage at risk report, unidentified archaeological heritage in Turkey is being lost to urbanisation, road-widening works and, in particular, dam constructions, and many of these are either entirely subsoil or go unrecognised within the urban fabric due to their context. The ICOMOS National Committee's annual reports from 2000 to 2004 for Turkey also underlined Zeugma, Hasankeyf and Allianoi, as well-known archaeological sites that are particularly under threat or sites that have already been destroyed by hydroelectric projects. ICOMOS, together with Europa Nostra and the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA), petitioned the Turkish government in 2007 to save the Roman Bath complex of Allianoi for present and future generations (ICOMOS 2017). The destruction report of the TAY Project (TAY 2018b), completed in 2009, underlined deficiencies in the management strategies of governmental organisations and local authorities for the control of archaeological heritage, and in the applied risk assessment processes.

Actually, Turkey has considerable experience in rescue or salvage projects in reply to threats to its archaeological heritage from dam projects. In particular, salvage operations have been launched (the Keban and Lower Euphrates Projects) on the Euphrates and the Tigris executed by Middle East Technical University since the construction of Keban Dam started in 1967. More recently, salvage operations have been launched related to the Birecik, Carchemish and Ilısu Dam Projects (METU-TAÇDAM 2018a). Similarly, the Archaeological Research and Assessment for the Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan Crude Oil Pipeline Project can be considered a pioneering rescue operation in Turkey. The study investigated the archaeological potential of areas along the Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan Crude Oil Pipeline route, starting at the detailed engineering phase, and strategies were formed to eliminate any adverse effects on items of archaeological heritage resulting from the construction of the pipeline. Archaeological researches and assessments have also been carried out to meet the requirements of the European Archaeological Heritage Management Convention and World Bank guidelines (METU-TAÇDAM 2018b). In line with the results of

the study, some local modifications were made to mitigate the adverse effects of the pipeline on archaeological heritage, and where modifications were not possible due to technical reasons, rescue operations were suggested and planned to ensure the archaeological remains were documented before and during construction.

Despite the fact that large-scale effective rescue operations have taken place in Southeast Anatolia, there are hundreds of other dams that have been built or that are still being constructed without archaeological assessment, and only a small number of projects including extensive surveys and unplanned and uncontrolled rescue operations (Özdoğan and Eres 2016, 67–72). According to official figures for Turkey, 276 dams were constructed between 1954 and 2002, and since 2002, 451 dams have been constructed for purposes of irrigation, drinking water, energy production and flood protection, at varying scales (Anadolu Agency 2018a).

As a result of the increasing number of dams and issues related to archaeological heritage management, the Superior Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property prepared a Resolution (36) for the Salvage of Cultural Heritage effected in Dam Reservoirs in 2012 (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2018a). The resolution defined the principles to be applied before and after decision-making, and in the monitoring of cultural heritage. Primarily, if possible and feasible, Article-1 suggests the relocation or cancellation of dam projects, based on a detailed inventory and documentation of the region by experts. If not possible, Article-2 defines the measures to be taken to control archaeological risk by a Scientific Committee of experts, academicians from related departments (archaeology, art history, city planning, architecture, restorations, conservation, civil engineers and so on) and members of staff of the General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums. Throughout the construction process, the Scientific Committee is responsible for the preparation of an action plan, consisting of documentation, conservation and, if possible, in situ presentation strategies for assets of archaeological heritage. Moreover, there are a number of issues related to the regular monitoring of sites following construction. In Hasankeyf, recently, there have been ongoing studies, including the transportation of monumental structures to new locations within and archaeological museum complex in a new settlement area, and the foundations of the Old Bridge have been reinforced, and a protective wall is going to be constructed to mitigate the effects of Ilısu Dam (Anadolu Agency 2018b). In any case, however, the main problem relates to the lack of any spatial archaeological inventory or database, or risk assessment models to guide, mitigate or eliminate the adverse effects of large-scale investments prior to the decision-making process.

7.4.2 Multi-layered Historic City Centres/Settlements

In Turkey, most historic city centres have been inhabited continuously throughout their history, with ongoing researches and ad hoc findings indicating the potential presence of urban archaeological assets. As a result of these researches, archaeological sites are registered according to the current legal framework. However, urban

archaeological resources have been largely overlooked in the planning process due to the inadequacy of spatial documentation or the underestimation of archaeological heritage. Accordingly, archaeological heritage is still seen as an obstacle in the way of urban development. It has not been possible to integrate subsoil archaeological resources, nor even monumental sites, into urban daily life, and the public on the whole remains unaware of the archaeological layers beneath their feet (Belge 2016, 422).

In alphabetical order according to their modern names, the most well-known multi-layered settlements[1] in Anatolia are Adana (Tepebağ tumulus—Antiochia on the Sarus), Amasya (Amasia), Ankara (Ankyra), Antakya (Antioch on the Orontes), Antalya (the Citadel), Bergama (Pergamon), Bodrum (Halicarnassus), Bursa, Çanakkale (Dardanelles), Diyarbakır (Amida), Edirne (Hadrianopolis), Foça (Phokaia), Gaziantep (Antiochia ad Taurum), İstanbul (Constantinople–Byzantium), İzmir (Smyrna), İzmit (Nicomedia), İznik (Nicaea), Kayseri (Caesarea in Cappadocia), Konya (Iconium), Manisa (Magnesia ad Sipylum), Mardin, Milas (Mylasa), Side, Silifke (Seleucia on the Calycadnus), Sinop (Sinope), Şanlıurfa (Edessa) and Tarsus (Antiochia on the Cydnus), all of which have been inhabited continuously since they first emerged at different scales and contexts. The multi-layered historic city centres of Anatolia include cosmopolitan cities or capitals, centres of antiquity and small towns. In the following sections, Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Antakya, Tarsus and Pergamon are discussed as individual cases, underlining the various issues and planning challenges in the different contexts.

İstanbul (Constantinople–Byzantium) occupies a strategic location between Europe and Anatolia and was the former capital of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) and the Ottoman Empires (Yerasimos 2000). The wealth of monumental and administrative buildings left behind by the Romans and Ottomans, including palaces (Wiener-Müller 2001; Kuban 2001). Özdoğan (2013, 4), leads to the assumption that the depth of archaeological deposits may reach 32 metres on Istanbul's historical peninsula. Recent findings at the Yenikapı metro and light rail systems project (Marmaray Excavations) indicate the presence of an Early Neolithic settlement dated between 6400 BC and 4800 BC below the sand deposits of the Port of Theodosius, which was the largest commercial centre in Constantinople (Özdoğan 2013, 4). The archaeological studies related to the Marmaray Project have remained on the agenda in Turkey for a long time. At the beginning of the construction, the old port area, which had less archaeological potential, was selected as the site for Yenikapı Station—the transfer point for the subway and tube crossing projects (Tuna 2003, 91).

[1] Morey (1936), Cadoux (1938), Downey (1963), Tankut (1993), Bilgin Altınöz (1996), Aru (1998), Uggeri (1998), Çağlayan (1999), Leblanc and Poccardi (1999), Tuna (1999a, b), Yerasimos (2000), Kuban (2001), Cerasi (2001), Wiener-Müller (2001), Bilgin (Altınöz) (2002), Savacı Gökbulut (2002), Dericioğlu and Tuna (2003), Belge (2005), Kadıoğlu and Görkay (2007), Köprülü Bağbancı (2007), Tankut (2007), Üstün (2008), Saban Ökesli (2009), Hovardaoğlu Çalışır (2009), Etyemez (2011), Assenat (2012), Belge (2012a, b), Eriçok (2012), Alpan (2013), Arusoğlu Erözkan (2013), Özdoğan (2013), Tuna and Belge (2013), Şahin (2015), Taşcı (2015), Belge (2016), Gök and Belge (2016), Bilgin (Altınöz) et al. (2016), Binan Ulusoy (2016), Taşcı and Akyüz Levi (2016), Belge and Aydınoğlu (2017) and Belge (2017).

As mentioned above, the archaeological findings provided data not only on the maritime history of the Byzantine Period, but also on the very early settlement history of Istanbul. Archaeological studies were seen as a chance for the planning and integration of the findings into daily life (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi 2012). Although the Yenikapı Transfer Point and Archeo-Park Area International Preliminary Architecture Competition was concluded in 2014, only the transportation hub has been constructed at that location. To date, the archaeological remains and findings have not been presented in situ using proper presentation techniques, with only copies of some of the archaeological findings being presented in the hub station.

Ankara (Ancyra), as an ancient and modern capital, is a symbol of the modernisation the Republic of Turkey in the twentieth century. Ankara served as a centre of different civilisations due to its core location in Anatolia, playing varying roles as a capital and for trading activities. Detailed intensive surveys (Kadıoğlu and Görkay 2007) indicate that Ankara was established close to Hacı Bayram Hill due to its advantageous position in terms of defence, and has become a centre since the Phrygians, who probably sited the Temple for Cybele, the chief goddess of the Phrygians, on the hill. In the Roman Period, Ankara, as the capital of Galatia, was embellished with many monuments like the Temple of Augustus, Roman Baths, the Theatre, colonnaded roads and the Column of Julianus, all of which have been conserved. Furthermore, inscriptions indicate the presence of other monumental structures, like Stadion, Nymphaeum, Palatium (Kadıoğlu and Görkay 2007, 21). After the Roman Period, Ankara became a centre of trade under the control of the Ahi groups (a traditional Guild System), bringing traditional and Islamic characteristics to the city with the construction of such monumental structures as the Alaaddin Mosque, the Arslanhane Mosque and the Ahi Elvan Mosque (Çağlayan 1999, 38). Ankara became a planned city after the Turkish War of Independence, after Hermann Jansen prepared a plan for the city that carefully conserved the characteristics of the old city like a "glass cover", in his own words (Tankut 1993, 79). Accordingly, the archaeological stratification beneath the modern levels was mostly conserved before the reconstruction of the main routes through the city that began in the 1950s (Çağlayan 1999, 38). The Roman Bath and Palaestra were excavated and have been conserved as open-air archaeological museums, while archaeological excavations of the Theatre have recently been completed (Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 2018). In addition to these monumental structures, there is also a wealth of archaeological remains, such as colonnaded roads and walls, which have been partially conserved in situ. Indicative of the multi-layered nature of the city, there are two crucial sites where the *genius loci* of Ankara can be by physical and functional continuity. The first of these is the site of the Augustus Temple and Hacı Bayram Mosque, containing known traces of the Phrygian Temple and earlier sanctuaries within the same area. The second is the likely location of the Roman Forum at the junction of main routes, where ancient columns indicate the presence of former monumental structures in an area that still sustains its role as the administrative core of the modern capital as the location of the Ankara Governorship. Although there is a high potential for subsoil and monumental archaeological heritage in a multi-layered context, it has not been possible to perceive the archaeological remains as a whole, and so Ankara's potential could

not be presented to the public. There have been recent large-scale urban regeneration projects to the north of the Augustus Temple and Hacı Bayram Mosque, where a high archaeological stratification coincides with the historical pattern. Unfortunately, the urban pattern and multi-layered history of Ankara have changed dramatically with no concern for conservation or the creation of an appropriate strategy.

As another multi-layered city, *İzmir* (Smyrna), as the western gate of Anatolia, has been inhabited continuously, particularly around the Gulf of İzmir, since 4000 BC. The first settlement was at Tepekule, at the innermost point of the İzmir Gulf, which is currently known as Bayraklı (Kuban 2001, 54). The multi-layered historic centre of İzmir, Smyrna, was founded between Mount Pagus (Kadifekale in Turkish) and the coast in the Hellenistic Period (Cadoux 1938, 10–11), although it was the Roman Era that was the golden age of Smyrna. There are many records from ancient times describing Smyrna's beauty especially in this period. Strabo, the geographer, says of Smyrna "*… and now is the most beautiful of all cities*" (Cadoux 1938, 171). Agora, Mount Pagus (Acropolis) and the Theatre, where archaeological researches are continuing (Ancient City of Smyrna 2018), are monumental and observable archaeological remains of the city that indicate the presence of significant archaeological deposits of urban character pointing to Roman occupation. In addition to these, a well-conserved Roman road is still in use as an open bazaar, and there numerous findings have been made during infrastructure and construction works, and especially the Metro project, that are poorly presented. In any case, the main characteristics of the multi-layered city can be followed through recent urban patterns. The zone between Agora, Mount Pagus (Acropolis) and the Theatre in particular has been occupied continuously since at least 324 BC, in an area now occupied by traditional low-rise buildings, and so there has been little mass destruction to make way for modern developments. A similar area defined by the arc of the ancient inner port, Anafartalar Street, known as Kemeraltı Arc has conserved the vitality and variety of the ancient port in terms of functions, goods, ethnicities and contemporary life (Belge 2012a, 346). In İzmir, there is an ongoing archaeological campaign in the State Agora and the Theatre being carried out by the same archaeological team with the support of the metropolitan municipality. As none of the findings of the archaeological studies nor ad hoc findings could be managed as part of the overall project, the archaeological potential of İzmir could not be presented to the public.

In summary, as a general planning problem encountered frequently in the historic city centres of metropolitan cities, the planning authorities are unable to cope with the many issues related to the conservation of archaeological heritage while allowing appropriate development. Furthermore, planners are unable to integrate archaeological heritage into the planning process due to the low quality of spatial data, the diversity of stakeholders with varying interests and the lack of capabilities among the local authorities. Similar problems are experienced in such capitals from the Hellenistic and Roman periods as *Antakya* (Antioch on the Orontes), *Tarsus* (Antiochia on the Cydnus) and *Bergama (Pergamon)*.

Morey (1936, 651) points out that *Antakya* was one of the four metropoles of the Late Roman Empire, along with Rome, Constantinople and Alexandria, having been established at the meeting point of Anatolia, the Levant and northern Mesopotamia,

and which flourished as a result of the fertility of the Amik Valley and Asi River (Orontes). At the start of the Hellenistic Period in 300 BC, its population was approximately 25,000 on an area of 55 hectares, reaching 400,000 over an area of 550 ha in the first century AD (Downey 1963, 30–33 and Downey 1958, 87). Monumental structures like stadium, palaces and theatres were constructed that were rehabilitated in the Late Roman Period, and the city was able to conserve its crucial role with the development of Christianity (Morey 1936, 647). The gridiron pattern with the colonnaded main route (Cardo Maximus) that developed is still observable as the main street of Antakya—Kurtuluş Street—while the Hippodrome, Theatre and Baths were documented in archaeological researches in the 1930s (Morey 1936, 638). In more recent researches (Leblanc and Poccardi 1999; Uggeri 1998), however, a correlation has been identified between the Hellenistic gridiron and the more recent street pattern, although a general problem has been experienced in conserving the archaeological remains in situ and presenting them to the public. Local authorities lack the ability to manage or spatially understand the context of such multi-layered settlements. According to the related legislation, if an item of immovable archaeological heritage is found in an area assigned as a Grade III archaeological site, the area is to be upgraded to a Grade I archaeological site. Consequently, many parcels have been declared as Grade I archaeological sites after the digging of trial trenches by museum experts, and these areas have consequently turned into vacant plots dotted over the urban landscape. High on the agenda in urban archaeological discussions in Antakya (Antioch on the Orontes) is the Hilton Museum Hotel project area, which was declared a Grade III archaeological site with the registration and documentation of the archaeological remains. The Regional Conservation Council allowed the construction of a special foundation for in situ presentation of archaeological heritage as a form of museum, but due to financial issues and time limits, the implementation of such a project has been hard (Belge 2013, 94–95). It is expected, therefore, that the hotel will be opened at the end of the summer of 2018 (Antakya Hilton Museum Hotel 2017).

Another multi-layered settlement and ancient capital is *Tarsus*, the settlement of which dates back to the Neolithic Age. Archaeological researches (Belge 2016; Gök and Belge 2016) have identified a settlement pattern that started out at Gözlükule (a prehistoric mound to the south of the centre) and that spread to the northern area and to the eastern boundary of Cydnus River. The (1) Neolithic–Bronze Ages, (2) Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic Periods, (3) Roman Period, (4) Mediaeval Ages (Byzantine-Islamic-Sultanate of Rum Periods), (5) Ottoman Period and (6) Early Republican Era could be defined as the main periods in the expansion of Tarsus, which saw its most glorious period under Roman rule when it became the capital of Cilicia. The exact locations of the Theatre, three Roman Baths, monumental bridges, the Donuktaş Temple (approximately 43×100 m in size) and the Roman Road with stoas are known from archaeological excavations, while the probable locations of an Agora Forum, Stadium and Gymnasium can be estimated from ancient documentation and archaeological traces. Furthermore, the main axes (probable Cardo Maximus–Decumanus Maximus) and traces of a gridiron pattern can be followed in the current layout of the historic city centre and archaeological findings. In multi-layered historic

city centres like Tarsus, the archaeological heritage in the urban context can be categorised into known-seen archaeological remains (including sometimes monumental structures), unknown probable archaeological layers (mostly subsoil resources) and archaeological traces like axes and open areas or topographical foci that are reflected in the recent settlement pattern. At the junction of Cardo and Decumanus, the probable location of the Forum has in time been the traditional city centre or bazaar of the city, and the civic centre of the settlement, layer by layer. The research project entitled "The Development of a Methodological Frame for the Handling of Urban Archaeological Resources in the Urban Planning Process in Turkey: the Tarsus Historic City Centre as Case Study Area" was completed in 2016 with the support of TUBITAK-1001 (Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) Support Program (Project No: 113K132). The aim of the study was to develop an approach to including urban archaeological resources—especially subsoil archaeological resources—into the urban conservation planning process of multi-layered historic city centres in Turkey. At the end of the research project, rather than limited conservation strategies for Grade III archaeological sites, urban archaeological character zones were determined that were more suitable for comprehensive decision-making (Belge 2016; Gök and Belge 2016; Belge and Aydınoğlu 2017; Belge 2017). Character zoning bases on value assessment of archaeological heritage with destructive effects of urban development. Therefore, detailed management strategies will be developed for specific context of each character zone.

Bergama (Pergamon) is referred to on the UNESCO World Heritage List as "Pergamon and its Multi-Layered Cultural Landscape", reflecting the achievements of the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman periods, and the different cultural features (UNESCO 2018c). In addition to the well-documented multi-layered development of Pergamon (Bilgin (Altınöz) et al. 2016), cultural rituals related to the sacred springs at Asklepion are being carried on by local groups. The inhabitants of Bergama are aware of the area's cultural value, and there have been detailed studies and publications related to the traditional structures and residential districts of antiquity (Binan Ulusoy 2016). The World Heritage Unit of the Bergama Municipality was founded in 2001 to manage the application to be added to the UNESCO World Heritage List, and the boundaries of the components and buffer zones of "Pergamon and its Multi-layered Landscape" World Heritage Site were redefined. However, the planning management process is non-participatory, in that not all stakeholders are involved (Bilgin (Altınöz) et al. 2016, 374).

Recently, the Superior Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property prepared a Resolution (37) in 2012 related to the conservation and evaluation of cultural properties identified in the course of new constructions or infrastructures, or uncovered by natural disasters, whether or not they are known as archaeological sites (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2018b). The Resolution defines the basic approach to ad hoc archaeological findings and stresses the importance of their in situ conservation and presentation. As a generally accepted approach, the resolution underlines the importance of scientific approaches to excavation, restoration and presentation, and the creation of an appropriate and comprehensive inventory or database. It further defines the methods to be followed to avoid the destruction of archaeological

layers in the process of providing the public with the necessary services required in a modern city. Similarly, the European Convention for the Conservation of Archaeological Heritage, which was accepted with the entry into force of Law no. 4434, stressed the same points, and in addition to general regulations, suggestions are made for small-scale findings.

Consequently, historic city centres have the potential to offer variety and continuity of urban life in the same location. That said, most members of the public are unaware of the archaeological heritage that surround them, as it has not been possible to integrate archaeological resources—and not only subsoil resources, but also monumental sites—into daily urban life. Monumental structures could not be integrated into urban landscape as landmarks, while small-scale archaeological findings are generally ignored or underestimated by planners. In this respect, the context of multi-layered structures is a primary topic of interest, not only for archaeologist and historians, but also for such professionals as planners, architects, administrative units like local authorities, and conservation councils.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

As is often noted in the discussions of large-scale project investments and their effect on archaeological heritage and multi-layered historic city centres, one of the main problems in planning is the low quality of spatial data that is used to steer the decision-making processes in archaeological heritage management. Various data sets are used by different institutions with varying formats, although none of these complex data sets provide planners with three-dimensional data. Potential archaeological sites that require investigation through archaeological methods are under the responsibility of the local museums and so are not fully or professionally documented. Moreover, there are lack of records even from the recent past, meaning that assessments of archaeological resources based on fieldwork can be difficult. Furthermore, data collected from fieldworks are not integrated within the urban planning process.

Meanwhile, different stakeholders with varying interests seek to steer the decision-making process to maximise their own benefit, and urban and regional planners have to cope with a multitude of issues, aiming to conserve archaeological heritage while allowing appropriate development. In the urban context, archaeological findings provide historical data about the evolution of the city form over time. It is highly likely that below city centres, development zones or agricultural areas, several archaeological layers may be found, and so development strategies should be established related to land use, density or even basements due to the real archaeological potential, rather than being limited by the available data or the boundaries of registered archaeological sites. The most recent methods and legislation come under the control of local authorities or institutions like municipalities or museums, who lack the appropriate capabilities for the management of archaeological heritage.

Furthermore, rigid legislation related to the preservation of archaeological sites leads to a fear of destroying archaeological remains, and so Grade I archaeological

sites, especially in an urban context, are seen as restricted zones, while Grade III archaeological sites are evaluated as development zones that are controlled by museums. In addition, as a result of the low capabilities of local institutions, the time factor in the reporting, planning and project preparation of archaeological excavations is a significant problem.

As briefly mentioned above, the presentation of archaeological sites in a modern urban landscape is a challenging issue for planners, architects and archaeologists, among others. Williams (2015, 25) raised some very practical problems faced in the presentation of archaeological remains in modern urban setting, underlining the physical separation of archaeological remains form modern street levels. Accordingly, there are numerous strategies that can be followed in the presentation of archaeological remains in an urban setting, for example, archaeological parks, although other amenities and activities of daily life should be integrated into such approaches to provide visual perception and a sense of destination (Williams 2015, 35–36). This sense of destination may be exploited to create a visitor experience, but in any such situation, the archaeological remains of historic city centres in multi-layered towns and cities should be essential parts of daily life, as this will provide a sense of place, awareness and identity. The pedestrian network in historic city centres, especially those following historic axes, should be developed to enhance archaeological traces. Changes to pavements and street furniture may be included in a design strategy to provide a readable and visible link between the past and present, and these pedestrian networks can become a part of touristic routes. Moreover, archaeological trails in vacant areas or open areas should be designed to allow visitors to the area to experience and perceive the visual interaction between the archaeological strata and themselves. In the defined context, in addition to such site management interventions as information panels, fences and orientation boards, preliminary, urban design projects and strategies must be developed for the management of known archaeological findings.

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Part II
Challenges of Urban and Regional Planning

Chapter 8
Transformation in Residential Areas: Regeneration or Redevelopment?

Nil Uzun

Abstract Transformation of urban residential areas has always been an important issue for urban planners and policy-makers. Starting in 1923, with the foundation of the Turkish Republic, residential development became an important issue along with the problems brought about by rapid urbanisation. Major Turkish metropolitan cities like Ankara, İzmir, and İstanbul have undergone transformation more than ever since the 1980s. Along with the problems of city centre transformation, changes in the residential areas of these cities have been an important challenge to planners and policy-makers. With increasing importance, urban transformation projects have been the main tools to realise residential transformation. They have even replaced urban development plans in some instances. On the other hand, since 2002 the construction sector has been the driving force behind the economy, increasing the importance of urban transformation. Ankara is representative of other cities in Turkey. In this chapter, urban transformation in Ankara is described with reference to economic development, legislative changes, and the housing sector of the whole country. The emphasis will be on the last two periods of development, starting with the 1980s, in which major challenges in urban transformation are rooted.

Keywords Squatter housing · Redevelopment · Transformation projects

8.1 Introduction

Transformation of urban residential areas has always been an important issue for urban planners and policy-makers. Starting in 1923, with the foundation of the Turkish Republic, residential development became an important issue along with the problems brought about by rapid urbanisation. Major Turkish metropolitan cities like Ankara, İzmir, and İstanbul have undergone transformation more than ever since the 1980s. Along with the problems of city centre transformation, changes

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in the residential areas of these cities have been an important challenge to planners and policy-makers. With increasing importance, urban transformation projects have been the main tools to realise residential transformation. They have even replaced urban development plans in some instances. On the other hand, since 2002, along with neoliberal policies, the construction sector has been the driving force behind the economy, increasing the importance of urban transformation.

Urban transformation cannot be considered independent of economic and political changes throughout the country. Turkey has experienced four distinct periods of change.[1] Foundation of the Republic in 1923 marks the start of the first period, and this period ends in the 1950s. Recovery from the First World War, the economic impacts of the Second World War, and changes in the politic structure had impacts on residential development. Together with the mechanisation of agriculture, migration from rural areas to major metropolitan areas like Ankara, İstanbul, and İzmir accelerated. The second period, from the 1950s to 1980, was characterised by industrialisation and rapid urbanisation. In 1980, the import substitution system was terminated and outward-oriented growth was introduced, defining a new period of urbanisation for Turkey. The election of a new government in 2002 marked the end of the third period. The fourth period, starting in 2002, can be considered a continuation of the third one but should be discussed separately as the political changes have had substantial implications for urban transformation.

Ankara was declared as the capital in 1923. The government aimed to create a modern and contemporary living environment in Ankara by building an example city and to pioneer urbanisation in other parts of the country. The solutions found for this city were applied in other cities by the government. In other words, the experiences in Ankara were a guide for urbanisation and residential development in other cities. Therefore, it could be said that Ankara is representative of other cities in Turkey. In this chapter, urban transformation in Ankara is described with reference to economic development, legislative changes, and the housing sector of the whole country. The emphasis will be on the last two periods of development, starting with the 1980s, in which major challenges in urban transformation are rooted.

In the following section, residential development in Ankara until the 1980s is explained. The process of redevelopment since the 1980s is reported in the third section. In this section, issues about the introduction of redevelopment projects, new legislation related to redevelopment, and redevelopment replacing urban plans are discussed. Finally, an evaluation is made.

[1] These periods are described in detail in Chap. 1 of this book.

8.2 Residential Development in Ankara

8.2.1 Foundation of the Republic

A centralised, state-dominated economic model was implemented to ensure rapid industrialisation of the country in the early Republican period. A centralised approach was implemented to give the cities a modern appearance. The model proposed was that of developed Western cities. Between 1930 and 1940, two important external factors affected Turkey's urban structure. One was the Great Depression, starting with the economic crisis in 1929; the other was the onset of the Second World War. These events affected the political and economic models that Turkey adopted in response to the economic downturn. The economic policies and conditions were also reflected in residential development.

In the first years of the Republic, following the four-year War of Independence, housing construction stagnated due to the country's limited budget. Therefore, the state decided to encourage the private sector to support housing construction in order to solve the housing problem. Until the 1930s, several legislative and institutional arrangements were made concerning the provision of land and subsidies for housing construction. The existing housing stock was old and dilapidated. It could not be renewed as the economic conditions were still weak. Consequently, the housing need deepened with the increasing population and the supply became seriously inadequate. By the 1930s, housing had become an issue that the state could not ignore. The state programme involved the municipalities in the home-building effort. Moreover, new factories were built to produce the supplies needed by the construction industry. However, because of the economic slump that resulted from the defence build-up, the output of the housing industry fell after 1939 (Sey 1998).

Until it was declared, the capital of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Ankara was a small Anatolian town. As a result of becoming Turkey's centre of government, it started to develop quickly. New prestigious residential areas, which housed the deputies, were constructed as an extension of the old city centre. Ankara expanded towards the south, and a new centre was built to provide space for various ministries and other government institutions. On the other hand, people on low incomes and who could not find a place to reside in the city built temporary shacks on empty land located close to the old city. They can be considered the first examples of squatter houses (Fig. 8.1). Although they were few in number, unauthorised neighbourhoods of low standard with no infrastructure began to develop around the cities (Şenyapılı 1996, 2004).

During this period, four basic housing types may be described. First, there were multi-storey apartment buildings built in the old city. Second, there were villas built in the expansion area, especially in the south. Besides these, there were houses built by the state for government employees, located in the east of the city. Finally, there were cooperative houses located in the west and in the south, where the middle class settled. In addition to these new constructions, residence in the old city continued. In this period, two laws (Law no. 5218 and 5228) related to the legalisation of squatter

Fig. 8.1 Squatter houses. Author's personal archive

houses were enacted in 1948. These concerned the allocation of municipality and government land for the construction of houses in Ankara and encouragement of construction (Şenyapılı 1996; Uzun 2006).

8.2.2 Industrialisation and Rapid Urbanisation

In Turkey, liberalisation as an economic model was adopted in 1950. The ensuing mechanisation in agriculture sparked a rural-to-urban migration at an extraordinary rate. Industrial and financial investments were directed to the cities, as was foreign financial aid. As a result, the cities started to develop. A period of economic planning in which an import substitution model prevailed started in 1960.

From the 1950s on, the expansion of cities had been based on market forces driven by the enormous rise in rent for land and buildings. The massive migration from rural areas to the major metropolitan cities engendered pressure for expansion towards peripheral, undeveloped land. This growth was very rapid and on a very large scale. Consequently, the relative location of any particular site in the urban area changed continuously. Therefore, the increase in land prices was only a function of time. During the 1960–1980 period, the land market appeared to be the most dynamic sector of the urban economy in which both distribution and redistribution occurred.

The basic determinants of the market value of land were the location of land within the city, the social and technical infrastructure provided, and the legal restrictions, which reflected the political preferences of the ruling parties (Öncü 1987).

Ankara grew rapidly, especially after the 1950s, with the impact of industrialisation and agricultural mechanisation across the country. As the rural–urban migration rate increased, the migrant residents of Ankara faced an inefficient housing supply and building squatter houses on the periphery became the prevalent solution. The increasing number of squatter settlements led to an irregular pattern of urbanisation in the city. Moreover, the city expanded towards the north with regularly planned neighbourhoods of apartment buildings.

The housing sector underwent an important change due to the "Flat Ownership Law" (Law no. 634) in 1965. The number of flats in buildings increased with this legislation. Previously, in an apartment building with more than one shareholder, the ownership pattern was determined according to their share of the land. The allocation of flats was determined after construction was completed. However, under this law, it was possible to have a share in an apartment building before it was built. In addition, freehold tenure became possible for independent parts of apartment buildings. Putting up multi-storey apartment buildings with a small amount of capital was made easier leading to high-rise development. This type of residential development became the typical pattern for the middle class in the 1960s and 1970s (Fig. 8.2). Meanwhile, builders and small entrepreneurs participated in the construction process, resulting in the "building-selling" type of production. In this system, the building plot is given to individual builders or small entrepreneurs for construction of an apartment building. The builder is responsible for obtaining land, supplying the required finance, getting the required permits, acquiring the project, and carrying out the construction. In most cases, builders obtain land that they develop by contract with the landowner. After the construction is completed, flats are given to the landowners as reimbursement. Following the completion of construction, the units that are not used as reimbursement are sold at the market price, which is usually at least twice the construction cost. The construction of apartment buildings by the building-selling system took place in the form of both building on vacant land and constructing multi-storey buildings after the demolition of existing low-rise buildings. This type of production was the most common one used in authorised housing provision. As a result, density began to increase in the city rapidly and especially in low-density regular residential areas (Öncü 1987; Türker-Devecigil 2005).

Another important legal change affecting residential development was the "Squatter House Law" (Law no. 775) enacted in 1966. This was an amnesty law explicitly legalising squatter houses for the first time. The law introduced definitions of clearance zones, improvement zones, and prevention zones for squatter housing areas. Clearance zones were the areas where rehabilitation of squatter houses was not feasible or economical. In addition, squatter housing areas located on topographically unfavourable sites were also evaluated as clearance zones. The squatters living in these areas would be resettled in prevention zones. The improvement and prevention zones were used as reclamation sites where rehabilitation and infrastructure provision would take place. The most important dimension and potential of this law

Fig. 8.2 Apartment buildings in planned neighbourhoods. Author's personal archive

was its declaration of a mobilisation for the formation of new housing areas, and all the administrations were assigned to provide prevention zones, to construct social housing in new development areas with complete infrastructure, and to initiate various land and housing projects for low-income areas. However, the housing supply problem for the rapidly increasing population was not eliminated with the outcomes of this law and squatter houses remained as an alternative solution for housing provision (Eke 2000).

After the 1970s, the rapid increase in car ownership became another factor contributing to the expansion of the city towards the suburbs. Higher-income groups preferred to live outside the centre in the newly built suburbs, leaving the inner-city housing stock. Suburbanisation was the main development along the western corridor. The squatter neighbourhoods continued to increase, and in some neighbourhoods, redevelopment took place through the building-selling type of production. Therefore, as the city expanded, various processes took place simultaneously (Uzun 2006).

8.3 Redevelopment in Ankara

Together with the ongoing urbanisation process, Turkish cities have experienced transformation processes similar to those in European and American cities since the 1980s. During this period, like in many world cities, the historical areas and old city centres grew in importance. The rehabilitation of the historical urban fabric and its subsequent use for various purposes has been the basis of transformation projects in these areas. Another type of transformation has taken place in old industrial areas through the renewal and transformation of old buildings for commercial and cultural use as well as for housing. Residential areas in earthquake zones have also received further attention during this transformation, particularly those in the Marmara region,

which suffered a devastating earthquake in 1999. Another specific transformation has been in squatter neighbourhoods, where squatter houses were demolished and apartment buildings were put up in their place.

8.3.1 Laying the Foundations of Urban Transformation Projects

In 1980, with the impact of the world economic crisis and the subsequent globalisation process, an economic development model based on the encouragement of exports through the control of the private sector replaced the one based on import substitution in Turkey. New organisations had to meet the requirements of the new economic structure. Gradually, the business and service sectors grew in importance. Furthermore, investment in industry by the state decreased and privatisation became a dominant policy. Thus, investments in production and industry continued under free market conditions. At the city scale, the labour-intensive industry moved out of the city and technology-intensive services and the service sector started to take their place. In addition to the restructuring of the city centres and the formation of new centres, differentiation also occurred in the residential areas. Following the financial liberalisation in 1989, Turkey's economy has been consistently dragged into a crisis as a result of speculative capital movements. This crisis, in turn, led to the need for debt and budget deficits. Since the early 1990s, the political authorities have had to deal with the problem of creating funds and introduced various policies to overcome this problem. Privatisation policies were followed by investments in construction and real estate as a means of generating funds for solving the resource problem. This was also the intention behind the allocation of public land for construction, especially for urban transformation projects (Balaban 2013; Kepenek 1999; Uzun 2006).

During this period, the most important role in housing production was undertaken by the state. Changes in the tax and development laws to stimulate housing production and the creation of a new fund to provide housing loans were important steps taken to increase housing production. The housing fund functioned as the main source of credit provided to house purchasers, builders, and the members of housing cooperatives. Through tax-like deductions imposed on certain goods and services, substantial amounts of money were accumulated in the housing fund controlled by the Housing Development Administration (HDA),[2] founded in 1984 (Türel 1998). Another aim of the HDA was providing housing to the middle- and low-income groups in the form of mass housing.

Along with regular housing provision efforts, there were also amnesties regarding squatter housing. A new law in 1984 (Law no. 2981) enabled the transformation of the squatter neighbourhoods through improvement plans. The concept of improvement

[2]The HDA was established (Law no. 2985) under the name the Public Housing and Public Sector Administration and had an autonomous Mass Housing Fund. Through time with changes in the law, its name and functions also changed.

Fig. 8.3 Transformation through the building-selling type of housing production with improvement plans. Author's personal archive

plan was revealed for the first time.[3] An improvement plan is a development plan for illegally and irregularly built and degraded building groups or settlements in order to transform them into regular and legal settlements. A redevelopment scheme for the existing squatter neighbourhoods is provided together with legalising all illegally constructed housing. By means of improvement plans, development rights to owners or users of land are provided. Different from the former amnesty laws, transforming squatter neighbourhoods into authorised urban land is aimed with this law. As well as this, higher densities equivalent to the ones in surrounding formal housing areas are also provided with this law (Fig. 8.3). Improvement plans can be considered as a transformation model for squatter neighbourhoods which is realised through the market mechanism. Construction is carried out via the building-selling type of housing production. The ownership and title issues are solved, and physical transformation is obtained at the end of implementation. However, economic, social, and environmental transformation, which is the basic aim of urban transformation, cannot be achieved (Türker-Devecigil 2005).

The problems of a city in transformation are observed in Ankara. A major share of these transformations took place in squatter neighbourhoods. The status of squatter neighbourhoods changed with the expansion of the city. The ones which were

[3]The definition was set out in 1983 in the law numbered 2805. This law was repealed in 1984 with the introduction of the law numbered 2981, and the concept of improvement plan continued to be used in related legislation.

located at the periphery of the city when they were built became inner-city neighbourhoods located on favourable and valuable urban land. The redevelopment of those squatter neighbourhoods became a major issue for the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (AMM). Following the 1989 local elections, the AMM and district municipalities started to prepare urban transformation projects for these neighbourhoods. With increasing importance, urban transformation projects became the main tools for controlling transformation. On the other hand, based on the improvement plans implemented by district municipalities, redevelopment by the building-selling type of production took place in the squatter neighbourhoods located at the periphery of the city (Uzun 2005).

Transformation projects were implemented in Ankara in the first half of the 1990s, of which the Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project (DVP),[4] Portakal Çiçeği Urban Renewal Project (PÇV) and project for transformation from squatter housing to a contemporary housing (GEÇAK) are leading examples. The project areas cover squatter neighbourhoods located in the south-eastern part of the city and next to upper-middle- and high-income residential areas. All of them are located in large and important valleys of Ankara. Particularly, DVP and PÇV project areas constitute a part of the city's green-space system. On the other hand, GEÇAK project area is next to the outer greenbelt of the city. In all three areas, the first squatter houses were built around 1950 and they have similar characteristics. However, the implementation of redevelopment projects in each area was different.

Solving the problems of squatters and providing transformation of squatter houses in the relevant area while increasing the environmental quality was the main goal of the projects. Another aim of DVP and GEÇAK was to enable the squatters to remain living within the neighbourhood after transformation. On the other hand, in the PÇV building plots with complete infrastructure were provided for squatters at bargain prices whereas the plots were located in the north of the city. Each project had a different financial support system. As well as these all three projects achieved participation of their shareholders. The quality of the urban environment is increased, and better living conditions for the squatters were provided successfully in each project. Their management and implementation were also successful in the way that financial resources other than government subsidies were provided for transformation (Uzun 2005).

Nevertheless, with regard to social implications and integration with the city, it is not possible to conclude that they were successful. All three projects ended up being partial redevelopment plans made without consideration for the whole city. Only the spatial problems in the project areas were resolved, although social implications were also important. In the DVP and GEÇAK, new apartments with better living conditions were provided for the squatters. However, after completion of the project, the value of the housing in the neighbourhood increased and as various services were provided in the new apartments, squatters' costs of living in these neighbourhoods increased. This situation created a social conflict, and their living expenses in these

[4]The DVP has five stages. The first two stages mentioned here were completed in the first half of the 1990s. The remaining stages are revised, and their implementation started in the 2000s.

high-income neighbourhoods increased. Consequently, the squatters preferred to sell or rent their new apartments and moved to middle- or low-income neighbourhoods in order to curb their living expenses. Therefore, the aim of enabling the squatters to remain living within the neighbourhood was not achieved in the DVP and GEÇAK, and all squatters were displaced in the PÇV. A final point is related to the tenants living in the project areas. Only in the PÇV tenants living in the squatter houses were given new apartments, whereas in the other two projects they were not considered and they had to move somewhere else. This led to the relocation of tenants to other affordable neighbourhoods, most of the time squatter neighbourhoods, of the city resulting in a continuous demand for squatter houses (Uzun 2005).

8.3.2 Defining Urban Transformation in New Legislation

The last phase of the neoliberal restructuring process was the structural adjustment programme implemented after the major economic crisis in 2001. This programme, which was put into effect under the auspices of transition to a strong economy, sought to eliminate the public domestic debt stock and the need for domestic borrowing from the previous period and to take steps to accelerate the inflow of foreign capital for this purpose. However, shortly thereafter, it was understood that the new economic programme was based on a large privatisation initiative, aimed at downsizing of the state and selling public assets to create resources, rather than resolving the country's structural economic problems. Investments in construction and real estate have continued with increasing momentum since the beginning of the 2000s, and they have been encouraged by the government with the aim of creating resources. After the economic crisis in 2001, the construction sector gained greater importance as it was used as a tool for economic recovery. Therefore, new urban policies were developed to attract more investment. During this period, the volume of the housing and building production and the nature of entrepreneurial capital changed. This change was due to the fact that large capital groups turned to investments in urban land and the existing construction companies increased their capital accumulation (Balaban 2013; Türkün 2014).

Urban transformation projects, on the other hand, have been an important focus of the government and policy-makers. They have become an important planning tool for local governments, most of the time replacing improvement plans. Transformation and redevelopment are often needed in squatter neighbourhoods, overcrowded apartment areas, areas at high risk of natural disaster, dilapidated areas in the city centre, historical urban areas, and urban areas whose economic life has ended. However, over time urban transformation projects have also become a source of income for local governments and different interest groups rather than targeting the long-term improvement of the economic, social, and physical characteristics of the areas where the transformation takes place.

During this period, the HDA became the dominant real estate actor. Starting from 2003, it undertook the construction of new housing on state-owned land along with

Fig. 8.4 Transformation of squatter housing by HDA. Author's personal archive

the urban transformation projects that are mostly made or squatter neighbourhoods. In the transformation projects, the administration has been directly involved in housing production with revenue sharing and construction rights in return for flats under the leadership of major construction companies (Türkün 2014) (Fig. 8.4). Usually, a protocol is signed between the district municipality, HDA, and AMM. In the transformation projects involving squatter neighbourhoods, the squatters are provided with two options. As a first option, they are asked to move to the new apartments in the neighbourhood after completion of the transformation. Although rent allowances are provided to the squatters while the projects are implemented, they have to pay the difference between the construction costs of their new apartments and the current value of their existing squatter houses in instalments over 10–15 years. As a second option, the squatters are relocated to newly constructed neighbourhoods by HDA. These neighbourhoods are mostly located in unfavourable areas of the city. In addition to this, in this option too, they are asked to pay the difference between the construction costs and the current value of their old property in instalments over 10–15 years (Uzun 2013).

In 2004 and 2005, the term urban transformation was mentioned in the legislation for the first time. In the Municipality Law (Law no. 5393), defining the rules and regulations concerning district municipalities, it is stated that the municipality is obliged to rebuild and restore old parts of the city consistent with the development of the city (Article no. 73). The municipality may implement urban transformation and development projects in order to produce areas for residential, industrial and commercial uses or for technology parks, and social facilities. These projects may

also be used to take measures to avoid earthquake risk or to protect the historic and cultural heritage of the city. An area located within the boundaries of the municipal or contiguous area covering at least fifty thousand square metres can be declared as an urban transformation and development project area according to this law. Although the areas where the urban transformation projects can be applied are defined in a relatively comprehensive way, only their size is determined. In addition, there is no information about how the transformation would take place and what the process would consist of. The Law of Metropolitan Municipality (Law no. 5216) states that metropolitan municipalities are given the authority to apply urban transformation and development projects as defined in the Municipality Law. In this law, there is only a reference to the related article of the Municipality Law regarding urban transformation.

Another law enacted in 2005 was related to the rehabilitation and restoration of worn-out historical and cultural real properties (Law no. 5366). Although the law is not directly related to residential transformation, it has an impact on the old historical neighbourhoods, aiming to conserve the cultural heritage and natural environment. How and according to which criteria the urban areas will be identified as worn-out or as areas that have lost their characteristics is not clarified by the law.

In 2012, the law on the transformation of areas at risk from disasters (Law no. 6306) was enacted. The procedures and principles of rehabilitation, clearance, and renovation of urban areas and buildings at such risk are determined in this law. Although it focused on areas at risk from disasters specifically, as a result of the implementations it is referred to as an "urban transformation law", and it became a tool for transformation of some residential areas that are not at such risk. In Chap. 12 of this book challenges regarding recent urban transformation activities according to this law are discussed in detail.

In the 2000s, municipalities have had new powers of expropriation to implement urban transformation projects with the new legislation. These changes gave way to a rapid increase in such projects. Most of the projects of this period are based on public–quasi-public partnerships. The metropolitan and district municipalities work together with HDA, and achieving transformation through redevelopment is their major aim. In the projects, an entire squatter neighbourhood is bulldozed and new high-quality and exclusive housing is constructed. They are also declared as solutions to several urban problems such as earthquakes, crime, segregation, and poor living conditions. As a result, old squatter neighbourhoods located in the central parts of the city are rapidly transformed into upper and middle-class neighbourhoods. In other words, valuable urban land located in the central parts of the city is appropriated for the use of higher-status groups. In the meantime, squatter neighbourhoods located in less advantageous and inaccessible parts of the city are transformed into apartment buildings through improvement plans and by building-selling type of production (İslam 2010).

The number of urban transformation projects in Ankara increased immediately after 2002 with the new legislation. Nearly half of these projects are redevelopment projects for squatter housing neighbourhoods. The aim is to provide better living areas for squatters. However, in most projects, the number of dwellings to be built

after redevelopment is higher than the number of existing units. Therefore, a change in population composition is inevitable (Karaburun 2009). On the other hand, in some projects, the aim is to transform squatter housing neighbourhoods directly into high-prestige residential areas. In such cases, it would not be realistic to talk about the squatters continuing to live in the project area after implementation. It is very clear that such projects would definitely result in displacement. In this chapter, it is not possible to analyse all of the projects in detail. Therefore, an important project implemented after 2000, namely the North Ankara Urban Transformation Project (NAUTP), is analysed in detail as an example.

8.3.3 North Ankara Urban Transformation Project

This is an important project involving a special law and implementation process. The "North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project Law" (Law no. 5104) was enacted in 2004. The aim of this law is defined as raising the quality of urban living through the development and enhancement of the physical conditions and environmental image within the framework of the urban transformation project in the areas around the northern entrance to Ankara and its surroundings and providing a healthier development plan. The borders of the project area are defined by the law. Although the project area is within the borders of two district municipalities, the law states that the AMM is authorised as the main public body for the issues related to the planning process. As the central government and AMM aimed to realise the project within a short time period, rather than providing the coordination of district municipalities, the AMM is made the sole authority for the project (Korkmaz 2015).

During the planning process, development and/or improvement plans approved before the law was enacted were cancelled. The control and privileges of implementation were transferred to the AMM for all plans that began before 2004. The ownership of public land in the project area was totally given to the AMM. On the other hand, an agreement between right owners and the municipality was made for the private properties so that the possession is given to AMM. The law also provided the AMM with the right to expropriate the properties of rights owners who come to an agreement. On the other hand, squatters who built their houses before 1 January 2000 or who could not take the advantage of former amnesty laws had the chance to become rights owners (Korkmaz 2015).

In the NAUTP area, squatters with title deeds for their house are given a flat in the rights holders' apartment buildings built by the HDA. The squatters with deeds for the cadastral land of 333 m^2 size and those with deeds for building plots of 200 m^2 are given an 80 m^2 flat. Additional payments are made to squatters who have larger land or plots. Squatters who have smaller land or plots are indebted for 48 months. Squatters without any deeds are indebted for 15 years and the instalments are paid every month as if they are paying rents as tenants in the mass housing blocks built by the HDA outside the project area. After paying off the entire debt, they will own the flats (Erman 2011).

The finance and implementation process is carried out by the AMM in collaboration with Metropolitan Municipality Construction, Real Estate, and Project Co. Inc. (TOBAŞ), which is a private company established in partnership with the AMM and HDA. This organisation has helped to generate private financial resources through the project itself. The NAUTP has been financed through the construction of 10,000 housing and commercial units other than the housing provided for the right owners in the area. At the start of the project, the area was occupied by 10,500 squatter houses in total. However, the population density in the area increased by 300% with the increase in the number of dwelling units. Although the urban value boom created by extra-development rights has been used to ensure the financial sustainability of the project, additional pressure was put on the original population due to the diversification created in the project area. The commercial facilities built in the area provided revenue for the project. Along with these, social, cultural, and technical infrastructure was also provided in the area. In fact, modern urban projects are replacing the squatter houses and the rent is shared between the AMM, HAD, and contracting firms (Korkmaz 2015; Uzun and Şimşek 2015).

As a result of the NAUTP, the area has been completely transformed. All the squatter houses have been demolished, and mostly high-rise apartment buildings have been built instead, together with a new social, cultural, and technical infrastructure. In order to finance the project and generate considerable revenue, the density has been increased. Together with the population increase and partial displacement, the contribution of the former occupants to social cohesion in the area is gradually damaged, leading to social contradictions.

8.4 Conclusion

Urban areas have a dynamic structure. As a result of growth, change and transformation are inevitable in these areas. Transformation of residential areas is an important part of this change. In Europe and the USA, in the 1980s city centres gained importance again as management centres with the newly developing service sector. Parallel to this development, while the redevelopment process gained prominence, the importance of the residential areas in the city centre has increased steadily as well as the uses of the centre. During this period, major schemes of development and redevelopment were implemented along with the flagship and out of town projects. As the transformation of urban centres continued in the 1990s, new forms of intervention also emerged. A more comprehensive form of policy and practice together with an emphasis on integrated policy and interventions defined a period of regeneration. In the new millennium, a recession in regeneration is observed through restrictions on all activities with some easing in areas of growth (Couch 1990; Carmon 1997; Roberts et al. 2017).

A similar transformation pattern is observed in Turkish cities as well. Starting in the 1980s the importance of transformation in residential areas has increased in large metropolitan cities like Ankara, İstanbul, and İzmir. The government and

municipalities have been promoting urban transformation, claiming that the transformation process is similar to urban regeneration. Urban regeneration is defined as a "… comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change" (Roberts et al. 2017:18). The aim of urban regeneration projects is to improve the economic, social, physical, and environmental conditions in decaying urban neighbourhoods. They have been providing comprehensive approaches to urban problems in these areas. As urban regeneration projects have long-term and more strategic purposes, they are different from other processes such as urban renewal, urban development/redevelopment, and urban revitalisation/rehabilitation. Urban regeneration is not only a process of physical change, but it also has a specific mission together with a well-defined purpose and it specifies a precise method of approach (Roberts et al. 2017). However, as seen in the examples from Ankara, which can be considered as representative of the experiences in other cities, transformation in the Turkish case is far from urban regeneration.

Most of the urban transformation projects aim to redevelop squatter housing areas close to the city centre and the historic neighbourhoods (Çavdar and Tan 2013; Türkün 2014; Uzun 2015). The new legislation increased the centrality of power. This paved the way for the increase in the desirability of such neighbourhoods. This created an important pressure on the municipalities to transform the land for the use of more affluent populations. There is no system of clues and foresight in any of the related laws and implementations regarding the following challenges:

- How a certain neighbourhood will be transformed,
- How the residents will be prevented from being affected negatively by redevelopment,
- How economic and social order will not be disrupted and will be improved for the less affluent population living in squatter houses,
- How displacement with negative impacts will be avoided.

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Chapter 9
Redefining the Housing Challenges in Turkey: An Urban Planning Perspective

Ö. Burcu Özdemir Sarı

Abstract The Global Financial Crisis of 2007–2008 resulted in falling house prices, declining construction activity, and deteriorating affordability in the countries affected by the crisis. The Turkish housing markets reacted differently from their European counterparts due to Turkey's recently developed mortgage finance system, unvaried mortgage finance products, less reliance on mortgage finance in housing transactions, and governmental support for construction. Particularly over the last 15 years, the country has achieved high levels of housing output. Despite this performance in housing production, the housing problem in Turkish cities has long been considered as a quantitative deficiency by subsequent governments. This study argues that increasing the quantity of the housing stock is no longer the major housing challenge in Turkey. Instead, the problem involves supply management under the current conditions of the housing markets. From the urban and regional planning point of view, there is a need to redefine the housing problem(s) of the country concerning housing production levels across the country, housing affordability among different household groups and in different regions, tenure composition, and safety and quality of life in housing and living environments.

Keywords Excess production · Housing shortage · Housing affordability Rented sector

9.1 Introduction

Housing has always been a significant topic in urban and regional planning. Decisions regarding location and how much land should be released for housing, the amount of new house building, and development density as well as the affordability of housing are all concerns in urban planning. Furthermore, planning intervenes in existing built-up areas to ensure safety and quality of life in the older parts of settlements. Planning,

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in the case of existing housing areas, focuses on rehabilitation, renovation, and redevelopment interventions. In other words, both new house building and reinvestments in existing housing are significantly related to urban and regional planning. In today's world, housing constitutes the most significant part of urban land use. Moreover, it serves several functions in society in addition to its fundamental role of providing shelter. Furthermore, the housing sector has a strong relationship with the economy. Therefore, planning for housing or dealing with housing problems eventually means concurrently considering the physical, social, and economic dimensions of housing.

The current global housing agenda is significantly determined by the adverse social and economic effects of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) of 2008. Due to the GFC, many countries have experienced a fall in house prices, decline in housing construction, affordability problems, and tightening of mortgage credit conditions. The crisis particularly hits the countries with more liberalised housing finance and real estate markets (Hegedüs and Horvath 2015). Turkish experience during the GFC and in the aftermath was not very similar to that of many developed economies. The limited negative impacts of the GFC on the Turkish economy and housing sector, however, were not the outcome of a successful strategy of crisis management (Coşkun 2016). Instead, it was due in particular to the recently developed mortgage finance system, absence of a secondary mortgage market, less diversified mortgage finance products, highly regulated financial sector, and less reliance on mortgage finance in housing transactions.[1]

In contrast to the European examples, the public sector in Turkey has been a direct actor in housing provision since the early 2000s. Subsequent governments have considered the construction sector as a trigger of economic growth and supported construction activity. Under these circumstances, the country has achieved a considerably high housing output, particularly since the beginnings of the 2000s. Despite this performance in housing production, house prices continued to increase until 2017, which in turn affected housing affordability negatively for some segments of society as well as some regions of the country. In the first quarter of 2017, the IMF's assessment of the Turkish housing market reported the signals of a housing bubble (IMF 2017). Starting from mid-2017, despite several policy measures to encourage housing transactions, nominal house price increases have begun to slow down, and real prices have started to decline. As of 2018, the country is on the verge of an economic crisis, which also negatively affects the housing sector and the activity of construction firms. Countrywide housing campaigns are introduced by public agencies in cooperation with large-scale construction firms to increase the purchase of homes from the newly built housing stock. Even under the current circumstances of the country, the government is inclined to reduce the housing problem to a 'housing shortage' and supports access to homeownership solely.

This study argues that how to increase the quantity of the housing stock and how to encourage homeownership are no longer the major priorities of the Turkish housing policy. Instead, the Turkish housing problem, as it stands, is a supply management

[1] Although there is no secondary market for mortgage loans in Turkey, the legal framework for the establishment of a secondary mortgage market already exists.

problem. Thus, it is necessary to redefine the housing challenges in the country considering the current conditions in the housing markets. From the urban and regional planning point of view, this study identifies four major housing challenges:

(i) Reducing the housing production disparities across the country,
(ii) Closing the affordability gap among different regions and ensuring housing affordability for households experiencing heavy housing cost burden,
(iii) Maintaining the private rented sector,
(iv) Ensuring safety and quality of life in housing and living environments.

This study focuses on redefining the country's housing challenges rather than proposing solutions to them. In order to develop solutions, first the problems should be diagnosed accurately. While defining a problem, on the other hand, it is inevitable to discuss some aspects of the possible solutions. This study first briefly overviews the basics of the Turkish housing system and the context of housing policies during different periods. Then, the country's current housing challenges are examined in detail. The final section provides a synthesis of the whole discussion and expectations about the future.

9.2 General Features of the Turkish Housing System and the Changing Context of Housing Policies

The Turkish housing system, in the absence of welfare state measures for housing, has been characterised by a dual structure in housing markets (legal/illegal), domination of private investments in residential construction, high rates of homeownership, a significant share of the private rented sector, lack of a social rented sector, and a recently developed mortgage finance system. Unauthorised housing construction is usually a common practice in developing countries. Turkish housing markets are not exceptions, displaying a dual structure of legal and illegal parts (Turk and Korthals Altes 2014). To understand how this dual market structure developed in Turkey, it is necessary to examine the formation of the urban housing stock during the early decades of the Republic.[2] The Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923. The early decades of the Republic saw recovery from the First World War and the War of Independence. Moreover, there were negative social and economic impacts from the Great Depression of 1929 and the Second World War. Housing production stagnated during this period owing to the country's limited resources and shortages of construction materials. After the 1950s, the country faced a rapid population increase in urban areas mainly due to migration from rural areas. As a result, immediate housing demand in urban areas increased. Public resources were limited for the provision of infrastructure and urban land ready for the development (Balamir 1999). The result

[2]For a detailed overview of the formation of urban housing stock in Turkey, refer to Özdemir Sarı (2010, pp. 43–50).

was a scarcity of urban housing and high urban land values. It was no longer possible to follow the common practice of individual construction on single urban plots. Consequently, the response to the immediate housing demand emerged in the free market environment in the form of construction of squatter houses and of multi-flat and multi-owned apartment blocks.

Squatter housing, constructed after the invasion of public or private land, was a solution particularly for migrants from rural areas. It must be noted that unauthorised housing construction does not solely refer to squatter housing in the Turkish context. Yet, squatter housing construction constitutes a large share in illegal housing markets. Squatter housing, which was an entirely illegal undertaking at the time of construction, became a way to achieve legitimate ownership of urban property over time through several Amnesty Laws (Balamir 1996). Particularly with the Amnesty Laws enacted in the 1980s, squatter houses were transformed into multi-storey apartment blocks (Özdemir Sarı 2010; Türel and Koç 2015). There were approximately 50 thousand squatter houses in 1955, and this number was estimated to have exceeded 2 million in 2002, accommodating nearly 11 million people (Keleş 2002). Since 2003, squatter housing areas have undergone massive clearance and redevelopment due to deliberate efforts by subsequent governments, considerably reducing the share of squatter housing in the total housing stock (Özdemir Sarı and Aksoy Khurami 2018).

Construction of multi-flat and multi-owned apartment blocks was the other solution to meet the immediate housing demand. This type of building activity was a model of cooperation between the landowner, the entrepreneur (developer), and the households for residential construction (Balamir 1999). This model of collaboration brought small savings and capital together and created an investment capacity for development activities. With the enactment of the 'Flat Ownership Law' in 1965, flat ownership and thereby construction of multi-storey apartment buildings became predominant in the country, constituting the major share of the legal housing market. Flat ownership has been the major factor contributing to the high housing production performance of the country for decades. As of 2013, almost 70% of urban households live in flats (TURKSTAT 2018a).

The housing stock in Turkey is fundamentally created through private investments. High rates of owner occupation, a significant ratio of private renting, and lack of public renting emerge as the major features of the housing system (Sarıoğlu-Erdoğdu 2014), in the absence of typical welfare state measures. As of 2013, privately owned owner-occupied and rented stock constitutes almost 98.5% of the urban housing stock (TURKSTAT 2018a). The conventionally supported tenure mode by governments has always been homeownership, which is also preferred by households in high inflationary and unstable macroeconomic conditions (Balamir 1999; Özdemir Sarı and Aksoy 2016). Homeownership has always been the dominant type of tenure, even though the housing finance system in the country only developed after 2007 (Sarıoğlu-Erdoğdu 2010). Households still employ other housing finance sources such as their existing assets and savings for home purchases rather than the institutional housing finance mechanism (Sarıoğlu Erdoğdu 2010; Coşkun 2016). Recently, housing loans experienced a boom; yet, the Turkish mortgage market is still relatively small compared to markets in more developed countries (Coşkun 2016). Current fig-

ures show that mortgaged sales in 2017 only made up one-third of all house sales (TURKSTAT 2018b). On the other hand, the rental sector in Turkey has been almost entirely ignored by public policy, even though the size of the sector has been significant in urban housing (Balamir 1999). The share of the private rented sector in urban areas was 25–30% during the 2000–2014 period (Özdemir Sarı and Aksoy Khurami 2016).

Until the 2000s, direct state involvement in housing production was rare and arose in the exceptional cases where large amounts of housing output were required, such as for migrants and disaster victims (Tekeli 1996). In the 1980s, with the establishment of the Housing Development Administration (HDA), albeit partially, for the first time central government contributed to housing provision (Özdemir 2011). In the pre-2000s, the HDA provided subsidised credit to both the supply and demand sides for new construction, primarily to large-scale cooperatives (Balamir 1999). It also contributed to the construction sector as a producer, although this contribution was minimal. The elections in 2002 marked a new period regarding the role of the state in housing production. Contrary to the trends observed in many countries, the public sector in Turkey became a direct actor in housing production in the post-2000 period (Özdemir 2011). After the elections in 2002, with the Urgent Action Plans (UAP) enacted by the 58th and 59th governments, a countrywide housing programme for new housing production and urban transformation was announced (Özdemir Sarı 2013). The primary targets of this housing programme are defined so as to prevent squatter housing construction and to redevelop the existing ones for planned urbanisation and to increase owner-occupied housing provision for low-income families through extensive housing construction (UAP 2003). Since then, the main housing policy pursued by governments has been encouraging new house building and urban transformation projects through public and private investment. During this process, the HDA has been restructured and made responsible for housing production. Up to the end of 2016, the HDA has produced approximately 730,000 dwelling units all over the country (HDA 2016). Subsequent governments have also implemented several measures to trigger private sector housing production (Özdemir Sarı and Aksoy Khurami 2018). In recent years, the numbers of annual housing starts have significantly exceeded the increases in the number of households (Türel and Koç 2015). Figure 9.1 displays annual housing starts in the country during the 1987–2017 period.

Over the last 30 years, the lowest levels of new housing starts were observed in 2002. This was an outcome of not only the economic crisis in 2000–2001 but also the adverse effects of the 1999 Marmara Earthquakes on housing demand and the new regulations and intensified controls imposed on construction activity just after the earthquakes. In the 2000s, due to governmental support for construction activity, annual new housing starts in the country saw an upswing from 162,000 units in 2002 to 830,000 units in 2013 and exceeded 1 million units in 2014 (Fig. 9.1). Recent research argues that there is a significant amount of surplus housing stock in the country in aggregate (Özdemir Sarı and Aksoy Khurami 2016) and housing starts display considerable variation among provinces (Türel and Koç 2015). Under these circumstances, it is necessary to redefine the housing challenges in the Turkish cities.

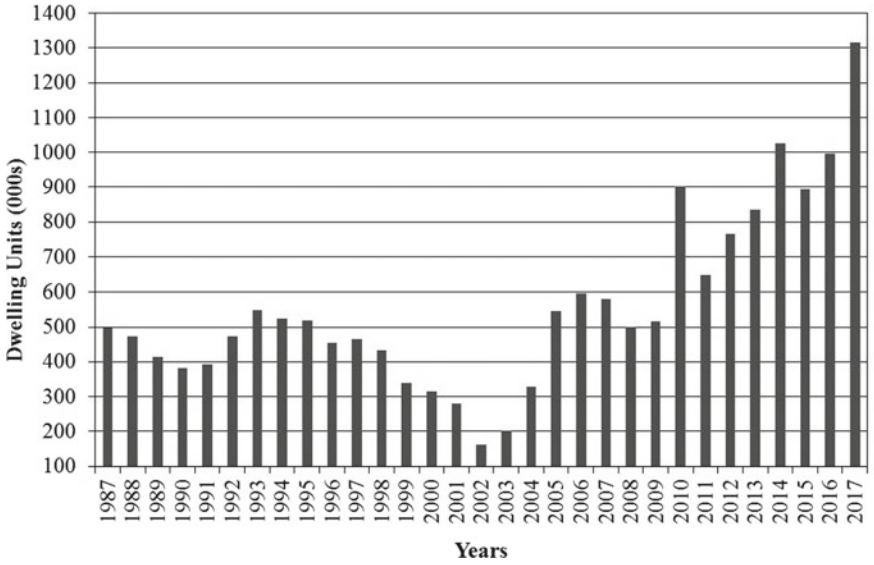

Fig. 9.1 Annual housing starts: 1987–2017. Prepared by the author based on TURKSTAT (2018c)

9.3 Housing Challenges in the Turkish Cities

Defining housing problems is not an easy task since housing is a multidimensional issue with physical, social, and economic aspects. In the case of housing, both the problem definition and the solution process have different meanings for different actors in society (Tekeli 1996). This study examines the housing problem from the urban planning (public policy) point of view. Thus, 'housing problem' is considered a problem area with many subheadings, the priority of each changing according to the phase of urbanisation in the country being investigated. This study argues that four major housing challenges can be identified in the Turkish cities under the broad heading of 'housing supply management' problem. Housing supply management is not only confined to new house building but also includes supervision and interventions related to the existing housing stock. Accordingly, sub-categories of the housing problem are identified in relation to housing production levels, housing affordability, tenure distribution, and safety and quality of life in housing and living environments. Housing problems in Turkey are not limited to these four, but these are considered the priority areas in this study.

9.3.1 Reducing the Housing Production Disparities Across the Country

Turkish cities have witnessed significantly high housing production levels as well as visible urban spatial expansion over the last 15 years. This rapid spatial transformation of Turkish cities along with the crisis of 2007–2008, which started in the property markets of the USA and grew into a global crisis, has contributed to the emergence of a debate about the existence of a housing bubble in Turkey. Experts in the property markets did not confirm the existence of such a bubble until 2017. Academic research stated that there were insufficient findings to justify calling the existing circumstances a bubble (Erol 2015; Coşkun and Jadevicius 2017). However, in February 2017, the IMF's assessment of the Turkish housing market reported the signals of a bubble, stating that:

> Turkish house prices have been markedly increasing for several years. The prices for homes rose cumulatively by 110% in nominal and 35% in real terms between end-2010 and July 2016. Valuation appears stretched by a number of metrics, such as price-to-income and price-to-rent ratios. The burden of household debt has also increased. (IMF 2017 p. 19)

After the IMF's report on Turkey was published, some property market experts began to report that the housing bubble in Turkey was going to burst in the very near future. A critical point ignored in this assessment is the lack of reliable house price information for the country as a whole. The IMF's evaluation of house prices relies on the House Price Index (HPI), prepared by the Central Bank of Turkey, the data of which under-represent the Turkish housing market. Data employed in the calculation of the HPI cover solely the dwelling units subject to valuation due to housing loan applications. As of 2017, mortgaged sales constitute nearly 33% of all housing sales (TURKSTAT 2018b). Thus, the data employed in the calculation of the HPI could hardly cover 35–40% of the dwellings in the housing market that are for sale.

It is not easy to identify whether there is a housing bubble or not considering the lack of reliable information on house prices for the country overall. However, a production bubble could be identified, which is more meaningful from the urban planning point of view to define the housing challenges faced by the country. Figure 9.2, with this purpose, displays a comparison of housing starts with respect to household increases during the 2000–2014 period at the provincial level. Construction permits are employed here to represent housing production since the occupancy permits in this country do not reflect the real level of housing output. It must be noted that the population data include villages, which are not covered by construction permit statistics. In other words, the calculations are biased in favour of population data. Figure 9.2 shows that a production bubble exists for some parts of the country and both the housing deficit and oversupply geographically agglomerate in particular regions. Accordingly, in 17 provinces construction permits issued during the 2000–2014 period fell behind the increases in the number of households. These provinces agglomerate in south-eastern and eastern regions of the country. In 60 provinces a surplus housing stock is created. In 27 of these provinces, on the other hand, an oversupply of housing is observed with construction permits issued per

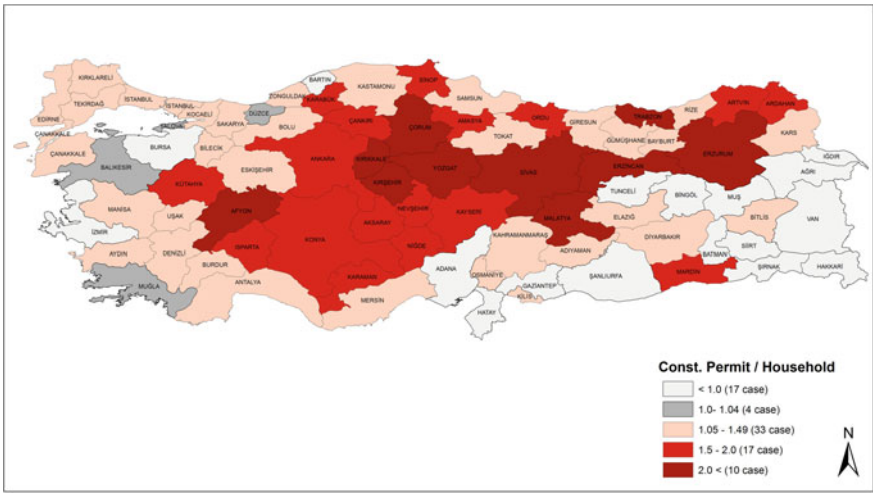

Fig. 9.2 Number of construction permits issued per added household: 2000–2014. Prepared by the author based on TURKSTAT (2018c, d)

added household exceeding 1.5 level.[3] These provinces agglomerate in central and north-eastern parts of the country.

Recalling that the information in Fig. 9.2 does not consider the backlog housing need of provinces, it can be argued that what seems to be an 'oversupply' or 'housing shortage' in the figure may be misleading. In order to make a more reliable evaluation of the housing production levels in the country, the data in Fig. 9.2 are updated by incorporating the authorised housing need of provinces as of 2000 based on the calculations of the former Undersecretariat of Housing (2002). It must be noted that the housing need of provinces includes a 4% vacancy rate. The results are presented in Fig. 9.3.

Figure 9.3 shows that a housing shortage is seen in the southern and eastern provinces of the country as well as the major employment centres, such as İstanbul, İzmir, and Bursa, whereas excess production tends to agglomerate in central parts of Anatolia and the Black Sea region. Out of 81 provinces, 42 are experiencing a housing shortage, whereas 39 of them show a significant surplus housing stock. For 16 of the provinces, the surplus stock could be named excess production. There are also some interesting cases where the backlog need is so high that even excess production levels in the 2000–2014 period were not able to close the gap (i.e. Kırıkkale, Mardin, and Erzurum).

Both Figs. 9.2 and 9.3 represent the authorised part of the housing stock. When both authorised and unauthorised stock are examined together, the minimum dwelling

[3]There is no clear definition of 'excess production' in the relevant literature. In this study, cases where construction permits issued per added household exceeds 1.5 are considered to have an oversupply.

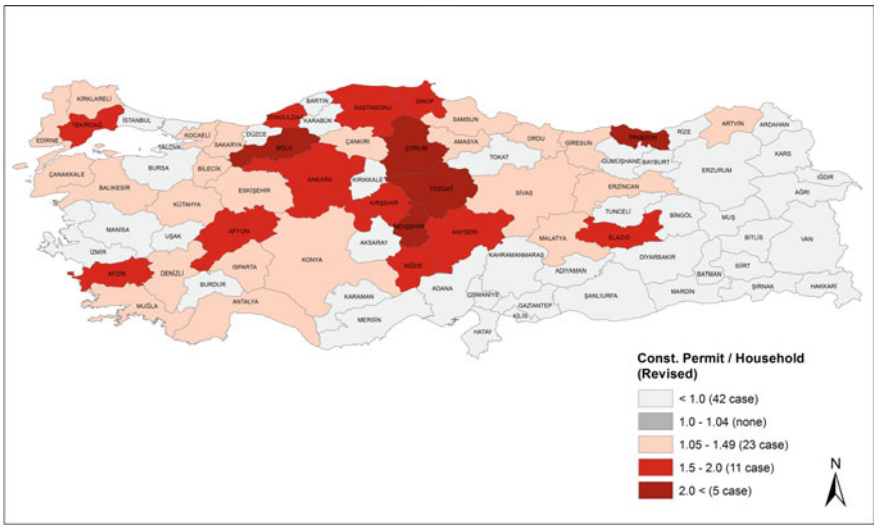

Fig. 9.3 Geography of the housing shortage and excess production in Turkey: 2014. Prepared by the author based on TURKSTAT (2018c, d) and Undersecretariat of Housing (2002)

per household ratio is 1.25.[4] In other words, in areas where a shortage of authorised housing is experienced, the housing requirement is met by unauthorised stock. From the urban planning point of view, both a housing shortage and excess housing production are problematic. In the Turkish case, while a housing shortage results in unauthorised housing construction, excess housing production leads to urban spatial expansion, loss of agricultural land and open/green spaces in the urban fringe, and increased transportation costs and commuting distances for households. It is no longer realistic to evaluate the housing problem in Turkey as a supply insufficiency problem considering the production performance of the country. Turkey has produced significantly high levels of housing output; yet, geographical distribution of this output is not even across the country. While it is true that the fundamental housing problem still means a housing shortage for some settlements, excess housing production has emerged as another aspect of the problem in the remaining parts of the country. Among the major challenges of the Turkish housing policy for the coming decades are how to reduce the housing production disparities across the country and how to remedy the adverse effects of the housing shortage and excess production in settlements.

[4]This information is based on the records of the National Address Database of TURKSTAT. These data are available upon request from TURKSTAT.

9.3.2 *Ensuring Housing Affordability: Regional and Household-Based Challenges*

Despite the housing production performance of the country, housing affordability is a prevailing problem in different regions and for different household groups, such as low-income households or tenants. Parallel to global trends, housing affordability is once again an increasing concern of housing policy in Turkey. Since the beginning of the 2000s, government programmes and strategies have focused on access to homeownership for low-income households. In other words, the focus of the housing affordability discussion in Turkey is on the affordability of the initial costs of buying a house for households on lower incomes. Such a focus neglects the affordability of rents in the private rented sector, the housing cost burden for outright owners (or sustainability of homeownership), and spatial variations in housing affordability. Recent research displays an aggregate improvement in housing affordability in the post-2000s and relates this improvement to the high housing output created and consistent increase in GDP per capita levels during the same period (Özdemir Sarı and Aksoy Khurami 2018). However, housing affordability is still a significant problem for some segments of society as well as some parts of the country.

As of 2014, 19% of the Turkish households, nearly 39% of whom are at risk of poverty, evaluate their housing costs as a heavy cost burden.[5] The same figure is 10.1% for European households, 37% of whom are at risk of poverty (Hegedüs and Horvath 2015). Apart from aggregate evaluations, research indicates that the extent of the affordability problem in Turkey differs significantly with respect to mode of tenure, income groups, and regions (Aksoy 2017). Figure 9.4 displays the distribution of cost overburdened households in NUTS 1 Regions of Turkey as of 2014.[6] Accordingly, the share of households who report heavy housing cost burden varies among regions from 6% (TR2 West Marmara Region) to 34% (TRA Northeast Anatolia Region). Recent research reveals that households living in socio-economically developed regions or regions with chronic housing shortage problems are more likely to experience heavy housing cost burdens (Özdemir Sarı and Aksoy Khurami 2018). As Fig. 9.4 confirms, households living in eastern parts of the country (chronic housing shortage problem—see Fig. 9.3), as well as those living in the hinterland of or in close proximity to İstanbul (relatively socio-economically developed regions), experience severe housing cost overburden. In light of these findings, it is clear that housing affordability policies have to be responsive to the spatial dimension of the affordability problem.

The housing affordability problem also varies among different tenure modes. Calculations based on the raw data of the 2014 Survey of Income and Living Conditions show that the share of tenants who are housing cost overburdened constitutes 27% of all tenants (7% of all households). For outright owners (owners with no debt/mortgage payment), although the expenditures related to housing refer solely to

[5]Calculated by the author from the raw data of the 2014 Survey of Income and Living Conditions by TURKSTAT.

[6]Data at provincial level are not available.

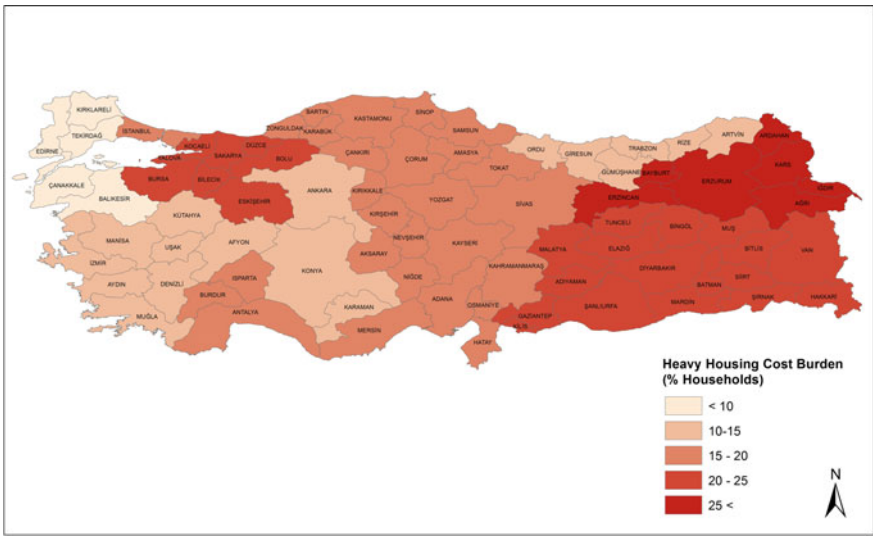

Fig. 9.4 Housing cost burden evaluated by households: regional level. Prepared by the author from the raw data of the 2014 Survey of Income and Living Conditions by TURKSTAT

running costs (i.e. utility payments, services, repairs/maintenance costs, and property taxes), households suffering from housing cost overburden constitute 15.6% (nearly 10% of all households). These findings highlight two major issues: (i) in the absence of a social rented sector in the country, affordability of rents in the private rented sector has to be an integral part of housing affordability policies; (ii) considering the problems of outright owners in affording the running costs, there is a need to review housing policies that encourage homeownership among low-income households. Then, a major challenge for the Turkish housing policy is to ensure housing affordability in all regions of the country for all tenure groups.

9.3.3 Maintaining the Private Rented Sector

In the absence of a social rented sector, rentable housing in Turkey is provided by the private rented sector. Market rented housing is often called private rented housing as it is usually owned and managed by individuals or firms in the private sector of the economy (Haffner et al. 2009). In Turkey, the private rented sector is composed of individual households (homeowners) who rent out their dwelling units. Rental stock is generated mostly as a by-product of investments intended to meet homeownership demand (Balamir 1999). Currently, the private rented sector is large enough to accommodate almost a quarter of urban households in the country. However, the high rates of private renting in the country that have been observed

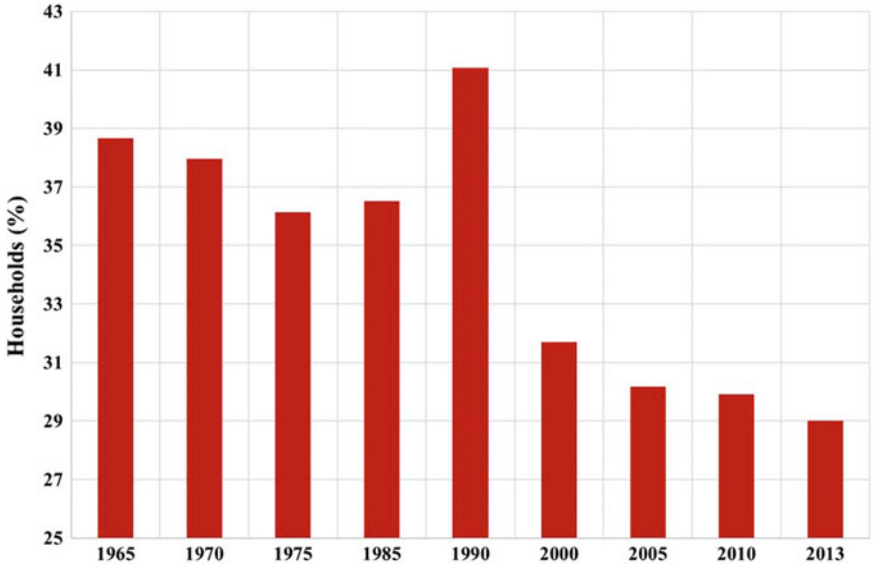

Fig. 9.5 Private renting in Turkey. Prepared by the author based on Balamir (1999) and TURKSTAT (2003, 2018a)

for years may not be sustained in the future since rentable housing is not provided purposefully as a response to rental housing demand. Depending on the possible changes in market conditions and housing policies, the share of rental housing could change considerably. This contingency is exemplified in Fig. 9.5 by the changes observed in the size of the private rented sector over the years.

Accordingly, the size of the private rented sector in Turkey could be considered as having been large (30% and above of the total housing stock) before the 2000s (based on the categorisation by Whitehead et al. 2012). In a 'no policy' environment for the survival of the rented sector and due to the continuous support for homeownership, what was considered a large sector until the 2000s is currently a medium-scaled sector (between 15 and 29%). As of 2013, 54% of urban households in the country are owner occupiers, 29% are tenants, and 14% live in a dwelling owned by their parents/relatives (TURKSTAT 2018a).[7] Tenancy is known to be higher in urban areas compared to in rural areas. In addition, regional variation in the rental stock is considerably high. By 2014, the share of tenants varied among regions from 28% (TRA Northeast Anatolia Region) to 39% (TR1 İstanbul Region).[8] The existence of a significant amount of rental stock in the private sector is necessary to improve the housing options of households and to allow residential mobility, particularly in

[7] Since 2014 it is not possible to differentiate urban and rural areas from the statistics of TURKSTAT.

[8] Calculated by the author from the raw data of the 2014 Survey of Income and Living Conditions by TURKSTAT.

the absence of a social rented sector. Thus, measures should be developed as part of housing policies to ensure the sustainability of the private rented sector in all regions.

9.3.4 Ensuring Safety and Quality of Life in Housing and Living Environments

Developing regeneration strategies to maintain and improve the standards of living and quality in existing urban environments is also a major challenge for urban and regional planning in Turkey. Urban space is produced under distinct social, economic, political, and technological circumstances. These circumstances change in time, necessitating the transformation of urban space and thus the design of planned interventions for the regeneration of urban areas. Squatter housing areas and neighbourhoods of apartment blocks are the outcomes of a period during which capital accumulation in the country was insufficient to respond to the requirements of high rates of urbanisation. The current social, economic, political, and technological circumstances of Turkey are profoundly different from those of the pre-2000s period. Both the squatter housing areas or the parts of the cities transformed through the Amnesty Laws, and the neighbourhoods of apartment blocks require intervention to ensure safety and quality of life. The majority of the building stock in apartment block neighbourhoods has been produced within a short span of time without adequate technical supervision and is ageing (Balamir 1975, 2002). Furthermore, sufficient standards in infrastructure, open spaces, and green areas are not upheld in most of these neighbourhoods. Losses experienced due to natural hazards, particularly floods and earthquakes, over the last 20 years have proved that the achievement of resilient and safe urban environments in existing built-up areas is a priority in Turkey.[9] Official records show that over 18,000 lives were lost and more than 300,000 housing units were destroyed or damaged solely by the earthquakes experienced in the Marmara Region in 1999.

Urban development and residential investment strategy of the public sector, however, involve extensive housing production by means of new construction and urban transformation projects. Legal documents and discussions in Turkey employ the term 'urban transformation' to refer to regeneration policies and programmes. Following the 2002 general elections, urban transformation has become a hot topic in planning, focusing particularly on the physical redevelopment of squatter housing areas, decayed historical parts of the cities, and more recently disaster-prone areas.[10] The current urban transformation practices solely trigger clearance and redevelopment on a building plot scale. The comprehensive improvement and redevelopment needs of the existing urban areas containing authorised housing stock are totally ignored. Beyond the concerns of current urban transformation efforts, the challenge for urban

[9]Chapter 12 of this book provides a detailed account of these losses.

[10]Chapter 8 of this book discusses residential transformation in Turkey, in detail, starting from the 1980s.

planning in Turkey is to regenerate the neighbourhoods of apartment blocks. In developed countries, urban regeneration policies and programmes have undergone various changes over the years and have been redefined numerous times. It became clear that physical interventions were insufficient to deal with the spatial concentration of physical, social, and economic problems. The current approach to regeneration is an integrated one considering physical regeneration together with social, economic, environmental, and cultural aspects of urban life and development (Cameron et al. 2004).

There are a number of factors that work against the regeneration of neighbourhoods of apartment blocks in Turkey. The first one is related to the question of agency. Almost all the housing stock is under private ownership. All types of reinvestment activities and redevelopment decisions are reserved for the individual flat owners rather than the public authority (excluding an event of urgency confirmed by a court decision or assessment of the building as risky according to Law 6306). In other words, the rehabilitation or redevelopment of apartment blocks only takes place only if flat owners decide to do it. The second factor is the fragmented ownership structure. In the flat ownership system, the decision-making power concerning buildings is unconditionally fragmented and the possibility of producing joint decisions is minimised (Balamir 1975). Both maintenance of the common parts and demolition of the main structure require collective decision-making, which makes the process highly complicated. The third issue is related to management. Flat Ownership Law defines management of individual buildings and building blocks. Lack of a management level at neighbourhood scale is an obstacle to considering regeneration as an opportunity to maintain and reorganise open and built spaces, and social and technical infrastructure in a neighbourhood environment. In other words, the flat ownership system confines the content of regeneration to rehabilitation or redevelopment of buildings. The fourth factor is the lack of public supervision and funds. Unlike European examples, no specific policy exists in Turkey to consider reinvestment processes and redevelopment in the existing housing stock, and there is no tool or mechanism to supervise or encourage reinvestments by flat owners (Özdemir Sarı 2011). The final point is the extent of the problem. Apartment blocks dominate the urban housing stock in Turkey. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, nearly 70% of urban households live in flats. In other words, high-rise living affects wider sections of society and urban areas compared to single-family housing. This means that acquisition of the decaying stock by the public sector or compulsory purchase measures to improve the quality of existing housing environments is unlikely. Considering these factors, not only the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of regeneration but also the physical dimension of regeneration become a challenge in Turkey. Obviously, regenerating the neighbourhoods of apartment blocks is not a task that could be undertaken completely in the free market environment or solely by the public sector.

9.4 Conclusions

This study is an attempt to redefine the housing challenges in the Turkish cities from the urban planning perspective. Turkey's housing problem is considered as a supply management problem, and four major housing challenges are identified accordingly. The housing problem, when evaluated through housing production levels, has two aspects, namely housing shortage and excess production. Both of these problems agglomerate in certain parts of the country. The findings imply that housing policy should consider the regional and local differences in housing markets rather than proposing countrywide solutions such as a countrywide housing programme for new housing production. Provinces that experience an ongoing shortage of authorised housing have to rely on unauthorised housing construction as a solution. On the other hand, provinces that experience an enduring oversupply of authorised housing face the risk of high vacancy rates. Housing policy has to consider the adverse impacts created by both sides of the housing problem. Currently, the number of provinces in the country experiencing housing shortages is not negligible. If the provision of housing through public investment continues in the coming years, then these settlements should be targeted to increase the number of houses. In a market-led housing provision system, it is expected that construction firms prefer more profitable settlements for investment. This leads to overproduction in some settlements. Although the housing provision is market-led, the amount and location of the developable land, plot sizes, and density of development are in the control of urban planning. Through these decisions, the housing supply can be monitored to achieve desired outcomes in terms of location decisions and target groups of the new house building.

Ensuring affordability is another dimension of the Turkish housing problem. Although an aggregate improvement has been observed in housing affordability in the post-2000 period, some sections of society and some parts of the country still suffer from unaffordable conditions. This study shows that housing affordability problems have a spatial dimension and unaffordable housing conditions overlap with housing shortages and/or high employment opportunities. Furthermore, reducing the affordability problem to 'access to homeownership' is misleading, considering that sustainability of homeownership is extremely difficult for households at the bottom of the income scale due to unaffordability of the life-cycle costs of homeownership. Apart from these, the lack of a social rented sector in the country calls for consideration of housing affordability in the private rented sector as an integral part of housing policies.

Another challenge for the Turkish housing policy is to maintain the private rented sector. Since rentable housing provision is not purposefully in line with the demand for rental housing, the size (and the attributes) of the rented sector is highly contingent upon the changes in market conditions and housing policies. The size of the sector has narrowed significantly starting from the early years of the 2000s. Moreover, there is significant variation in the regional distribution of rental stock. In the absence of a social rented sector, the Turkish housing policy has to develop measures to ensure the sustainability of the private rented sector in all regions.

A final challenge identified and discussed through the study is ensuring safety and quality of life in existing housing and living areas. Over the last 20 years, Turkish cities have witnessed several natural disasters, the losses from which are sufficient to justify the need for resilient and safe urban environments in existing built-up areas. The public sector's current urban development and residential investment strategy, however, ignore the comprehensive improvement and redevelopment needs of the existing authorised housing areas. Regeneration of the apartment block neighbourhoods is a major challenge of urban planning in itself due to the high rates of private ownership, the fragmented ownership structure, the lack of a neighbourhood scale management level, the absence of public supervision and funds, and the extent of the problem. Regeneration of the neighbourhoods of apartment blocks appears to be possible only through the collaboration of the public and private sectors as well as the individual flat owners.

Turkey's housing problems are not limited to the four problem areas discussed above. They could be considered the priority areas from the urban planning point of view. It is clear that current housing challenges in Turkey are highly complex, displaying spatial variations across the country, and cannot be reduced merely to increasing the supply of housing or ensuring access to homeownership through countrywide policies. Housing policies have to be responsive to the regional and local differences in housing markets. In addition, the scope of housing policies should not be confined to new housing construction or urban transformation through clearance and redevelopment. The design of policies to improve the standards of living in existing housing environments is a must. This could be achieved through reinvestment policies considering rehabilitation and maintenance options as well as redevelopment.

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Chapter 10
Policy and Planning in the Age of Mobilities: Refugees and Urban Planning in Turkey

Feriha Nazda Güngördü and Mustafa Kemal Bayırbağ

Abstract This chapter discusses the challenges posed by Syrian refugee problem (a multifaceted "mobility" problem especially hitting metropolitan cities) on urban planning practices and discourses in Turkey. Here, we portray the refugee problem as a multiscalar one, where international, national and local authorities meet the challenge in different ways. The multiscalar lens allows us to detect how various problem areas (security, sheltering, etc.) have become intertwined and concentrated on urban areas after refugee influx. In that regard, first we depict the role of "urban planning" in "governance of (refugee) mobility" in neoliberal era. Secondly, we briefly touch upon the historical association between the mobility patterns and urbanization in Turkey since 1923 to detect how public authorities (at different scales of governing) reacted to these mobilities. This historical analysis helps us locate the Syrian refugee problem into its proper context as an urban planning problem (not simply as an IR or security problem). Lastly, we discuss Syrian Refugee Crisis' challenges on urban areas and planning practices in Turkey by referring to its international, national and local governance. We conclude by summing up the key empirical and theoretical lessons drawn while also introducing analytical questions about the future direction of research.

Keywords Refugee crisis · Refugee mobility · Multiscalar governance
Urban planning · Urban policy

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10.1 Introduction

Mobility is not the story of capital alone. In the global era, the whole world seems to be on the move. Asylum seekers, seasonal workers, students, travellers, professionals and even illegal traders move around the globe with different motivations. For the last decade, it seems that migrant/refugee mobility has surpassed all other mobilities with respect to its huge impacts on international relations, policy-making and even on our daily lives. According to United Nations International Migration Report (2017), the number of international migrants worldwide has reached to 258 million in 2017, while it was 220 million in 2010. The role of civil war in Syria and concordant Syrian mobility to neighbouring countries and EU cannot be underestimated in these figures. According to UNHCR database, around 13 million Syrians have been displaced since 2010, when the first sparks of political conflict in Syria were observed. Nearly 6 million Syrians (49% of total displaced) are internally displaced within the borders of Syria, while the remaining has been migrated to neighbouring countries, EU and USA. Since 2011, Turkey has become the top destination for Syrian refugees through adopting an "open door policy" and continues to be by hosting 3,583,434 registered Syrians (63.4% of total internationally displaced Syrians) by 31 May 2018. Turkey (63.4%) is followed by Lebanon (17.5%; 986,942), Jordan (11.8%; 666,113), Iraq (4.4%; 250,708) and Egypt (2.3%; 128,956). In overall, 92.3% of registered Syrians prefer to live in urban, peri-urban and rural areas, while only 7.7% of them prefer to live in camps allocated to them. This trend can be traced in Turkey, too. Among 3,583,434 Syrians, only 6.43% of them live in camps, while the majority 93.56% have been spread to the whole country, especially to the metropolitan cities.

As described above, migration and mobility patterns in global, international, national and local contexts put forward how the process of *mobility* has become a multiscalar, multidimensional and multi-actor policy problem, in a way to reflect on international relations, policy-making at upper scales, while affecting urbanization patterns, urban planning models, urban economy, social and daily relations at lower scales. To fully grasp the dynamic and multiscalar nature of new mobilities of the global era, we should adopt a refined analytical lens. Urry (2007) offers the following categorization in that regard: corporeal travel (physical movement of people for work, leisure, migration, etc.), physical movement of objects (trade, souvenir, etc.), imaginative travel (images, social media posts), virtual and communicative travel (digital media, interactions through the use of ICT). Disasters and forced movements based on war and political conflicts also create their own mobilities and concordant processes of displacement and emplacement in different localities (Sheller 2017). Departing from this categorization, Phillips (2007) asserts, it is getting hard to label migrant households as stable and localized entities. Because, the non-physical overseas interactions (that migrants are involved in) contradict the traditional overlook on migrants as they are homogeneous groups who have left their national values and daily routines behind (in their homeland). To address such non-physical mobility (of migrants), Glick-Schiller et al. (1992) speak of transnationalism "as the process by which immigrants forge and sustain relationships that link

together their societies of origin and present settlement".[1] Hence in new mobility discussions, subjects to be intervened with are neither "fixed" (physically speaking) nor "isolated/disconnected" entities. Instead, they are "actors" actively involved in establishing, developing and sustaining emotional/social/economic/political networks within/across localities. Migrants'/refugees' socio-spatial connectedness is to be taken into accounts as planning measures are developed.

Basing on above arguments, this chapter aims to examine the challenges posed by increasing (global) mobility of humans, as in the case of Syrian Refugee Crisis, on urbanization policies and urban processes for Turkey. Special attention is devoted to the origin and outcomes of mobilities that are hard to trace, detect and analyse due to scalar effects of mobility that ultimately overlap to produce neoliberal urbanism in Turkey. In other words, effects of mobility and how it is directed and contained at international, national and local scales of governance bear important implications for the future of cities regarding the physical design of cities and redistribution mechanisms in terms of housing, infrastructure, job market, social aids. Section 10.2 briefly discusses key challenges for urbanization in neoliberal era and introduces global mobility and migration as one of the severe challenges. In that sense, new mobility paradigm and the significance of its adaption in urban policies are discussed to develop an analytical framework to understand the new challenges for urban planning after migrant/refugee influx in cities. Section 10.3 briefly touches upon the historical association between the mobility patterns and urbanization since 1923—the Foundation of Republic of Turkey. Section 10.4 focuses on Syrian Refugee Crisis and its implications on urban areas and planning in Turkey through referring to its international, national and local governance.

10.2 Key Challenges to the Practice and Discourse of Urban Planning in the Age of Mobilities

10.2.1 The Context: "Mobility" as a Policy Problem

In a context characterized by the multiscalar framework of urban governance, urban planning discourse and practice face various challenges. At the first place, the *spatial composition and extent* of urban problems have become complex and wider. Planners are now challenged by this complexity as they set out to detect the spatial, scalar origins and dynamics of problems (whether a given problem is urban vs. rural in origin; spatially fixed or mobile; and rescaled or not, i.e. transferred from other

[1] Here, it should be noted that not all technologies favour mobility as "free movement". The advances in defence systems block the mobility of illegal migrants and traders as well as war wearies lacking required documents, especially in state borders. Nation states and their local authorities develop tactics/strategies to contain cross-border movements. And, as shall be discussed in detail later, such techno-spatial tactics/strategies are not proactive, but reactive, and thus fall short of developing better-grounded policies in addressing the migrant/refugee problem.

scales). Secondly, the *content and priorities* referring to whether a problem is short or long term or whether it is prioritized among others as well as *institutional background* of given problems (public vs. private; central vs. local) pose challenges to planners. Such challenges that touch upon various social, institutional and spatial dimensions reveal how the nature of urban problems has become multiscalar, multi-actor and multilayered. To say, various problems regardless of their scale *are cut across by the urban phenomenon* where different actors/institutions/authorities of various scales coexist and act upon in or without coordination (Bayırbağ 2017).

Global dynamics of urbanization under the influence of neoliberalism render problems to be dealt with policy-makers (be social, political, economic or cultural). Thus, it gets increasingly difficult to determine the "scalar origin(s)" of urban problems. Following Friedman's (1987) emphasis on the "wicked nature of [policy] problems", it is now harder to conclude that any given policy problem is purely global or local in nature. Problems are to be transferred, delayed, postponed to other geographies, spaces and time and hard to solve once and for all. A given policy problem might be the result of an intertwined process rescaled through time and space; might be transferred from another geography; might be a local problem with global implications; or conversely might be a purely local problem resulting from cumulative effects of past policies and implementations of authorities/actors established at other scales.

Multiscalar nature of urban problems in global era inevitably leads to formation of multi-actor governance schemes, where the dynamics of cooperation and competition among those actors determine the future of cities. In that regard, just as reterritorialized and rescaled policy problems, the responsibility and capacities required to address policy problems faced are also relocated (in territorial and scalar sense) to different authorities/institutions (Brenner 1999). In the meantime, decision-makers are likely to head towards differing and partial solutions to problems that they are to address. In line with *new public management* discourse, the shift from government to governance in managing urban processes finds its expression in new planning approaches in a way to signal a shift from comprehensive thinking to strategic planning. Thus, restructured governance schemes in neoliberal era portray the "*institutional context that planning system has to operate*" within (Thornley 2017).

Within this framework, urban planning serves as a tool to reorganize spatial constitution of urban phenomenon, redefine resource/rent allocation mechanisms (urban renewal, gentrification, social aid mechanisms, any regulation changing the status of land ownership, etc.) and thus redistribute cost and benefits of policy decisions among different socio-economic/cultural groups (i.e. high-income class, migrants, vulnerable groups, etc.). Thus, (urban) planning as a mode and instrument of policy-making is challenged not only by physical and infrastructural necessities of increasing population and investments, but also by urbanized social problems that shake the foundations of the spatio-political cohesion mechanisms that keep different classes/social groups as a "society". Urban poverty, unemployment, social exclusion and socio-spatial segregation have become the core debates in urban planning which are targeted under different governance schemes.

Migration and mobility, in that sense, are global issues that pose significant challenges to national/urban policies of different national governments, in general, and to

the practice of urban planning in particular. As already noted, it is hard to trace/contain the origin of movements, scale and urban effects of migration and mobility, as well as their impact on redistribution mechanisms. The first set of challenges includes the definition of the migrants, the full grasp of spatial dimensions/dynamics of migration and the identification of the sociopolitical context and implications of migration for both the migrants and the communities at the receiving end. To begin with the former challenge, there is no universal consensus on the temporal criterion to label a person as "migrant" with respect to his/her spatial mobility, although the United Nations proposes to call a person "migrant" if he/she left his/her point of origin for a period of "12 months or more", or "less than 12 months and with the intention to remain for longer than 12 months" (Skeldon 2017).

Secondly, despite the well documentation of global patterns of migration in terms of the movement between countries A and B at nation state level, there is limited information about the internal/domestic patterns of migration (especially rural to urban, rural to rural, urban to rural). Solely concentrating the nation state as the primary unit of analysis to explicate the dynamics of international migration will not allow us to develop an elaborate understanding of spatial dynamics of migration/the refugee problem and, thus, its political/social/economic/cultural implications. People are not actually moving from country A to B, only. They also move from a locality (situated in country A) to yet another locality in country B (and perhaps with a chance to move further to yet another locality in country B), or localities in a third country. In fact, that sort of an approach could provide us with a healthier understanding of the spatial patterns of migration as well as the motives behind the movement (Skeldon 2017). The (un)conscious location choices of migrants affect not only the population patterns and social relations in the destination locality but also its economy. Indeed, "local traces of migration beyond/across administrative borders" should be considered by decision-makers of both cities of origin and destination to address the impacts of movement.

Another challenge is about the recognition of mobilities in urban policies and in the design of redistribution mechanisms. In a world of hyper-diversity (Taşan-Kok et al. 2013), in which traditional classifications on race, ethnicity, income and gender have been broken down in a way to recognize individual differences in lifestyles, habits, labelling "migrants", "immigrants" and "refugees" as separate and solid social groups get increasingly difficult. Besides, differences between "migrants" and "natives" as different groups in need of specialized policies seem to lose validity. Once migrants settle in a locality, they are automatically exposed to processes of dispossession, displacement and emplacement which necessitate the adoption of a multiscalar and multidimensional approach in policy-making and (urban) planning (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2016). Then, there are key questions to be answered. How to recognize diversity and peculiarities of diverse groups? How to perceive new mobilities and their impact on planning?

10.2.2 Spatiality of New Challenges

In this new age of human mobility, "*new mobility paradigm*" enables us to trace multiscalar patterns of flows as well as the spatial impacts of mobilities in terms of displacement and emplacement (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2016).[2] The relational perspective behind this approach to urban space that is *conceiving space as socially constructed* challenges the approaches in urban studies that operationalize the notion of space with reference to closed and fixed categories such as the state, city and neighbourhood in a static way (Sheller and Urry 2006). However, it is worth here to note that, despite the emphasis on the role of social networks, flows and mobilities in reshaping urban space, new mobility paradigm does not support the idea that everything is liquid (Sheller and Urry 2006). The same is valid for the Bauman's (2000) assumption that mobility is free and continuous in global era (by the end of nation states as containers of society). On the contrary, mobilities (especially in terms of migration) are now more closely monitored by public authorities. National (and supranational—the EU) governments around the world have been busy to develop new and harsher policies/programmes to contain the migrant/refugee flows (including measures such as erecting walls on the nation state borders, regulating forced deportation procedures and redefining citizenship regimes to address irregular migration). Thus, spatial movements and settlements of those migrant populations are strictly regulated. Yet, the relational perspective we subscribe to rightly suggests that migrants/refugees are not passive subjects. They also develop their own socio-spatial survival strategies and tactics in response to such measures. So, the dialectics of mobility–immobility, displacement–emplacement and deterritorialization–reterritorialization seem to be the most significant processes that determine the social (re)production of urban space in global era, as new mobility paradigm suggests.

New mobility paradigm challenges the "methodological naturalism" (Barberis and Pavolini 2015; Çağlar and Glick-Schiller 2015) in the literature, which restricts the analytical focus of mobility and migration studies on non-spatial or fixed (and immobile) categories such as "ethnic communities", "(ethnic) discrimination", "ghettoization", "assimilation/integration". Çağlar and Glick-Schiller (2015) criticize such approaches in three ways which may be taken into consideration in urban studies to

[2]Despite the paradigm's recent popularity in sociology and urban studies, its key arguments are not new. It is rooted in the spatial turn in sociology, dating back to the early 1970s. Lefebvre's (1991) notion of "social space" and Massey's (1984) "relational analysis of space" made scholars rethink space as a social process that is always under (re)production rather than "as a container" (Massey 2005; Sheller 2017). As a socially constructed process, space has that power to shape social relations and thus is to be reshaped by them in return (Lefebvre 1991).

Spatial turn in sociology not only influenced spatial theorists' view on urban space "as a set of relations between entities" (Gregory and Urry 1985; Soja 1989; Sassen 1991) but also found its reflection in human mobility discussions in, for instance, Castells' (1996) "network societies" and "spaces of flow" notions. Rethinking the role of networks, flows and mobilities in spatial relations also revived the "scalar" debates in political–economy and urban studies (Brenner 1997, 1999; Swyngedouw 1997).

better address the multiscalar, multi-actor and multilayered patterns of mobility and migration:

- They do not examine the role and place of socio-economic and spatial differences among localities (rural vs. urban; centre–periphery) as they set out to understand the politico-spatial dynamics of migration/refugee problem in a given country. They also neglect localities as units of analysis of power relations.
- They treat migration and mobility as processes isolated from power relations and processes of capital accumulation. Understood this way, migrants and spatial dynamics of migration have limited role in the (re)production of these localities.
- They neglect the multiscalar nature of mobility patterns as they overemphasize the interstate/international flows and mostly concentrate on the national scale both in the problem definition and in the examination of policies pursued by central governments to address the issue.

The points raised above enable us to take a fresh look at how Turkey, EU and other countries govern the Syrian Refugee Crisis, a crisis mainly urban in nature and whose subjects display a high degree of spatial mobility. Bringing urban policy to the centre of analysis, this perspective will also allow us to raise a number of more refined questions about the role and place of urban planning in meeting the challenges posed by the migration/refugee problem.

Governance of migration in EU seems to be captured by two broader policy concerns, namely economy and culture. These concerns are formulated into rather strictly framed policy programmes on cultural/economic exclusion, cultural/economic integration, social inclusion, social order and naturalization (Boustan et al. 2010; Kay and Morrison 2013; Roodman 2014). More critically (for most cases), such policies are formulated on a sectoral basis (as cultural, economic, spatial), in a way to neglect how these sectoral interventions interact to create a combined effect in real lives of these migrants/refugees and on the places they settle (and move between). As a fact and example, destination choices of migrants/refugees and/or their tendencies to settle in ethnic clusters cannot be solely explained by cultural affinities such as language, norms and habits. Beside such factors, social network relations that facilitate their access to job markets, local potentials for economic entrepreneurship (availability of capital sources and/or the presence of potential markets) or the presence of political representation and service provision mechanisms in localities also shape migrants' decisions to move and settle.

The EU's migration and refugee policies mostly revolve around state-level mobility track and concordant policy responses to monitor and control mobility across borders. For those that are able to get in borders as a refugee/migrant or for family unity, there are different policy sets defined at the national scale, which are to be implemented universally regardless of the locality that these migrants are eventually to settle. The EU and nation state borders are semi-permeable in which cultural and socio-economic backgrounds of those who seek to cross EU borders are quite determinant. While members of certain diaspora, capital owners and high-skilled people are welcomed without serious bureaucratic obstacles, migrants/refugees lacking financial sources, seasonal workers, those who seek family unity are subject to harsh

conditions such as language barriers and/or financial requirements that are hard to be met. The same is valid for the governance of Syrian Refugee Crisis. This dichotomy in border-cross policies would be also seen in internal processes with respect to integration, social cohesion and naturalization policies which set state-level norms to be implemented at the regional and/or local scales of governance. Such security-oriented policies of the EU seemed to fail in addressing the economic, cultural, socio-spatial and political dimensions of (multidimensionality) migrant mobility and the interconnectivity among them.

Seen this way, urban planning, traditionally a key instrument of urban governance, can begin to assume a more emphasized role in formulation and implementation of migration/refugee policies. This amounts to rethinking the relationship between urban planning at the local scale and spatial planning at the (supra)national scale, while also allowing us to go beyond the economic determinism of national spatial planning. Multiscalar comprehensive planning is to be called back for this task.

10.2.3 "Subjects" of Intervention and Urban Planning

As a policy instrument, urban planning not only intervenes in the balance between exchange and use values of urban land, but also affects the (re)distribution of costs and benefits of spatial and non-spatial (sectoral) policies among social groups. In those regards, there is a need to further concentrate on the redistribution question. Since resources and institutional capacities are far limited to address all given problems of the society, some issues are more likely to be prioritized than the others. Moreover, ideological and political backgrounds of authorities that favour/prioritize some groups over others result in unequal redistribution mechanisms and often unbearable costs to certain parts of society (i.e. urban poor). The more a group is recognized and welcomed, the more likely they would benefit from redistribution process in terms of better and tailor-made mechanisms/solutions. However, not all migrants are recognized and treated in the same way. Within migrant groups, there are class-based differences (high-income vs. low-income migrants) as well as differences in their motives behind migrating (seasonal working and forced displacement), locational preferences (urban–rural; centre–periphery) and their recognition in society (either inclusion or exclusion). Despite so-called differences, immigrants/refugees are subjected to same urban processes as with natives. They engage in urban economy, they seek the ways of accessing more resources and benefits, they compete each other in job market, they try to find proper sheltering and decent food, and they want to maintain their social habits, cultural traditions, etc., that all related to the *restructuring unequal relations of power* in broader sense (Çağlar and Glick-Schiller 2015). Thus, they are subject to the costs and benefits of neoliberal regime which maintains itself through the accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2004). Accumulation by dispossession and concordant concepts such as urban poverty, social exclusion/inclusion, displacement–emplacement is all shaped by neoliberal

(economic) policies and urbanization that determine the reproduction of space and social relations.

Rethinking the role of *dispossession* in mobility patterns is useful to understand the multiscalar nature of the issue as Çağlar and Glick-Schiller (2015) strongly emphasize. The term enables us to determine the motives of migrants to leave a certain locality and the factors that affect their location choices in arrival city to settle. Thus, we may understand the dynamics of displacement–emplacement, deterritorialization–reterritorialization that are closely linked to socio-spatial reproduction of urban space (Sheller and Urry 2006). Displacement is not only about departing from one locality to another, but also referring to displacement through dispossession in various ways: unemployment, flexible, contract-based, precarious working, forced migration, bank credits, etc. Similarly, emplacement discussions go beyond reconcentration and resettlement of social groups in certain geographies to refer to the efforts of individuals in rebuilding their social networks and in engaging labour market and channels of representation (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2016).

Overall, we claim that dichotomies between mobile and immobile, displaced and emplaced, deterritorialization and reterritorialization are all reproduced by *power relations* within neoliberal system that also engage with local processes of reconstitution of capital (Çağlar and Glick-Schiller 2015). A multiscalar perspective allows us to understand "multiple networks of global-spanning power" (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2016) in which localities are situated unevenly. Through placing the capital accumulation processes at the centre and concentrating on multiscalar relations of power, we can better explicate the role of urban planning in addressing the migrant/refugee question and thus re(production) of urban space in the age of mobilities.

10.3 Waves of Urbanization in Turkey: From in-Migrants to Refugees

The discussion held so far indicates that the notion of *mobility*, role of (fixed) authorities in managing mobility, the multiscalar effects of mobility on social relations and urbanization process should come to the centre of our analysis. If we are to address how Syrian mobility is governed in Turkey, first we have to touch upon how different mobilities have been governed throughout the history of Republic of Turkey and how international/domestic movement of humans and capital have affected urbanization processes. In this regard, we offer a periodization of urbanization in Turkey and the associated modes of intervention.

Urbanization waves of Turkey can be summarized into four periods: 1923–1950 (urbanization of the state), 1950–1980 (urbanization of labour power), 1980–2000 (urbanization of capital) (Şengül [2001] 2009; Keskinok 2006; also see Yayar and Uçgunoğlu 2016) and 2002–present (urbanization of polity) (Table 10.1). Below, we offer a brief historical account of "migration" in Turkey and the associated policy

responses in different periods so as to explicate how (urban) governance of mobility in Turkey has evolved to take its current form.

Despite the fact that we started out periodization from the earlier years of the republic, to keep coherency in our discussion, we focus on the process after the 1950s, when rural to urban mobility had reached its peak. The period of 1923–1950 could be evaluated as the "nation (state) building" period in which modernist approaches were adapted in the design of cities, in which big industry and transportation investments had been spread to whole Anatolia and in which modernist construction of cities and big public investments began to unchain rural labour force and triggered their migration to urban areas.

1950–1980 Mechanization and modernization of agriculture practices, falling rates of profit (and income) in agricultural production, increasing conflicts between landowners and peasant workers triggered a widespread and long-lasting march of the country's population *from rural to urban* from the early 1950s onwards (Doh 1984; İçduygu and Sirkeci 1999; Keleş 2002; Munro 1974). In this regard, a key characteristic of the 1950–1980 period was that urban areas had received newcomers more than they could handle (the pace of industrialization/urbanization was quite low to employ the newcomers and to provide decent housing). Therefore, (informal) service sector grew exponentially especially in metropolitan cities and further facilitated *rural to urban mobility* for coming generations in pursuit of better life standards.

Rapid urbanization of labour resulted in a sudden and huge population pressure on urban fabric and caught the national and local governments unprepared. Scarcity of housing stock led to increasing housing prices in urban centres, and central government had limited resources to provide housing for newcomers. In the absence of central and local authorities to govern urbanization and housing processes, in-migrants had got into action and solved their sheltering needs through squatter housing (that illegally invaded state's lands). Nearly for fifteen years, squatter housing spread out both in inner-city areas and around industries without any serious intervention from the authorities. At any rate, the newcomers were providing the needed workforce in industries with limited costs to the state. Inaction of government to address this mobility problem created a dual urban structure characterized by modernist versus *autogenous/gecekondu*[3] (squatter) urbanization (Şengül 2009), where the latter eventually became the dominant form. Özdemir (2012) puts forward that the number of squatter houses increased from 25,000 in the 1940s to 1,500,000 in 1983.

The word *gecekondu* was first formally recognized in 1966 when Gecekondu Law (No. 775) was legislated. Recognition of gecekondus and provision of urban services in gecekondu areas made them suitable areas to invest in time (Şengül 2009). Towards the end of the 1960s, gecekondu areas were crowded enough to capture the attention

[3] Gecekondus, resembling slums and squatter developments in spatial context, are housing units that are constructed on public and private lands (without permission and consent by rights owners) by urban poor whose housing and sheltering needs could not be met by central and local authorities. They are rapid and immediate type of housing units which are mostly constructed at one night and that is why they are called "gecekondu" ("gece" means "night" in English and "kondu" refers to "construction building". In overall it means "constructed at night").

Table 10.1 Urbanization, mobility and migration patterns in Turkey

Period	Urbanization	Mobility pattern	Urban planning practice	Governance regime
1923–1950	Urbanization of the state	Rural to urban (unchained rural workforce—economic in-migration)	– Modernist urbanization – Expropriation of land for urbanization by state	– Central government in power and local government as branches of central government
1950–1980	Urbanization of labour power	Rural to urban (push–pull factors; rural–urban)	– Urbanization of rural migrants – Squatter (informal/illegal) settlements in inner city	– Central government in power – Municipalities with political capacity (1970s)
1980–2002	Urbanization of capital	Rural to urban Urban to urban Forced migration	– Market-led neoliberal urbanization – Exchange value introduced into the system (transformation of squatters into formal housing) – Coexistence of exchange and use values	– Public and private – Rise of local governments
2002+	Urbanization of polity	Rural to urban Urban to rural Urban to urban Intra-local forced migration (dispossession) Syrian refugees	– State-led neoliberal urbanization (territorially stretched to whole country) – Urban rent and construction sector as a driving force in national economic policy – Exchange value central to urbanization – urban rent–gentrification	– Entrepreneurial state – Public, private, NGOs – Global, supranational, national, regional, provincial, local authorities

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of political parties as "urban voters". Amnesty laws of 1973 and 1975 drafted by subsequent (central) governments of rival parties (also known as Ecevit and Demirel laws, respectively) indicate that those in-migrants' political significance remarkably increased to turn them into *game changers* in national politics. A similar effect of this rural to urban mobility could be observed in local politics, too. The left municipalism of Ecevit's Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi—CHP) targeted the gecekondu populations, ultimately leading the party to win all metropolitan centres in the local elections of 1973 and 1977, boosting the party's strength in national politics, too. Leftist mayors of the party proved that municipalities could perform a significant role in service delivery, especially to the urban poor, and thereby brought local governments to the centre of politics (Şengül [2001] 2009; Bayırbağ 2013).

Rise of local governments (and metropolitan municipalities in particular), as a key component of the current scalar structure of the state, has its roots in this long-lasting march from "rural to urban" of the 1950–1980 period (Bayırbağ 2013). While urban planning as a policy instrument remained in the hands of the central government during this period, the challenges faced by the municipalities compelled them to establish their planning teams and offices. Given public ownership of the squatter land and the political orientation of the RPP, *use value* of the urban land played a more critical role in informing the planning efforts of the metropolitan municipalities.

1980–2000 The bottom-up urbanization of the preceding period and the resultant left-oriented response to this phenomenon by the municipalities came to an end in 1980. Following the failure of the import substitution policies and economic crises of the 1970s, the military coup of 1980 facilitated an abrupt transition to a neoliberal regime of growth (Boratav 2015). Market-led urbanization prioritizing the construction sector (housing and infrastructure), along with a few others, played a key role in the economic revival strategy of the central governments. Increased planning powers of (metropolitan) municipalities facilitated the *urbanization of capital* (Balaban 2008). Squatter areas became a focus of attention, in that regard. They provided a fertile ground for construction capital to flourish. And given their past as sources of *political disorder*—housing socialist groups challenging the order during the 1960s and 1970s—those areas were to be tamed. Turning those semi-rural/semi-urban, rather chaotic informal settlements of in-migrants into orderly formal urban neighbourhoods would be possible by letting construction capital to enter into those areas. By selling the public land to the occupants (to whom illegally occupied the land before), the principle of private property was introduced into the squatter areas. Urban plans prepared for these settlements boosted the urban rent, thereby increasing the development rights for those newly established *private properties*. Developers and property owners became partners in this business. The owner would allow the developer to start construction on the property, and the developers were to finance the construction process themselves—with zero cost to the land owner. Once construction process had been completed, the partners were to share the benefits accruing from selling the housing units constructed. This arrangement helped bribing the squatter owners into the neoliberal regime of urbanization, leading them to lend their political support to a new generation of politicians—the neoliberal ones (Bayırbağ 2013; Şengül 2009).

Table 10.2 Internal mobility pattern of Turkey, 1975–2000

	Urban to urban (%)	Rural to urban (%)	Urban to rural (%)	Rural to rural (%)	Total
1975–1980	48.90	17.02	19.33	14.75	100
1985–1990	62.18	17.95	12.60	7.27	100
1995–2000	57.80	17.46	20.06	4.68	100

TÜİK (2018)

The in-migration process, however, did not stop in 1980. In fact, large-scale infrastructure investments by the central and local governments, concentration of capital and public services into metropolitan cities and the resultant expansion of job opportunities (especially in the service sector) increased regional disparities and resulted in internal mobilities in two dominant forms: *rural to urban* and *urban to urban* (from less developed cities to metropolitan ones). As Yamak and Yamak (1999) argue, there is a positive correlation between migration and income level: the higher the income disparities, the more the migration wave from less developed to developed regions/cities. As Çelik (2007) put forward Marmara region had the highest share of income (36.5%) in Turkey and thus faced the highest share of in-migration (7.1%) in 1990, while south-eastern Anatolian region had the lowest share in income (5.3%) and faced severe out-migration (−2.7%).

Besides regional economic disparities, increasing terror in eastern cities of Turkey triggered mobility to western parts of Turkey with respect to security concerns via forced displacement of rural population there by the government. Therefore, the 1980–2000 period was characterized by a dual mobility pattern: besides the *rural to urban* mobility, *urban to urban* mobility (from less developed to developed cities) became the other dominant form of mobility in Turkey (see Table 10.2).

The migrants of this period were not as lucky as those of the previous period. They became captives of "rotating poverty" (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu 2001). First, free public land to invade for cheap sheltering had become increasingly scarce for newcomers—and also the chance of wealth transfer (given to the first generation of immigrants) had become limited. Besides, the urban-rent-based urbanization strategy had increased housing prices/rents, and other costs of living, thereby increasing the survival costs for the newcomers. The jobs created by a fast-growing service sector, however, were relying on cheap informal labour. The result was a radical deepening of poverty in metropolitan cities. Apparently, the urban planning practice of the period had a negative impact on the lives of the new in-migrants, while the broader economic growth strategy of the central government was spatially enforcing them to fall into this trap.

Increasing mobilities from eastern to western cities and their unbearable costs to urban processes were far beyond that local governments could handle. Thus, central government got into action and introduced three important national-level projects to minimize economic disparities between regions and to resettle peace in eastern cities which in turn would hopefully preclude east–west mobility. These

projects were Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP)—1989, Return to Village and Rehabilitation Project (RVRP)—1994 and Köykent Project—1969–2001 (including two regions Western Black Sea and Eastern Anatolia). All these projects highlighted the importance of rural development to minimize the push factors of rural areas that result in massive influxes to developed parts of the country. However, they failed to address the problems in migrant-receiver cities in terms of the increasing pressure on urban fabric and social relations.

2002–present In fact, this last stage is informed by the logic of the preceding period in that urban space has still constituted the focus of attention on capital accumulation. Yet, under the Justice and Development Party rule (2002–present) this policy has been deepened and stretched across the country to incorporate newly emerging metropolitan centres and non-metropolitan settlements into the accumulation process. Associated policy measures and administrative reforms have woven the whole country into a rather tightly knit territorial entity as the spatial mobility of domestic populations gained speed, thereby completing the urbanization process of the society. Spreading an urban-centred accumulation strategy across the whole country—with a harsh neglect of the rural—has gone hand in hand with massive investments into infrastructure networks (Internet, road networks, airports, etc.) leading the population to further flock into major urban centres across the country, while the urbanized citizens' movements among those centres also accelerated. In the meantime, neoliberal sectoral reforms contributed to transformation of the urban populations into *neoliberal subjects* as it has become increasingly difficult to survive in the midst of a rather "Homo homini lupus" urban political economy.

Aforementioned processes have been governed through an authoritarian neoliberal mode of policy-making where formal instruments of governance have been employed along with a wide portfolio of informal networks—established/directed/influenced by the Justice and Development Party—as a policy implementation mechanism (in social policy, for instance). The scalar framework of governance has been stretched both upwards and downwards via administrative decentralization reforms and active engagement with supranational/global governance arrangements (the EU, global cooperations and agreements) and international politics. In this context, the lines between *local politics* and *national politics*, as well as the ones between *global/international politics* and *national politics*, have become blurred (as in the case of Syrian affairs). As a result, urban governance in Turkey has ultimately become a field where political decisions are taken and policies are pursued by authorities/actors from various scales clash and interact.

In this context, urban planning played a key role in deepening the capital accumulation practice of the preceding period. Especially in the metropolitan cities, via an active collaboration with the central government, local governments initiated large-scale gentrification and renewal projects in inner-city/deprived areas (Öktem-Ünsal 2015), where disadvantaged and immigrant/refugee groups have been settled. Targeting their *private properties*, such planning efforts actively contributed to dispossession of lower-/lower-middle-income groups while displacing them to the outskirts of the metropolitan cities. The central government facilitated this process by passing a

wave of laws,[4] while also giving a further boost to urbanization of capital through its Mass Housing Agency's projects in the metropolitan cities across the country. The result has been an explosive expansion of metropolitan areas, thus increasing the intra-local/micro-local mobility of urban populations. The cost of transportation has remarkably increased, especially for the poor urban citizens as the distance between their places of living and work has increased at an accelerating rate. The cost of survival in the urban areas has reached new heights. Despite the Justice and Development Party's effective—and yet neoliberal-populist—social policy measures implemented at both national and local scales, ever-deepening urban poverty in Turkey has been characterized by new challenges for households in a way to affect family dynamics, child labours, women in workforce, etc. (Bayırbağ and Penpecioğlu 2017; Bayırbağ et al. 2018; Kara 2016). When the Syrian refugees arrived in Turkey, this was the picture they were to emplace themselves into.

10.4 Refugee Problem and New Challenges for Urban Planning in Turkey

10.4.1 One Problem, Many Responses

The history of mobility and urbanization in Turkey, so far, bears important points to take into account for the governance of Syrian Refugee Crisis. Like rural migrants of the 1960s, Syrian newcomers have to engage in urban economy, job market, cultural relations, etc., and they have to face the processes of integration, exclusion or inclusion due to their articulation to urban processes and social relations. Moreover, local authorities have to address the needs and expectations of newcomers while dealing with increasing population pressures on urban fabric and redistribution mechanisms. However, we cannot claim that the refugee crisis is a pure local crisis. As discussed in the preceding sections, motives, effects and outcomes of mobilities are multiscalar, multidimensional where all these dimensions are cut across by the urban phenomenon and become intertwined.

Examining the multiscalar nature of Syrian Refugee Crisis helps us to locate the issue in its proper context regarding urban planning. For Turkish case, Syrian mobility and its results for urban planning processes shall be analysed on three levels: international, national and local (urban and neighbourhood level) (Table 10.3).

[4]2004—Law No. 5216 (paving the way for development in rural areas); 2005—Law No. 5366 (paving the way for urban renewal in historical areas, protected areas); 2005—Law No. 5393 (competences for local governments to develop urban renewal projects to rebuilt old areas and areas in risk; to provide space for new housing and industrial projects); 2010—Changes in Article 73 in Law No. 5393 (local governments have the right to develop urban renewal projects even in unimproved lands <imarsız alan>); 2011—Decree-Law No. 644 and 648 (Ministry of Urbanization and Environment with competences of developing and applying urban renewal, urgent expropriation, etc.); and 2012—Law No. 6306 (urban renewal in risk areas, reconstruction of buildings in risk).

Table 10.3 Dimensions and challenges of Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey

International scale	Border crossing and border security Legal and illegal ways of mobility International treaties Massive migration
National scale	Border security, tackling illegal mobility, terror concerns Camps versus urban areas Public services for refugees Temporary protection versus refugee status Assimilation versus integration (recognition of refugees) Employment and labour policies
Local scale (urban)	Problems of integration and exclusion Access to local services and redistribution mechanisms Engaging local job market Housing problem Recognition by local authorities Use of public spaces
Local scale (neighbourhood)	Daily social relations, cultural exchange Micro-economies, household economy, job market Network relations Tensions among natives and refugees Use of public spaces

Prepared by the authors

10.4.2 International and National Challenges of Syrian Mobility for Urban Planning

International dimension of issue refers to treaties between countries in terms of distribution of Syrians among countries, their status, duration of stay, resettlement to a third country, etc. For Turkey, negotiations and treaties with European Union have upmost importance for international governance of the crisis. Negotiations revolve around ensuring border security and protection, tackling illegal migration, minimizing the risk of terror, providing basic services. National dimension of the crisis is also critical to understand how Syrian mobility is recognized and managed in Turkey, since the legal status of Syrians and main policies to tackle the outcomes of crisis are to be developed at this scale. Especially, policies regarding Syrians' engagement to job market seem quite important at the national scale, since these policies could affect wage policies, working conditions, social security, illegal working processes which might in turn lead to increasing tensions in society (among natives and refugees), if not properly designed. Moreover, the fact that Syrians are spreading out the whole country in huge numbers bears important questions on national identity, security and well-being.

Syrian newcomers were not granted the status of "conditional refugee" or "refugee". With respect to geographical refrainments that put on Geneva Convention—1951 and 1967 Protocol, Turkey only grants refugee status for those coming

from Europe continent. For that reason, Syrians in Turkey are sometimes called "immigrants" rather than "refugees" in the Turkish literature. *By Law on Foreigners and International Protection* (Law No. 6458—the first asylum law—2014), Syrian newcomers were legally recognized as the ones *under temporary protection*. (In this study, to keep up with the European literature, we refer Syrian newcomers to "refugees" despite the fact that they are not legally recognized as refugees in Turkish legislation.) The law introduced the legal framework to manage emigration and covered topics as entry–exit conditions for foreigners, residence permits, deportation processes, asylum applications, etc. Law also introduced Directorate General of Migration Management (Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü) to take over the competences of Security General Directorate (Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü), to address emigration at one hand, to manage cooperation among agents and to tackle illegal migration, human smuggling, etc. (Demirhan and Aslan 2015). In line with Law No. 6458*, Temporary Protection Regulation* (2014) introduced the conditions for Syrian refugees to benefit from basic services including health, education, employment. *Regulation No. 2016/8375* regarding the work permits under temporary protection (2016) introduced legal grounds for the employment of Syrian refugees. According to regulation, 6 months after their registration under temporary protection, Syrians may apply for work permit. However, quotas and special conditions were also introduced. Not all jobs in all sectors are available for Syrians. They can only apply for jobs in cities that they were registered in. In that sense, it is likely to say that Syrian worker mobility is somehow limited and controlled. However, the level of illegal employment is increasing and it is estimated that around one million Syrian illegal workers are in Turkish job market by 2017 (t24.com).

In short, national responses to Syrian Refugee Crisis touch upon issues on surface such as border protection and provision of basic services with respect to immigrant/refugee rights. However, policies and strategies regarding how Syrians can survive in a new geography or how sociocultural and economic tensions among natives and refugees could be solved are not properly addressed. Syrians are still seen as *guests* under temporary protection and their engagement to job market, network relations, daily life; housing and social aid mechanisms, etc., are somehow neglected in policy-making. Moreover, Syrians' internal mobility is not fully recognized in policies in terms of mobilities from camps to urban areas and urban areas to metropolitan areas. Thus, the main question regarding the local implications of Syrian Refugee Crisis is highly associated with internal mobility of Syrians and the concentration of populations (problems) in specific urban areas.

10.4.3 Local Challenges of Syrian Mobility for Urban Planning

According to GIGM (Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü—Directorate General of Migration Management) and UNHCR statistics, Turkey hosts 3,542,250 refugees by 2

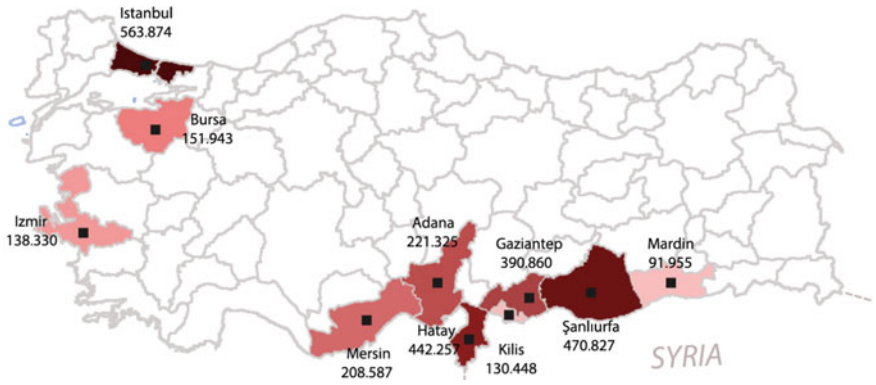

Fig. 10.1 Top ten destinations of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Reproduced by the authors based on GIGM (2018)

August 2018 and only 5.83% of them prefer to live in camps (22 camps in 10 provinces), while the majority 94.17% is spread out the whole country. Among 81 provinces in Turkey, Istanbul ranks at the top as the most destined province by Syrian refugees (563,874) and is followed by Şanlıurfa (470,827), Hatay (442,257), Gaziantep (390,860). As seen in Fig. 10.1, refugees have been concentrated in cities close to Syria border and metropolitan cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Bursa that give us clues about the locational preferences of refugees.

Refugee settlements in cities close to Syria border are quite foreseeable since national aids, public and community services have been channelled to these cities by public authorities. However, increasing Syrian population in metropolitan areas may be explained through refugees' intention to remain close to job opportunities, health and education services where their chance of survival is relatively higher. A similar argument can be derived from the distribution of Syrian population in metropolitan areas as in Istanbul.

Figure 10.2 shows how Syrian population in Istanbul is gradually concentrating in inner-city areas rather than peripheries (map was produced from district-level data reported in Marmara Belediyeler Birliği 2017). Refugees in Istanbul seem to prefer to settle in inner-city areas, especially in European side (left-hand side of Bosphorus in Fig. 10.2), where service sector is relatively developed, where public services and job opportunities are abundant and qualified and where housing and services are relatively affordable when compared to Anatolian side (right-hand side in Fig. 10.2). Moreover, in terms of social relations, refugees prefer to live in areas where former rural in-migrants have already settled and built their own networks, and where society is diverse and cosmopolite in a way to contribute to their adaptation to urban way of living.

The challenge here is not only the increasing concentration of Syrians in some specific metropolitan areas, but also rather how they engage in neoliberal place-making (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2016). Syrians' emplacement in urban areas somehow

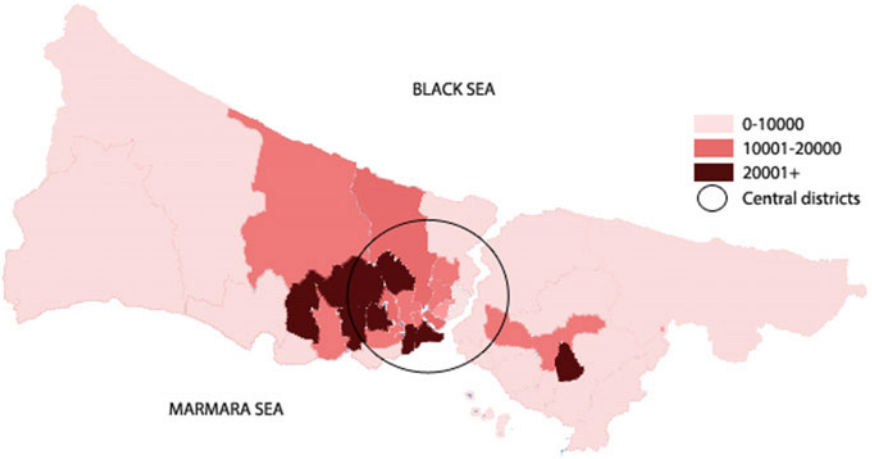

Fig. 10.2 Distribution of Syrian refugees in Istanbul. Reproduced by the authors based on Marmara Belediyeler Birliği 2017

resembles the production of urban space in the 1960s when rural to urban mobility reached its peak. Syrian refugees, just as rural–urban migrants, have preferred to settle in metropolitan areas—especially in outskirts and/or inner-city areas—where they could afford to live. They also prefer areas where their relatives or friends had been already settled and where they could relatively engage social networks to access to job market and public services. Concentration of refugees/immigrants in particular areas put huge pressure on urban infrastructure, housing stock and job opportunities available. Moreover, the amount and extent of public resources and services could not increase at the same pace with the increase in refugee/immigrant population. Scarcity of resources and uncontrolled refugee/immigrant concentration in specific urban areas result in fierce competition among natives–refugees and within refugee groups to reach out housing, job market and public services.

For urban economy, refugee/immigrant influx seems to bring advantages and disadvantages at the same time. Employees seem happy with the excess workforce to be employed in low-wage jobs with no social security, due to increasing competition for jobs. Similarly, property owners especially in inner-city decayed urban areas (with poor infrastructure and architecture) seem to enjoy increasing rents due to scarcity of affordable housing. However, on the other side of the coin, the majority of natives and refugees have to face the costs of rapid and uneven population concentration in urban areas. Especially, the increasing competition for jobs, housing and public services result in increasing tensions among natives and refugees/immigrants that lead to social exclusion and discrimination practices in the long run.

For urban daily life and cultural relations, refugees/immigrants may be seen both as *assets* to embrace multiculturalism and as threats to social order, security and national/local values. Based on this duality, the question of whether to adopt integration or assimilation as leading approaches in policy-making is crucial in (re)shaping

social relations in the society. Since newcomers bring their own cultures, languages, habits and way of living from their hometowns, especially in European countries, *integration* is mostly seen necessary for newcomers who are to grant citizenship soon or to be settled for long years to facilitate their living and communication with natives as well as to adapt institutional, legal and cultural norms (Chamber of City Planners 2017). However, for Turkish case, how can we argue the integration of Syrians is extremely needed, when Syrians are seen as guests and are not granted a refugee or asylum seeker status? If they are guests under temporary protection, to what extent it is logical to expect their integration to Turkish society and institutions?

Again, in terms of cultural relations, as Özdemir (2017) argues, ethnic, cultural and religious similarities play a great deal in determining inclusive social relations, whereas linguistic differences and different religious practices are more likely to end up with exclusion and discrimination against refugees/immigrants. Thus, it is likely to claim that there are differentiated attitudes towards Syrians in Turkey. In broader sense, Turkish people sympathize Turkmenians at most, while Kurdish people sympathize Syrian Kurdish population and Yezidis favour Alevis, etc. (Özdemir 2017). For that reason, ethnic and cultural clustering is taking place in metropolitan areas of Turkey in which routine of daily relations, networking and use of public spaces differ.

Another challenge of refugee crisis on urbanization is Syrians' internal mobility with respect to housing, working and social activities. Syrians may not always work or socialize in the same district that they were registered in. It is getting hard to track their mobility and determine the patterns of use of public spaces. Similarly, it is hard to map where illegal working and mendicity are concentrated, and thus, it is hard to develop effective labour policies. Static zoning of refugee/immigrant groups with respect to districts/neighbourhoods that they are registered in and regarding Syrians as a homogeneous group have become useless approaches to understand the societal effects of refugee influx in cities, since individual preferences and complex mobility patterns determine the daily practices.

As far as discussed, at the urban/local scale, we are dealing with not only *purely urban issues* (i.e. access to local services, use of public spaces, etc.) but also issues transferred from upper scales that have become intertwined in urban processes (economic, political, cultural issues). In other words, we may argue that mobility-driven problems have become urbanized basing on two facts:

- Transfer and concentration of economic, social and cultural issues to urban areas from upper scales regarding the engagement of refugees/immigrants to housing, competitive job market, processes of accumulation by dispossession, etc.
- Overpopulation/concentration of Syrian refugees in specific metropolitan areas in a way to affect urbanization practices, design of redistribution mechanisms, social and cultural relations.

Based on the above discussion, we may now evaluate how local governments in Turkey responded to refugee crisis. However, we have to remind that impacts of Syrian Refugee Crisis on urban processes cannot be fully examined only by looking at recent processes. Just as rural in-migrants of the 1960s, Syrian refugees may now

be the new *game changers* and thus become political subjects who may have the power to radically alter rent-oriented urbanization policies of polity. Because, Syrian refugees have become *the new captives of rotating poverty* who have relatively limited chances of survival under neoliberal urbanism (in which urban poverty is ever-deepening and in which the cost of affording an urbanized life is dramatically increasing). The challenge here is more striking. Recognition/engagement of immigrants in old-fashioned redistribution mechanisms is far difficult than the 1960s, when we take into account the social costs of the recognition of Syrians as new *urban citizens*. Cultural and linguistic barriers as well as increasing xenophobia due to competition for scarce sources bring along new discussions on how urban planning should respond to urbanized social and politicized problems. Syrian refugees as urban citizens also put huge pressures on the restructuring of redistribution processes. For now, redistribution mechanisms seem to be designed to compensate the material losses (in neoliberal order) in the form of social aids that are mostly granted through informal networks. The question is how and/or to what extent such informal redistribution mechanisms can be sustained against rapidly increasing urban populations.

10.4.4 Local Governance of Syrian Mobility: Reflections on Istanbul Case

The role, competences and tools of local governments regarding national migration management are not properly defined in legal documents including Law on Foreigners and International Protection (Law No. 6458). The only statement mentioning local governments in Law No. 6458 (Article 104 (2)) is that "*The Directorate General is authorised to ensure cooperation and coordination with public institutions and agencies, universities, local governments, non-governmental organisations, and private and international organisations in relation to its duties*". However with respect to recent changing social pattern in cities, local governments should have a leading role, rather than a cooperative one. Since central authorities fail to touch upon physical, social and economic outcomes of refugee influx and since all scalar and multidimensional outcomes of international and internal mobility of Syrians are horizontally cut by urban level, local governments should get in the action to address societal effects of refugee crisis.

In the absence of legal documents outlining the competences of local authorities, municipalities have grounded their services on Law No 5393 (Municipal Law) and Law No. 5216 (Greater City Municipality Law) despite the fact that there are no direct competences and responsibilities given to municipalities in migration management. Accordingly, municipalities seem to focus on *social aid mechanisms* and include Syrian refugees among vulnerable and disadvantaged groups to whom they are responsible to serve. As Demirhan and Aslan (2015) argue, lacking binding and legally defined responsibilities result in arbitrary practices of municipalities that are

partial, insufficient and vague in addressing the societal effects of refugee crisis. Moreover, since no monetary transfers from centre to municipalities are made and no special funding mechanism is introduced yet, some municipalities are reluctant to get into action.[5] ORSAM and TESEV (2015) put forward that refugees cause extra costs around at least 10% on budgets of municipalities.

As an example, municipalities in Istanbul address Syrian refugees' urgent and basic needs by including them to their social aid mechanisms. Since direct monetary aids are forbidden, municipalities provide clothing, coal for heating, foodstuff, cleaning supplies, shopping checks, free birth and funeral services for registered Syrians and/or organize aid campaigns to help them (Demirhan and Aslan 2015; Chamber of City Planners 2017). In particular, Esenyurt Municipality established immigration liaison office in 2013 to distribute social aid (heating and food at most) and to address education (a special school for refugee children) and health needs of refugees. Sultanbeyli Municipality and Avcılar Municipality created a database to collect/categorize the needs of Syrians in order to channel funds and donations. Avcılar, Beşiktaş and Beykoz municipalities provide clothing, cleaning supplies, daily food, coal for heating to address basic needs. Beyoğlu Municipality gives electronic shopping cards with a monthly limit. Şişli Municipality established immigration office to develop projects in coordination with international and local NGOs. For example, in collaboration with municipalities (and sometimes unaided) NGOs such as Caritas, International Organization for Migration (IOM), International Medical Corps (IMC), Tarlabaşı Community Center (Tarlabaşı Toplum Merkezi) provide language courses, psychological guidance and translation services and cover basic clothing, cleaning and food supplies for Syrians.

Despite increasing pressures on urban fabric and redistribution mechanisms, local governments fail to reflect upon the deteriorated urban infrastructure that can no longer bear increasing population pressure, increasing tensions among natives and refugee/immigrant groups that are clear-cut in workplaces, neighbourhoods, public spaces due to unjust redistribution mechanisms and increasing competition for scarce resources and services. Moreover, they fail to address socio-spatial polarization and ethnic ghettoization that are ever-deepening with respect to social and economic exclusion of Syrians by natives. Lack of resources, competences and tools to address Syrian mobility and challenging responsibilities of local governments result in partial and short-term solutions (especially in the form of social aid including food, sheltering, heating and language courses) for refugee crisis that is increasingly becoming a highly politicized planning problem.

[5]Due to the fact that municipality budgets are legally determined with respect to the registered Turkish citizens within the municipal borders, any additional funding or financial support to be allocated for Syrians is not applicable. Moreover, since temporary protection status does not grant Syrians the right to vote in national and local elections, municipalities may act reluctant to care about refugee issue.

10.5 Concluding Discussion

In sum, governance of refugee crisis is both a territorial and a scalar issue. And as this human mobility is to be formulated as a multiscalar urban planning problem, the attention should inevitably turn from a preoccupation with *fixed objects* to be intervened with (physical space, such as ghettos neighbourhoods, urban renewal or physical infrastructure) to *mobile subjects* to work with, as spatial mobility of the migrants/refugees is informed by survival motivations and the strategies/tactics they develop for such purposes. For instance, we could redefine the problem of "security" through taking into account the spatial mobility of Syrian beggar children and people collecting papers and their interactions with the rest of the society. We could re-evaluate property market and its dynamics with respect to new pricing mechanisms after the influx of Syrians in certain neighbourhoods. In a similar vein, we may trace the spatial mobility of different income groups that is accelerated by rapid increasing housing rents and purchase prices. We may trace the mobility of Syrians who are in seek of cheap and proper sheltering against increasing housing prices, etc. Overall, to grasp these new mobility dynamics in metropolitan cities we should go beyond the limits of "methodological naturalism" as Barberis and Pavolini (2015) point out.

Although the concept of *emplacement* points the finger at survival strategies and their effects on social relations, there is a need to develop a more refined understanding of the spatiality of these strategies and tactics so as to better inform the spatial/urban planning efforts targeting this problem. It is true that refugees/immigrants ultimately embed themselves into a "place" (country/region/city/neighbourhood) as "subjects". Yet, the story starts much earlier, when the migrants/refugees decide to leave their original place of residence. Movement from that particular locality to the final destination is a broader story of mobility to be considered by urban/spatial planning efforts. Of course, various spatial patterns of mobility could be traced across scales with respect to individual stories, but the example below briefly summarizes Syrians' spatial tendencies on their way to Turkey. This spatial story involves a series of consecutive and sometimes repetitive steps: displacement—escape/jumping over the barriers and arrival—search for a place to settle and then settling.

If the sort of mobility mentioned above is to be intervened with, a multiscalar perspective of migration/mobility governance is to be adopted. Territorial movements of those subjects cut across governance measures taken by authorities established at different scales. Different phases of the mobility have differing scalar policy implications affecting the success/failure of another. Let us take the example of a refugee family fleeing from a war-torn country.

Family decides to move to another country (country B) or initially to another city within boundaries of the same country, due to the war taking place within national borders of "country A"—a decision made due to the *national policies/politics of "country A"*.

Family travels to the border between countries A and B and faces barriers set by international politics (disagreements/agreements between those two countries) and refugee policies governed by international agreements and/or pursued by global

authorities/NGOs: border crossing (and/or required transition period) thus becomes a matter of *international/global policy/politics.*

Family, in its search for a locality to settle, moves within the national borders of country B. This movement is shaped/informed by *national and intra-national policies/politics* (such as internal security policies, humanitarian efforts, social aid policies, past economic policies of national/local governments turning certain localities into attractive locations for refugee families, ethnic/political attitudes of the host communities of alternative destinations).

Once that family reaches a locality to settle, they have to find a district/neighbourhood to settle and start a new life. Local housing market, availability of infrastructure and social/public services, the presence of refugee networks, distance from potential places of work/enterprize, etc., influence that decision and tactics/strategies pursued by that family. *Local policies pursued by local and central governments as well as dynamics of local politics in that city/locality* play a central role here.

Family members begin to develop/pursue their survival strategies/tactics in that city/locality by engaging with micro-local socio-economic and political networks (formal and informal) of resource allocation and welfare (re)distribution. The processes of (dis)possession and exploitation involved in these processes are inevitably spatial and mobile in nature—such as sending kids to road intersections for beggary, garbage collection for recyclable materials, search for cheap travel alternatives to workplaces and looking for/renting a shop to start business. These strategic/tactical engagements and resultant encounters are shaped by micro-local power relations such as mafia, interventions by local politicians and religious networks. Thus, enter *(micro) local politics and local government policies*.[6]

By employing a multiscalar lens, thus, it becomes possible to see how different phases of territorial mobility and associated problems/policy responses are differing for authorities established at different scales, while how one problem/opportunity emerging at a given scale shapes the survival process in others. In those regards, addressing challenges of human mobility in general, and the migrant/refugee issue in particular, should be seen as a multiscalar governance problem.

Urban planning as a key instrument of (urban) governance, to summarize, faces four challenges as the migrant/refugee question is addressed: (1) unpacking the cumulative impact of problems/policy measures in urban space so as to detect the territorial and scalar roots of these problems/measures; (2) coordinating spatial/urban planning efforts undertaken at various scales of governance to come with more comprehensive (multisectoral/territorial/scalar) and efficient policy solutions; (3) adoption of a relational method of analysis: formulating the policy problems to be addressed as mobility problems, and thus collect data and conduct spatial analysis accordingly—leaving aside that classical preoccupation with fixities, such as *ghetto neighbourhoods*; (4) and finally shifting the focus of attention *from passive objects* to *active subjects* as urban plans are prepared and implemented.

[6]An earlier version of this analytical take on mobility and the example given was introduced in Bayırbağ (2016).

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Chapter 11
Integrating the Resilience Perspective into the Turkish Planning System: Issues and Challenges

Deniz Altay Kaya

Abstract Within the last decade, resilience has become both a major planning framework and a development goal for cities and regions facing a plethora of problems in different fields and at different scales. This chapter aims to identify the challenges that await governments when they integrate a resilience thinking framework into their planning systems. The chapter first provides a short explanation on the significance of resilience planning and then outlines a structural model for incorporating the social, economic, political, and institutional requirements in resilience thinking in city and regional planning. Next, the chapter provides a short analysis of the Turkish planning system to reveal its inherent problems and the issues that are likely to be most challenging in a shift towards resilience planning. Finally, based on the provided analyses, the chapter provides a critical discussion on the challenges in operationalizing resilience planning in the Turkish context. The findings reveal that there is a need for restructuring especially in Turkey's institutional and legislative framework to improve coordination and cooperation, to assure the use of scientific knowledge within the decision-making processes, and to actualize the praxes of participation and engaged governance.

Keywords Resilience thinking · Resilience planning · Engaged governance

11.1 Introduction: The Resilience Perspective and Urban and Regional Planning

As the world deals with a multiplying and intensifying spectrum of problems, resilience thinking is attracting increasing attention. Central and local administrations, national and international organizations, and civil society refer to resilience in their plans, policies, and strategies at an accelerating rate. The current usage of "resilience" covers various definitions from different disciplines (ecology, social sci-

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ences, psychology, planning) and refers to the set of characteristics that provide a system the ability to cope with change without losing its structure, keeping options for development open, and learning from past and present experiences when facing external or internal disturbances and stresses that may influence the system at different scales. (Adger 2000; Baud and Hordijk 2009; Nelson et al. 2007; Resilience Alliance 2007; Walker et al. 2006, 2004).

Resilience is now a keyword in policies on contemporary urban and regional problems such as ecological processes, natural disasters, economic crises, wars, terrorism, and forced migration. Examples of resilience planning practices abound globally at all levels of government as well as in international economic, social and humanitarian aid organizations, NGOs, and networks (see 3RP 2017; ICLEI 2018).

Within the context of urban and regional planning, recent studies and discussions highlight the core idea of resilience planning practices as providing durable solutions for cities and regions rather than immediate and short-term answers (Balsari et al. 2015; Gabiam 2016; Gonzales 2016). Hence, resilience seems to be occupying urban and regional planning debates and practices for an increasingly longer time span and can be assumed to be the primary planning approach or paradigm (see Eraydın 2013) of this century.

This chapter aims to develop an explanatory model that reframes the relation between resilience and planning practice and suggests that planning for resilience itself is a determinant of resilience. Such a model provides the necessary steps of incorporating a resilience perspective within the professional practice of urban and regional planning. In parallel, the model reveals the challenges ahead for previously established planning systems, such as Turkey's, in adapting to a resilience-centred urban and regional planning practice.

The Turkish planning system has not yet incorporated resilience thinking into the visions, strategies, and agendas of central and local institutions. The most pressing challenges in Turkey arise from the lack of efficient coordination and management in preparing and implementing plans, reluctance to base decisions and policies on scientific knowledge, the lack of an established and transparent praxis of participation, and the lack of a governance model based on civil engagement.

11.2 Planning for Urban and Regional Resilience

Examining different studies on resilience can result in the following definition: *Resilience incorporates capacities, resources, and abilities that can be mobilized when facing unexpected or expected, external or internal disturbances and stresses, and includes a process through which a system can adapt to and self-organize according to these changing conditions, without any interruption in its functioning.* There is an emphasis in the current resilience literature on restructuring and developing systems for improved adaptability using learning capacities based on gained experiences (see Adger 2000; Baud and Hordijk 2009; Carpenter et al. 2001; Cote and

Nightingale 2012; Holling 1973; Maguire and Cartwright 2008; Meerow et al. 2016; Nelson et al. 2007; Resilience Alliance 2007; Walker et al. 2004, 2006).

The components defining resilience for social-ecological systems (SESs) are similar and as important to conceptualize urban and regional resilience. The planning discipline conceives cities and regions as complex systems with strong spatial and social connotations, as well as ecological, physical, economic, political, and cultural dimensions. The International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, now known as Local Governments for Sustainability (ICLEI), defines a *resilient city* as one that "is prepared to absorb and recover from any shock or stress while maintaining its essential functions, structures, and identity as well as adapting and thriving in the face of continual change" (ICLEI 2018). This chapter asserts that urban and regional resilience aims for three goals: (1) to maintain system functioning in the face of disturbances, (2) to maintain the well-being of system actors in a balanced and equitable way without harming other system components, and (3) to change and develop for future adaptability. *Resilience planning* aims to achieve the above goals by being the main instrument to operationalize resilience strategies. In practice, many institutions today use resilience plans to manage, coordinate, and actualize their short-term and long-term responses to crises such as natural disasters or humanitarian issues.

The twenty-first century is increasingly an era of crisis, change, and challenges. Climate change is making human settlements and societies around the globe more prone to natural disasters (e.g. flooding and fires). Natural processes are becoming harder to predict. Globalization and neoliberalization also bring new processes of change (Eraydın 2013), driving restructurings in political, economic, social, and cultural systems. Humanitarian crises caused by wars and terrorism continue (e.g. the Syrian refugee crisis), as do international political tensions. These situations reveal how cities and societies become subject to shocks and stresses. Further, as the urban population steadily increases, the parallel increase in socio-economic inequalities makes the issue of urban and regional resilience critical (Taşan-Kok et al. 2013).

Processes that shape cities and urban development are multidimensional and operate at different levels and scales. In parallel, planning for cities and regions requires a complex undertaking. Resilience thinking places the ideas of change and unexpectedness at its core and provides theories and instruments for elaborating cities as complex systems (Eraydın and Taşan-Kok 2013). Resilience planning, therefore, has the potential to constitute the basis of a new planning approach, but it should be noted that this framework is not a blanket solution to all problems in communities. Each city and region, every combination of potential disturbances, and all geographical scales of influences must be individually assessed. Every system has different characteristics and specificities, and thus, there is no single formula for resilience that works for all. In addition, because the attributes that provide resilience to systems are singular to each area and to the disturbance faced, a context-specific resilience planning is required.

Many discussions in the literature put the question of *resilience for whom?* and *resilience for what?* at their centre (Carpenter et al. 2001; Cretney 2014; Lebel et al. 2006). Grüneward and Warner (2012) note that what provides resilience in one context may harm it in another. Similarly, the resilience of the part may negatively influence the resilience of the whole (Grüneward and Warner 2012). Moreover, as Taşan-Kok et al. (2013: 48) indicate, the determinants of resilience for each city are also "a function of [the city's] particular evolutionary path and its own capacity for adaptation". All of these indications clarify that resilience planning for each city or region must be conducted independently, with respect to the system context. Planning is one of the only professions that can deal with such complex variables and strategically respond to the problems of each scale.

Resilience is not a natural attribute of systems. It can be enhanced, however, by plan preparation and improvements to the components specific to the system, disturbance, locality, scale, and society. Resilience is henceforth composed of a set of attributes that can be improved and developed through planning. Based on this understanding, planning becomes a major tool through which resilience can be enhanced, and in turn, resilience thinking opens up new terrain for the development of the planning profession.

This chapter maintains that there is a particular relation between planning and resiliency. Within the massive amount of the literature aiming to measure the resilience of human settlements and communities against various disturbances, there is little work that discusses the role of planning for a system's resilience. Recent works on the practical implications of the resilience discourse (e.g. Wagenaar and Wilkinson 2015; Chmutina et al. 2016) analyse the ways in which public institutions achieve resilience for their cities or regions vis-à-vis identified risks and threats. Planning is the major instrument for analysing, designing, and managing the road to resilience. This chapter, therefore, argues that planning for resilience is itself a constitutional component of resiliency.

Beatley (2009) shows that resilience is above all determined by a system's physical (built environment and land use), economic, social, and environmental attributes, resources, and capacities). In addition to this set of more tangible determinants, governance and participation (Berkes and Ross 2013; Lebel et al. 2006; Nelson et al. 2007; Pelling 2003; Ross et al. 2010), knowledge and information (Buikstra et al. 2010; Norris et al. 2008; Ross et al. 2010; Paton et al. 2001a, b), and institutions (Adger 2000; Berkes and Ross 2013; Nelson et al. 2007) are other important determinants of resilience that are highly mentioned in the literature. This second set of determinants relates mostly to the coordination and management of the resilience planning process. All the mentioned determinants contribute to the system's performance—positively or negatively—against disturbances.

Resilience also requires a process-based understanding, where (1) risk perception (Altay Kaya and Eraydın 2013; Marshall 2010, 2007; Paton et al. 2001a, b), (2) strategy development (Blaikie et al. 1994; Scoones 2005; Maguire and Cartwright 2008; Bradley and Grainger 2004), and (3) actualized responses compose the process through which a system copes with a faced disturbance. How well these steps are

performed shows the level of a system's resilience. Ainuddin and Routray (2012) develop a community resilience framework that identifies similar sequential events in the course of achieving resilience: (1) potential impacts, (2) system vulnerability, (3) risk perception, and (4) resilience as the outcome.

Approaching the issue of resilience as a process (Nelson et al. 2007) composed of interrelated sequential stages exposes the primary fields of intervention—risk perception, strategy development, actualized responses—that are necessary for enhancing resilience. The process approach thus provides a guiding framework for structuring the planning process and its scope. Planning for resiliency should take into consideration knowledge of the above-noted determinants and develop strategies for efficient management and improvement. This practice ties into the resilience planning paradigm in accepting strategic planning approaches.

This chapter suggests a two-faceted approach to studying resilience: (1) measuring the performance of the system, that is, the adaptive capacity of the system and its components, and (2) measuring the efficiency of the planning process, that is, planning ability and efficiency in operationalizing plans. There is a massive amount of empirical study on the first facet: the resilience performance of cities and communities. The following section presents a structural model of explanation and analysis for the second facet of resilience: efficient planning.

11.3 Developing a Structural Model for Resilience Planning

The process of resiliency can be understood as the process through which available risks and opportunities are perceived and dealt with (Altay Kaya and Eraydın 2013); strategies for coping are developed, a disturbance is experienced, immediate responses are manifested, short-term and long-term actions are operationalized, lessons are drawn from experiences, and the perception of potential risks and opportunities is redeveloped. This provides a cyclical understanding of system development, conceptualized as *adaptive cycles* (see Holling 1986, 1992 in Gunderson 2000, Walker et al. 2004, 2006). In a similar understanding, Foster (2007) introduces four stages in her framework for assessing regional resilience: assessment, readiness, response, and recovery. These stages parallel to her definition of regional resilience: "the ability of a region to anticipate, prepare for, respond to and recover from a disturbance" (Foster 2007: 16). The first two stages, assessment and readiness, compose the phase of *preparation resilience*, and the following two stages, response and recovery, compose the *performance resilience* phase (Foster 2007). Between the two phases, the system experiences shock, crisis, or stress. The most valuable contribution of this approach is that resilience as a process is not limited to a specific time period but encompasses actions before and after a disturbance.

Foster's (2007) two-phase and four-stage model also provides a suitable framework for elaborating resilience planning, as planning covers and relates to all four dimensions. While most discussions and studies focus on measuring and improving performance resilience, accepting planning as a constituent of resilience draws equal attention to the preparation phase of resilience.

Lu and Stead (2013) identify six characteristics of resilience based on a synthesis of the resilience indicators available in the literature. These aspects can be used as guiding points for the further configuration of resilience planning: (1) attention to the current situation, (2) attention to trends and future threats, (3) ability to learn from previous experience, (4) ability to set goals, (5) ability to initiate actions, and (6) ability to involve the public.

From the above six characteristics of resilience, two factors stand out: first, the necessity of efficient coordination and management by the administrative actors of the resilience process, which is strongly related to the practice of urban and regional planning, and second, the importance of community involvement within decision-making processes. The literature on social and community resilience proves in many ways the importance of building community capacities through social cohesion (Ainuddin and Routray 2012; Berkes and Ross 2013; Cutter et al. 2008, 2010; Kulig et al. 2008; Mayunga 2007; Norris et al. 2008; Ross et al. 2010), self-organization capacity (Berkes and Ross 2013; Kulig 2000; Kulig et al. 2008; Norris et al. 2008), participation (Lebel et al. 2006; Pelling 2003; Nelson et al. 2007), and engaged governance (Maclean et al. 2014; Ross et al. 2010). Planning for resilience should thus incorporate participatory and collaborative approaches.

The model (below) for resilience planning outlined in this chapter adopts Foster's (2007) stages of resilience and incorporates various strategies, actions, and policies highlighted within the literature. The model lists and suggests various tasks and actions related to the different stages of resilience (see Tables 11.1, 11.2, and 11.3), with three principles operating at the cross section of all suggested activities: (1) communicating with the public, (2) collaborating at different levels, and (3) critically assessing. These principles are the indispensable elements of each stage of resilience planning.

The third principle, *critically assessing*, is based on a major criticism of resilience thinking, which is that the focus on maintaining a system's structure and functioning diverts planned and actualized efforts from critically evaluating the system's shortcomings. This diversion may in turn be contributing to potential risks and threats and prevent the system's administrators from making necessary radical (or otherwise) changes and restructurings.

Table 11.1 Steps of the assessment stage in resilience planning (prepared by the author based on Eraydın and Taşan-Kok, 2013; Foster 2007; Lu and Stead 2013; Taşan-Kok et al. 2010)

Actions/operations	Actions/operations explained
1. Analysing the current situation	Identifying risks, threats, vulnerabilities, system capacities, red tape, thresholds, and constraints; pinpointing the scope of resiliency; developing an accurate perception of the current situation for the community/region
2. Learning	Analysing experiences of the current systems and other systems; incorporating professional knowledge from different disciplines to improve past experiences
3. Making predictions	Predictive scientific analysis around possible system responses: regional trends and patterns of development running predictive models; forecasting; building perceptions of risks and opportunities
4. Determining an appropriate vision for resiliency	Setting priorities; identifying the relevant attributes of resiliency appropriate to context and scale; defining required attitudes and approaches towards risks and opportunities; developing a vision for the future
5. Critically assessing the current situation	Adjusting, improving, and restructuring to avoid crisis emergence and prevent reproducing pre-crisis conditions
6. Communicating with the public	Informing the community about risks, threats, and vulnerabilities; disseminating information on current conditions around what can be expected and what is to be done
7. Collaborating with actors	Collaborating with public, private, and civil actors in a participatory and transparent manner to realize engaged governance
8. Developing resilience plans	Planning for resiliency based on the afore-conducted scientific analyses and engaged governance

11.3.1 The Stages and Proposed Components of Resilience Planning

Assessment Stage The assessment stage greatly contributes to how prepared the system is against disturbances. This stage takes into consideration the context and scales within which the system is embedded, as well as potential disturbances and system characteristics.

The proposed actions for this stage include analysing the current situation; learning from the system's past and present experiences, as well as others' experiences; making predictions; determining the appropriate vision for resiliency; making critical assessments; communicating; collaborating; and, finally, producing the resilience plans (detailed explanations for each action are presented in Table 11.1). The assessment stage is crucial, as it is where most of the preparatory work of planning is conducted, especially around establishing the scientific grounds for the plans.

Table 11.2 Steps of the readiness stage in resilience planning (prepared by the author based on Eraydın and Taşan-Kok, 2013; Foster 2007; Lu and Stead 2013; Taşan-Kok et al. 2010)

Actions/Operations	Actions/Operations explained
1. Readying the resilience plans	Preparing resilience plans focusing on identified issues at the assessment stage developing applicable strategies for achieving resiliency in the community/region
2. Collaborating with actors	Involving various community components and actors within the planning process
3. Readiness	Designing and implementing readiness actions for reducing vulnerabilities, enhancing system capacities, preventing and mitigating crises
4. Restructuring	Daring to change the system before risks and threats repeat
5. Communicating with the Public	Presenting and explaining plans, strategies, policies, and projects to the community

Efficient management and realization of the assessment stage will provide the system with an inventory of potential disturbances, risks, threats, and opportunities; pertinent perception and awareness of the context and situation; identified system characteristics (vulnerabilities and capacities); and the abilities to predict challenges, learn from experience, communicate, collaborate, and ultimately develop an effective resilience plan. These achievements are important inputs for all stages of resilience planning.

In terms of operationalization and instrumentalization, the assessment stage requires (1) effective coordination and management of the planning work, with a competent, professional workforce, inter-institutional collaboration and communication, and decisions based on scientific grounds; (2) effective management of data, information, and knowledge; and (3) a participatory and inclusive approach towards planning.

Readiness Stage The readiness stage aims to prepare the system for potential disturbances (Foster 2007). In this stage, strategies, policies, and tools for resilience are developed and readiness actions are implemented.

As evident from Table 11.2, readiness actions may include anticipatory prevention implementation activities (Nelson et al. 2007), implementing policies for enhancing the capacities of system components (individuals, institutions, and community), projects to reduce vulnerabilities, and system restructuring based on the critical assessments conducted in the previous stage. The scope of readiness actions can be both long term and short term.

Efficient management and realization of the readiness stage will provide the system the necessary robustness (Lu and Stead 2013) in withstanding and responding to shocks, reducing potential damages, and give it a variety of options and resources to be mobilized in response to disturbances. In terms of operationalization and instrumentalization, the assessment stage requires (1) a well-coordinated and transparent

Table 11.3 Steps of the response and recovery stages in resilience planning (prepared by the author based on Eraydın and Taşan-Kok, 2013; Foster 2007; Lu and Stead 2013; Taşan-Kok et al. 2010)

Actions/Operations	Actions/Operations explained
1. Immediate responses	Mobilizing emergency, rescue, and humanitarian aid operations. Relieving the immediate damages through state-led operations. Mobilizing various partnerships in support of these operations. Self-organization of the community, mobilizing social support networks. Immediate responses from actors of all scales including households
2. Short-term interventions	Identifying the needs of the current situation; revising available projects, policies, and strategies to respond to the needs of the current situation. Developing new projects, policies, and strategies to respond to the needs of the current situation. Prioritizing projects
3. Plan, policy, and project implementations	Operationalization of available plans and policies. Implementation of short-term and long-term projects
4. Service delivery in emergency and recovery periods	Delivery of basic needs and resources like shelter, food, sanitation, health, communication, transportation in an effective and equitable way, in conformity with human rights
5. Funds, supports and incentives	Providing funds, support programmes, and incentives for the recovery period
6. Communicating with the public	Informing the society about short- and long-term implementations, projects, and programmes. Communicating and listening to the public to respond to their actual needs
7. Collaborating with actors	Involving different community components and actors in decision-making and implementation processes
8. Critically assessing the current situation and forecasting the future	Making critical assessments about the system in future events; adjustments, improving, and restructuring to avoid repeating mistakes, problems, and crises

process of implementing planning decisions, strategies, and policies and (2) capacity to plan and the ability to set goals (Lu and Stead 2013).

Response and Recovery Stages The response and recovery stage includes actions, operations and projects initialized in response to faced disturbances, within varying time spans from immediate to long-term. With reference to planning, response and recovery stages are where implementing plan strategies, policies, and projects occurs.

The proposed actions for response and recovery are categorized under the titles of immediate responses; short-term interventions; plan, policy and project implementations; service delivery; providing economic support, funding, and incentives; communicating with the public; collaborating; and critical assessment. Details of each action are presented in Table 11.3.

The recovery stage can be viewed as a continuation of the response stage and includes implementing protracted policies and projects for system recovery. These actions are also preventive and can be viewed as investments, instigated by lessons learned from the disturbance. Therefore, the recovery stage includes once again a critical evaluation of the system and of the experienced process to derive changes for the future. With this last component, the adaptive cycle of resilience begins again.

Efficient management and realization in these stages will provide the system with rapid response and recovery abilities (Lu and Stead 2013), such as to diminish damages, reorganize after the disturbance, implement positive change, and critically evaluate the process.

In terms of operationalization and instrumentalization, the response and recovery stages require (1) efficient resource management; (2) collaboration with the community, community capacities, and a praxis of participation; (3) good international relations (if applicable); (4) effective process coordination and management; and (5) an equitable, fair, ethical, and transparent approach to governance.

The model explained above aims to provide insight into the stages and components of resiliency and resilience planning. This approach shows that planning and resilience are intricately related processes, and therefore, effective planning greatly contributes to system resilience. By listing the main stages and components of resilience planning, as well as sets of related actions, this chapter helps identify the key attributes, capacities, and abilities that should be attained by communities' institutional structures. In summary, resilience planning, as structured by this model, requires well-coordinated, effectively managed, scientifically grounded, transparent, inclusive, and equitable planning systems and governance processes.

11.4 The Contemporary Planning Context and the Resilience Approach in Turkey

Adopting resilience thinking into the context of cities and regions, and into planning practices, usually requires a change of perspective on planning theory, practice, and operationalization, as discussed in the previous sections. Any system change can be difficult, and integrating a resilience perspective into a country context can bring additional issues. For example, in the Turkish case, inherent problems in the country's planning system make integrating a resilience perspective that much more challenging.

Until very recently, the concept, theory, and application of resilience thinking have been absent from Turkey's official planning context. Resilience still remains a

field of discussion mainly appropriated by scholars, and even in academia, there is a limited amount of work produced in Turkish. To identify the challenges specific to Turkey, this section explores the issues of the planning environment in Turkey and examines the resilience thinking that does exist within that context.

11.4.1 Challenges in the Turkish Planning Context

Planning in Turkey has undergone major transformations in various political periods. A review of changing urban policies, the legislative framework, and the related creation of the urban environment as the outcome reveals 1980 and 2002 as two major points in the recent history of the Turkish planning system. Understanding the changes experienced during these periods is important for understanding the current problematic structure of the Turkish planning context and, hence, for identifying the challenges that await if a resilience perspective is to be pursued in the country overall.

The first turning point in Turkish planning history was Turkey's coup d'état of 1980 and the introduction of neoliberal policies with subsequent governments. In the 1980s, government policy aimed at integrating Turkey into the globalizing world system (Güzey 2016) and targeted their economic policies to that end. This period is characterized by decentralization and deregulation at the national level that facilitated the creation of an open-market economy (Bayırbağ 2013).

Similarly, local government reform occurred in 1984, which increased the duties and powers of metropolitan municipalities. These reforms included a vast transfer of planning and approval authority to local administrations. Municipalities and mayors became stronger (Bayırbağ 2013), but the state did not relinquish its hegemonic position in the urban space in Turkey (Duyguluer 2012). Conversely, legislative interventions in the 1980s laid the base for urbanization as a rent-generating tool for local and central governments alike (Bayırbağ 2013; Türkün 2011). This inclination intensified in the 1990s through market-supporting reforms (Güzey 2016) and clearing slums and squatter housing for redevelopment projects.

The second turning point in Turkish planning history also began with government change. After coalition governments since the coup, and an economic crisis in 2001, the newly formed Justice and Development Party came to power in 2002. The 2000s in Turkey were characterized by the persistent and intensifying deployment of neoliberal urban policies, with the increasing presence of the state as an economic actor in the urban space through rent-extracting, large-scale urban projects and implementations (Penpecioğlu 2011).

Since 1980, neoliberal thinking had been instrumentalized through extensive restructuring of planning and urban development legislation. Successive law making and amendments contributed to the proliferation of rent extraction, profit maximization, and capital accumulation via the urban space (see Güzey 2016; Türkün 2011; Türkün et al. 2014). Interventions in the legislative framework of planning and urban development both provided the legal supports for these changes and channelled the discourse for their legitimization (Güzey 2016). Moreover, the new legal setting gave exceptional rights to certain authorities, bypassing existing laws and plans, as well as

scientific and technical knowledge. These practices opened up an unrestricted terrain of operation for many projects.

These legislative interventions have resulted in a tangled planning system, which hinders professional practice. Many of the urban development and redevelopment implementations are not grounded in professional or scientific knowledge but rather on the vision and agendas of the policy makers. This neoliberal perspective of economically focused urban policies contradicts with the principles of resilience planning, which are strongly rooted in scientific assessments and based on social concerns such as equity, transparency, inclusivity, and cohesion. Conversely, current urban policies and implemented projects have been criticized for sharpening socio-economic inequalities and socio-spatial segregation (Güzey 2016, Türkün 2011). In addition, both the planning process and plan implementations offer limited opportunity for political representation and participation from the communities they are produced for (Türkün 2011).

11.4.2 Resilience Thinking in Turkey in Relation to Resilience Planning Stages

11.4.2.1 Assessment and Readiness Stages

The assessment and readiness stages of the resilience planning framework presented in this chapter include the major steps of the planning process for cities and regions and comprise preparatory analyses, policy and strategy development, project development, and producing resilience plans. In a country context, the professional practice of planning is determined by government's accepted planning approach and the legal framework regulating the planning process, the latter of which is mainly shaped and conditioned according to the government's vision of planning and urbanization.

National Council on Urbanization In Turkey, one of the most prominent documents setting the vision for and discourse on urbanism and planning at the national level are reports from the "Şehircilik Şurası"—the National Council on Urbanization (NCU)—a committee founded by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (MEU) (decree no. KHK/644, 4.7.2011). As explained in the latest report (MEU 2017), which was derived from a series of meetings in 2017, national councils on urbanization are to guide meetings that support the development of strategic decisions and institution policies and facilitate the realization of investments. The 2017 report's main theme is a "New Vision in Urbanization" and is comprised from the works of four commissions: "Design, Planning and Identity in Our Cities", "Urban Regeneration", "Urbanization, Migration and Cohesion", and "The Place of Local Administrations within the New Vision of Urbanization". The commissions are composed of members from public institutions, private enterprises, NGOs, and academics, and their meetings have therefore a collaborative and interdisciplinary approach. The report, which sets Turkey's current agenda for the field of planning

and urbanization, is introduced as a reference document for ministry employees and all institutions and organizations working in the field of planning, as well as for any other interested parties.

The commission reports (1) present the dominant inclinations and accepted values in global planning; (2) provide an up-to-date and critical analysis of the current situation in Turkey; (3) identify existing problem areas; and (4) suggest recommended areas of study/fields of intervention with respect to their identified themes.

For the purposes of this chapter, the document and related reports of the commissions were examined through a two-step systemic analysis to determine the influence and availability of resilience thinking within the introduced "new" vision for Turkey in urbanization and planning. The first step was a keyword analysis, which sought the use of the word *resilience* within the document. This step aimed to understand in which context the text refers to the concept of resilience. In the second step, traces and influences of *resilience thinking* or the *resilience paradigm* were sought within the proposed fields of intervention.

The analysis shows that, first, there is no clear wording around the concept of resilience. Two words for resilience are used within the document, likely for two reasons: first, because the Turkish literature on resilience is new and inadequate, and second, there is no direct translation of the word *resilience* in Turkish. The Turkish academic literature on resilience translates the concept into two ways: *dirençlilik* and *dayanıklılık*. The first usage means *resistance,* and the second means *endurance*, and neither directly reflects what resilience means in English. Both usages, however, are found in the NCU 2017 report and were tracked.

This document is likely the first time the concept and framework of resilience are used in a national document. The catalyst for introducing a resilience reference to Turkish policy makers appears to be the New Urban Agenda (NUA) declared in the UN's Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, Habitat III, in Quito, Ecuador, in October 2016. The NCU committee conveys the responsibility shared by Turkey, as being one of the member states of UN, to integrate decisions taken in the NUA into national strategies and implementations (2017: 12). *Resilient cities* are among the visions of the NUA (2016: 5), which can be achieved through "readdressing the way cities and human settlements are planned, designed, financed, developed, governed and managed" (2016:3). However, despite the above assertion, resiliency does not appear to be holistically understood as thinking or planning framework by NCU. Resilience is only briefly mentioned, and only in the recommended fields of intervention in the form of disaster resilience. Perhaps, this brief mention, however, will begin a broader discussion on implementing various resilience processes in Turkey, if the document is used as a collaborative basis from which to analyse the current thinking and develop policies.

Urban Regeneration Implementations Over the last two decades, the government's main policy in mitigating earthquake disaster risk had been to implement a widespread urban regeneration process for buildings at risk, instead of building disaster resilience in a more comprehensive and multidimensional way, which considers social, environmental, economic, and physical processes together. Due to the lack of consistent and scientifically grounded policies in previous periods, the existing build-

ing stock is considered to be the main reason for loss of life and for physical damage in earthquakes in Turkey. Instead of fixing the problems in legislation development, institutional mechanisms, and the construction sector, the government concentrated on developing new legislation to allow this "urban regeneration", which, as Güzey (2016: 41) says, is globally accepted to mean "increasing the resilience of societies' to disasters". However, when Turkey's regeneration projects are examined, regeneration apparently means nothing but "restructuring of the city" (Güzey 2016: 41) and obtaining high levels of rent from it.

From this analysis, this chapter concludes that there is no direct reference to the concept and framework of resilience in Turkey as it is understood in much of the rest of the world. That resilience is in the NCU document at all is likely thanks to the council's participatory nature, as it includes actors from the academia, civil society, and the private and public sectors. This collaborative and participatory practice has been and continues to be absent in many actualized urban implementations and interventions, and resilience planning is not yet found in the public agenda for urbanism and planning. Integrating this perspective into national and local visions and agendas will therefore present manifold challenges, not the least of which is socially and professionally led restructuring of the overall planning system.

11.4.2.2 Response and Recovery Stages

The response and recovery stages relate to the post-crisis phase in this chapter's presented resilience planning model. The current Turkish functioning in this area is only limited to the field of disaster management. This lack of the resilience perspective is also shown in the above-presented analysis of the NCU 2017 document.

The Disaster Management System in Turkey Planning for effective and efficient disaster management should include all stages of resilience planning; however, the Turkish system has been criticized for inadequate risk and mitigation planning and for focusing more on the response and recovery phases (Caymaz et al. 2013). Moreover, the connection between spatial planning and disaster planning in Turkey is also observed to be weak (Şenol Balaban 2016). As highlighted by Şenol Balaban (2016), there is a need for an integrated risk management system within the current legal and administrative planning framework (Şenol Balaban 2016).

Although hazard management and mitigation planning should be of utmost importance in Turkey, especially after the 1999 (Marmara) earthquake, there is still no formal resilience plan for the region. In 2009, a number of decentralized administrations dealing with disaster management were united under a central administration titled the Disaster and Emergency Management Directorate (AFAD), with the aim of collaborating on the subject area. This institution develops risk management and mitigation practices under an integrated hazard management system. Although the content of many policies developed within the institution shares similarities with a framework of resilience, the concept is not a foundation for the plans and related visions, strategies, or policies.

11.5 Challenges in Operationalizing Resilience Planning in Turkey

Turkey's current planning system includes multifaceted problems stemming from its complicated and politically manipulated history of development. The idea of resilience thinking is still new, and Turkish policy makers have not readily made any preparations towards resilience planning. To summarize, the challenges in establishing a resilience planning approach can be elaborated on three levels: (1) issues with the legislative framework, (2) issues related to the accepted planning approach, and (3) issues in plan implementation.

The presented model on resilience planning sets out some attributes as prerequisites for a planning practice to operationalize resilience. These are condensed into three points.

First, a planning system must have the capacity to effectively coordinate and conduct the planning process, which requires a highly qualified planning team, a universally acceptable planning approach, interdisciplinary and inter-institutional collaboration, and effective management. Second, the planning system should have the ability to instrumentalize and implement planning decisions in an equitable and ethical way. Third, the system should have an established praxis of participation as part of its governance structure.

The planning implications from the above analyses are as follows: The Turkish planning system requires extensive institutional and legislative reforms and restructurings to become an efficiently functioning system with the capacity to adopt the resilience practices of coordination, cooperation, participation, and engaged governance (Maclean et al. 2014; Ross et al. 2010). This achievement itself first requires building and enhancing community capacities and social cohesion. Finally, investing in knowledge and information is at the core of all these issues.

11.5.1 The Need for Coordination and Cooperation

The prevailing problems of the Turkish planning system signal an urgent need for simplification, systemic unity (Duyguluer 2012), and efficient coordination. The multitude of laws, institutions, plans, and policy-making authorities complicates planning practice in Turkey. Moreover, there is an absence of accord between the process of planning—making plans—and operationalizing and implementing these plans.

The above issues require a need for coordination and cooperation at different levels, beginning with communication around the plans prepared by different institutions for the same area. Providing a coordinated set of plans at different scales and for different sectors should not only free up time and energy but also eliminate conflict among plan decisions for the same area and end the prevailing authority chaos. This approach necessitates collaboration and cooperation among different administrative

bodies, from the national to the local level, and establishing clear definitions of their duties, "competences, tools and resources" (NUA 2017: 23), in parallel to one of the NUA commitments (2017: Article 87) on building urban governance structure.

This critical analysis of the inherent problem areas in the Turkish planning system aimed at exposing the legitimization of piecemeal and economically focused urban implementations through legal interventions as part of an increasing neoliberal climate in Turkish urban policy making. Partial revisions, plan adjustments, and related project implementations must fit into the general vision, aims, and strategies of urban development set by coordinated plans at the relevant scale. Such changes should also preserve the interest of local communities by taking into consideration conditions, such as liveability, well-being, environmental quality, social cohesion, and conform to universally shared values such as sustainable development, cultural and natural heritage conservation, and respect for collective memory (Eraydın 2013).

11.5.2 Operationalizing Participation and Engaged Governance

Participation and governance present themselves as the most urgent fields of change in the Turkish planning system (Duyguluer 2012). As the commission reports in the NCU (2017) also indicate, there is inadequate participation from the communities in planning and design processes. Although the plan preparation stage of regional plans is conducted through inclusive meetings and workshops, where a variety of stakeholders are invited to submit their knowledge, opinions, and requests, it is not sufficient. Their participation is limited within this stage and does not continue into subsequent stages. Further, when the presented opinions of the stakeholders in these meetings are evaluated by the planning team, there is uncertainty around whether the collected data are fully incorporated into the finalized plan documents. In addition, direct inclusion of households and communities cannot be attained if they are not represented by an NGO. The NCU commission reports (2017) convey that this limited approach to participation leads to feeling a lack of place attachment (MEU 2017), *which* is an important determinant of social resilience (Marshall et al. 2007; Paton and Johnston 2001). In Turkey, then, there is need for more developed, acceptable, and transparent models and tools of community participation in urban and regional planning (MEU 2017:50).

Such engagement requires the inclusion of all stakeholders in a just and legally supported way (MEU 2017), not only to make observations and become informed, but to convey desires and ensure rights. Active participation should be established in the form of what Arnstein (1969, 2016: 282) calls "citizen power", where community members have as much control and influence over the plan as planners and public administrators do. This type of participation differentiates from pseudo-participation practices, which allow a limited level of involvement with no citizen access to political power, and where community values, desires, and decisions have no trackable

continuity in plans and policies due to lack of transparency. Arnstein (1969, 2016: 283) classifies such types of "involvement" as "non-participation" and "tokenism", where participation is limited to attending information meetings and is manipulated for legitimizing plan decisions. The resilience literature underscores participation as an important determinant of social resilience, as it builds trust, allows different interests to be expressed and interact with each other, and contributes to self-organization (Lebel et al. 2006). Through effective local participation and access to accurate planning information, the community can use their political power to defend the values and issues important to them.

Assuring active participation also contributes to the goal of good governance. As Lebel et al. (2006) note, governance is about how governments interact with various actors. Citizens from the private sector and civil society should be able to contribute to decision-making processes through different forms of participation. Lebel et al. (2006) identify "participation, representation, deliberation, accountability, empowerment, social justice, and organizational features such as being multi-layered and polycentric" as the main attributes that are associated with good governance. A corollary of governance is trust. Pelling (2003) indicates that the successful operation of partnerships within governance processes is based on the trust between different actors.

The current approach to governance has evolved towards incorporating community engagement for overcoming top-down approaches in decision-making processes (Cuthill 2010). Karslen (2010: 47) defines engaged governance as "active participation between interdependent actors, and use of research based knowledge in order to solve a situation of regional complexity". Maclean et al. (2014: 152) connect engaged governance to social resilience and find that engaged governance "facilitate[s] effective and equitable decision making" and "is considered essential for effective problem solving".

11.6 Conclusion

This chapter aims to identify challenges to be resolved in the Turkish planning system in adapting a resilience perspective. The discussions reveal that these issues are not only related to Turkish planning practices but to the institutional and legislative frameworks that underpin them. The chapter contributes to resilience planning discussions in three ways, first through developing a model of explanation for resilience planning, which can be used as an analytical framework in further researches. Second, the chapter presents an overview of the Turkish planning system to expose its vulnerabilities and the required fields of restructuring to operationalize resilience planning in Turkey. Finally, by combining the implications of both analyses, the chapter suggests that there is a need for restructuring the institutional and legislative frameworks of the Turkish planning system to improve coordination and cooperation and to actualize the praxes of participation and engaged governance (Maclean et al. 2014; Ross et al. 2010).

Resilience planning is the leading planning paradigm in the twenty-first century (Eraydın 2013); however, this does not mean it is a perfect system. As a final note, the chapter underlines potential shortcomings of the resilience planning approach. First, the resilience discourse, despite its emphasis on the role of institutions, strongly encourages solutions through enhancing individual and community capacities. This focus, however, should not excuse local and central governments as having the main responsibility for fixing the sources of some problems. Moreover, the resilience discourse does not question the dominant system. For example, neoliberal capitalism is the cause of many vulnerabilities, and radical changes in the capitalist system must be made for effective adoption of a resilience model. Finally, it should be strongly noted that to benefit from what resilience thinking provides, the world needs equitable, inclusive, and democratic governments that allow an engaged governance and active participation from all levels of society. With all the current democracy deficits globally, this last issue calls for urgent attention.

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Chapter 12
Hazard-Prone Cities and Recent Challenges in the Case of Urban Transformation Experience of Turkey

Meltem Şenol Balaban

Abstract This chapter focuses on recent development and planning activities of settlements on hazard-prone areas across Turkey. The major contribution is to investigate challenges regarding recent urban transformation activities that the Law 6306 indicates. Those activities were realized in specific areas that were declared as *risky areas* (vulnerable residential areas) and in specific buildings that were declared as *risky buildings* (buildings subject to rebuilding) either within or outside such areas. Current outcomes of those activities in the cities, which might be observed by several neighbourhoods, are discussed since most of them could be found to be a bit controversial in several aspects. For instance, such neighbourhoods that are transformed under the Law 6306 are assumed to be relatively safer towards seismic risks after physical transformation processes which aim to create such urban spaces that are made up of so-called *seismically safe* structures in a city. However, outcomes of such partial changes might probably bring a new set of risk definitions such as additional infrastructural load that might use current capacities beyond their limits, increase in population densities that have negative impacts on the rest of the city and so forth. This chapter aims to highlight the consequences of such kind of transformation processes.

Keywords Disaster · Earthquake risk · Urban transformation

12.1 Introduction

Today's international agenda on disaster risk management has promoted activities that contribute to disaster risk reduction (DRR) which mainly concentrates on precautions before a disaster event in order to decrease the size and amount of activities that are expected to occur afterwards. Countries across the world consider and have already started to reformulate their disaster strategies to implement the concept of

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DRR, which has been under monitoring through the National Progress Reports on implementation of Frameworks for Action since 2005 for every 15-year span. In order to achieve substantial reduction of disaster risk and losses in lives and livelihoods, economic, physical, social, cultural and environmental assets of persons, businesses, communities and countries until 2030 four priorities for action were declared in Sendai, Japan, in 2015. These priorities for action are: (i) understanding disaster risk; (ii) strengthening disaster risk governance to manage disaster risk; (iii) investing in disaster reduction for resilience; and (iv) enhancing disaster preparedness for effective response and to build back better in recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction (UNISDR 2018).

Turkey has a very long and sore history on disaster events since it is geographically located on shaky grounds. Earthquakes have taken the lead as being the most effective disaster that threatens human and property losses, while other natural hazards like river floods and landslides have also been frequently influencing settlements. Beginning with 1950s' rapid migration to urban areas, most of Turkey's highly populated settlements have gradually agglomerated and built up on hazardous areas with highly vulnerable building stock and until very recently, prevailing disaster management approach has not been focusing on disaster risk mitigation. Consequently, current settlements with such inherited circumstances have faced a challenge of highly populated built-up space that requires rational urban planning strategies that need to be guided by disaster risk management perspective. However, it should be noted that it is highly complicated to implement such planning strategies since prevailing political power that has been benefitting from several amnesty laws for illegal buildings and squatters all along. It is noticed that such cases of amnesty laws have been enacted just before elections in order to get higher votes from beneficiaries of such illegal settlements. However, the consequences of such kind of legalization processes of unauthorized developments have considerable effects on the creation of today's vulnerable cities.

Turkey had made essential changes in its legal and organizational system and registered progress in several areas related disaster management since the 1999 Marmara Earthquakes whose human and property losses were devastating in dense urban areas. However, it is recently observed that Turkey's cities and urban areas do not fully concentrate on implementing DRR actions that have led to increase disaster resiliencies. The Van-Tabanlı Earthquake (M_w 7.2) in Eastern Turkey that happened on 23 October 2011 has pointed out this claim once again. The Chambers of Architects (2011) and several research groups conclude that most of the collapsed buildings in Erciş, a district in Van Province, were constructed after 1990. Besides, in the district centre only 500 buildings were found as having living permit. Of those buildings, 30% had architect consultancy, and 70% had either technician or engineering consultancy. The district of Erciş was the most heavily destructed with 30% of its buildings damaged beyond repair. As of June 2012 report of International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (hereafter IFRC) over 69,450 buildings were examined across the province, of which 2900 (4%) have totally collapsed, 25,750 (37%) severely damaged (inhabitable), 40,800 (59%) slightly or moderately damaged (eligible for accommodation).

Table 12.1 Disaster profile of Turkey (1900–2018) (Prepared by the author based on EM-DAT 2018)

Disaster Type	Number of Events	Share By Disaster Type (%)	Number of Killed	Totally Affected Population	Estimated Damage ($ millions)
Earthquake (seismic activity)	78	48.14	89,236	6924,689	24,685,400
Epidemics	8	4.93	613	204,855	–
Extreme Temperature	7	4.32	100	8450	1000
Flood	41	25.30	1359	1,785,020	2,195,500
Mass Movement Dry	1	0.61	261	1069	–
Mass Movement Wet	12	7.4	439	13,487	26,000
Storm	10	6.1	98	13,909	602,200
Wildfires	5	3.08	15	1150	–
All disasters	162	100.00	92,121	8952,629	27'510'100

The profile includes a summary of disasters according to three indicators, as well as the top disasters of each indicator (up to 10 disasters). EM-DAT includes all disasters from 1900 until the present, conforming to at least one of the following criteria: (i) 10 or more people dead; (ii) 100 or more people affected; (iii) the declaration of a state of emergency; (iv) a call for international assistance

Although Turkey has been a disaster-prone country for centuries, with its disaster culture, awareness and administration, it has not yet fully upgraded from conventional approach that overemphasizes response activities rather than focusing on risk reduction and mitigation activities. According to a very well-known international database, Emergency Events Database (hereafter EM-DAT), since the year 1900, a total of 162 natural events causing nearly 93,000 casualties in Turkey have been recorded as disasters, first three types are shared by earthquakes, floods and mass movements (Table 12.1). Based on the national databases (Gökçe and others 2008), on the other hand, the most frequent disaster event was landslides (mass movements), followed by earthquakes and floods (Fig. 12.1) between 1955 and 2008.

It is due to geographical, geomorphological and geological conditions that Turkey and its vicinity throughout centuries have been experiencing several disastrous earthquakes causing the highest number of casualties and financial losses compared to the other types of natural hazards. According to recent *Earthquake Hazard Map of Turkey* (2018[1]), it is found that 25.7% of total buildings and 27% of total population

[1]It is published in Official Gazette No: 30364 in 18 March 2018 by the approval of the Parliament and it is declared to take effect in 1st January 2019.

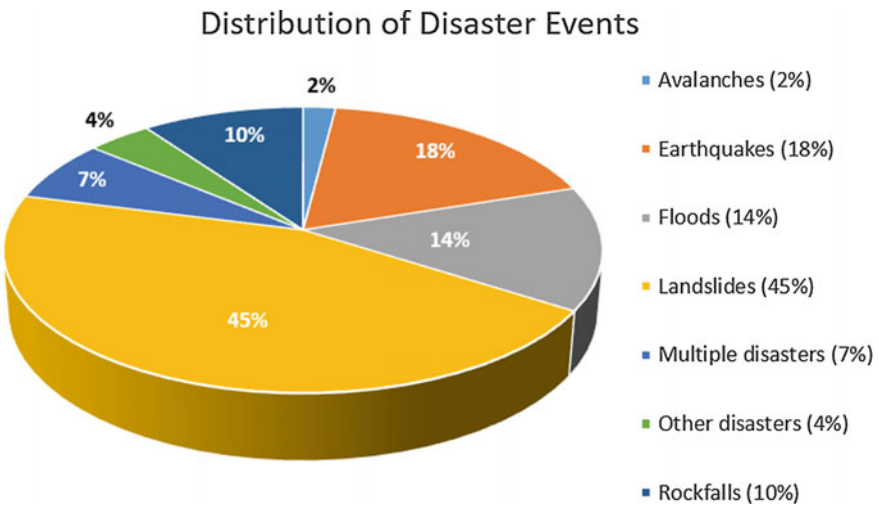

Fig. 12.1 Distribution of disaster events in Turkey by types (1955–2008). (Reproduced by the author based on Gökçe and others 2008, 11)

in Turkey are located on the highest seismic (dark red) zone whose peak ground acceleration[2] (PGA) is >=0.4 g (Fig. 12.2).

Turkey, although having such a large share of seismically hazardous areas, a large portion of its building stock do not comply with neither the structural/seismic codes that were effective at the time of their construction, nor the ever more strict modern seismic codes enforced today. In reality, it is often accepted by government officials that half to three quarters of existing buildings in Turkey lack the design documents and permits required for their construction. Referred to as illegal construction, they are generally constructed with poor materials and workmanship due to insufficient or no supervision or inspections during construction processes (Güneş 2015).

For instance, in the case of the latest earthquake in Van in 2011, it is observed that in several instances, most of buildings, which had no engineering consultancy during construction process and had several non-engineered major modifications on ground floors, as well as adding extra floors in years, caused collapses and human casualties. Similarly, previous development plans that directed the development rights to individuals had ignored ground conditions. This decision was also followed by the decision about building floor/height increase in the city centre due to abrupt population boost that was caused by compulsory migration from surrounding rural areas in the 10 years after 1990. There were also illegal developments observed on lands outside the city and development plan coverage (Keskinok 2009). However, with

[2]This map is produced based on 475 year return period of seismic activity and exceedance probability in 50 years is calculated as 10%. Besides, interactive Web application (see on page: https://tdth.afad.gov.tr/) provides also 16 different versions of maps that include peak ground accelerations (PGA) and peak ground velocities (PGV) for 43, 72 and 2475 year return periods, as well as spectral acceleration values for various periods like 0.2 and 1.0 s (AFAD 2018).

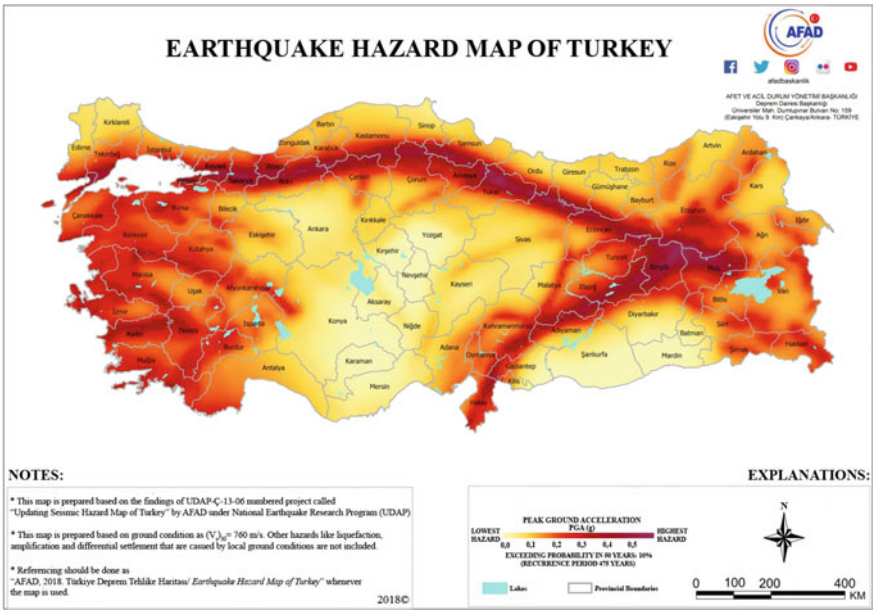

Fig. 12.2 Earthquake hazard map of Turkey [English version of the image is produced by the author.] (AFAD 2018)

the limited amount of studies conducted on Van City and its highly affected district centres, the true reasons behind the collapse of buildings, severe damages resulting in the loss of 604 lives, 4152 people injured after such an earthquake are not certain (CEDIM[3] 2011).

After the experience of the tragedies in Van, 12 years after Marmara Earthquakes in 1999, the officials have changed their focus to take action on the seismic deficiency of the existing building stock. Right after the earthquake, a massive initiative was declared and six months later in 2012, the Law No: 6306, transformation of areas under disaster risk, often known as the *Urban Transformation Law*, was approved by the Parliament to be implemented by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. "It is estimated that about one-third of the nearly 20 million occupancy units in Turkey has insufficient seismic resistance and need retrofitting or renewal…The cost of urban transformation is roughly estimated as $500 billion, and the time to completion is ambitiously set as 20 years" (Güneş 2015, 20).

Under such conditions today, major questions and challenges that cities in Turkey have been confronted with can be categorized as follows:

As being one of risk reduction activities: many cities have currently been experiencing urban transformations for almost 6 years by complying with the Law No. 6306. Having a large amount of vulnerable building stock either on hazardous areas

[3]CEDIM refers to Center for Disaster Management and Risk Reduction Technology

or not, the question at hand is, how do we manage to create *disaster safe* living environments by the help of decisions among the choices of retrofitting, renewal and regeneration/transformation guided by the Law? Do such implementations of the Law work well?

Challenge 1: new urban spaces that were created by the guidance and force of the Law should empirically be analysed *at local conditions* in order to find out whether those spaces can create *disaster safe areas*. There is a need for an assessment about rebuilt areas in order to determine whether they are disaster/earthquake resistant or not.

In most of the cases in accordance with the Law, urban transformation processes on *seismic risk areas* and reconstruction activities of *risky buildings* have been decided rather than retrofitting. Although transformed areas and reconstructed buildings claim to have necessary standards, do they also create sustainable living environments that would contribute to resilient settlements/cities as a whole?

Challenge 2: such incremental changes in urban areas should be analysed in order to monitor the effects of such new developments that might be costly on cities since there is no comprehensive planning about urban transformation projects.

Prevailing approach of disaster management in Turkey's administrative framework has focused on the activities that leave the urban planning discipline and participatory practices out for a long time. Since it is crucial to be focused on activities that require intervention/planning and collaboration from all stakeholders before any disaster comes to existence, but how can such a framework be reformed?

Challenge 3: it is said that 1999 was a turning point for restructuring the administrative framework regarding disaster management since investing more on risk reduction activities that are necessary to be implemented before any disaster event hits is the idea to be embraced. However, this idea has not yet been fully embraced by all the stakeholders as proven by losses in recent disaster events.

These questions and challenges will be elaborated throughout this chapter for the benefit of researchers from several disciplines who would find it interesting so that it might deserve further empirical studies that are very limited at present. Prior to that, it is quite necessary and informative to share a review of urbanization processes and legislative changes that have effects on current urban risks.

12.2 Review of Urbanization Processes, Legislative Changes and Effects on Current Urban Risks

Due to industrialization and population increase in urban areas in Turkey, especially after the 1950s, rapid urbanization was observed because of high flows of rural population to urban areas where plenty of job opportunities and better living conditions created high attraction. The year of 1985 was the turning point when urban population exceeded rural population, and as of 2016 urban population rate stood at 78% (ÇŞB 2014, TURKSTAT 2018). A series of comprehensive changes regarding economic,

cultural and institutional features of cities has been experienced as an outcome of this rapid population increase. Today's cities of Turkey have basically been formed by these urbanization process the main features of which were established by such changes (Balamir 1996).

Since neither the State nor the housing market effectively responded to the rapid needs in housing and public facilities of the increasing population in urban areas after the 1950s, formal production processes of housing did not meet sheltering as the basic need of migrants. Instead, squatters and unauthorized developments came out as a dominant type of low-income housing under these circumstances creating almost one of the main features of Turkey's cities. According to Tekeli (1996), during that period, the State had to decide on the distribution of limited resources among main sectors, such as industry and housing. In order to accelerate development, the State invested more on industrialization while housing policies were inefficiently handled. Therefore, the squatters that provided *cheap labour* were established around industrial areas that were attached to cities where electrical power was only generated in 1950s. Then rapid expansion of illegal housing was observed due to attitude of the State towards low-income housing in the field of urbanization particularly during 1960s and 1970s. It is also claimed that the reason behind the incapability of local and central authorities of guiding and providing housing developments was the scarcity of resources at that time (Balamir 2002). On the other hand, the absence of a formal State led policy on low-income housing might be the main reason for the expansion of squatter housing (Buğra 1998).

It is observed that Turkish cities have undergone major transformations that were performed by joint efforts of the various sections of urban residents. At this point, it is quite crucial to explain several property relations that resulted in these transformations in the urban areas as claimed by Balamir (1992, 1996 and 2002). According to him, the property relations that emerged in order to overcome capital scarcities have been very effective at accelerating and broadening the entire urbanization process.

These relations can be listed as follows (Balamir 1992):

1. "process of appropriation"
2. "process of apportionment (shared ownership)"
3. "process of appurtenance".

The first two relates to construction and transformation of squatters and unauthorized settlements. Process of appropriation refers to the initial step of squatter development, which is defined by invasion process of mostly vacant public lands. In other words, those lands are occupied illegally in a very short time. The second type, *process apportionment*, which is believed to be a triggering factor for every type of unauthorized development in Turkey, is defined as being an informal shared ownership that embraces the subdivision and sale of cadastral and agricultural lands to unauthorized builders (Balamir 1996 and 2002).

In Turkey's legislation, *appropriation* is entirely an illegal process, whereas process of *apportionment* has some lawful steps. The land acquisition and construction steps within the process of appropriation are both illegal and irregular. On the other

hand, acquisition of land as a share of large cadastral land in the process of apportionment was not an illegal step, whereas the construction activity itself has been an illegal one (Balamir 1996). However, these two types of property relations behind the development of squatters gained regular or semi-legal status eventually under the tolerance of the State of Turkey. Several amnesty laws that were enacted by the government[4] have transformed those squatter owners as legal occupiers who eventually got their title deeds or certificates. Starting from the capital city Ankara in 1948, several amnesty laws have been affecting all other cities of Turkey in consecutive years. The trend seems to continue because political parties have used such laws and regulations during general or local elections as one of the main strategies to be elected by some groups of voters who are living within illegal built-up areas. Table 12.2 illustrates these kind of amnesty relation that have been used from 1946–2018 to legalize ownership and settlement rights without proper urban planning and minimum construction standards that are necessary for the authorization procedures for living in such urban environments.

Squatters are regarded as an enrichment tool for those who occupy public lands. Amnesty laws as shown in Table 12.2 have not prevented the generation of illegal settlements instead they have encouraged people to construct new ones with an expectation of upcoming amnesty laws (Uzun et al. 2010). Therefore, even the recent regulations regarding registration of illegal settlements that are constructed before January 2018 proves that contractors who attempt to build on such lands will eventually have authorized permits through amnesty laws and regulations. Generally, such permits do not comply with either the minimum standards as *resistant to seismicity* or any development plan decision that allows you to develop any housing area for that specific land that was occupied by those illegal establishments.

On the other hand, it is claimed that the third type of property relations called process of appurtenance dominated the production of regular housing in Turkey's cities since the 1950s (Balamir 1996, 2002). The process of appurtenance is conceptualized as a model of cooperation between landowners, builders and house buyers to facilitate the construction and share of multi-unit residential blocks. Since it was embraced broadly, its substantial contribution to the physical transformation of cities is described as unprecedented (Balamir 1996). Throughout the country, the rapid expansion of such tenure system that involved large number of households has also been politically recognized. It was an innovative way of housing at that time, although it was informal like the other two property relations aforementioned. Eventually, the State adopted the *Flat Ownership Law* in 1965 to secure tenure rights that were acquired within this system. By this way, the freehold tenure in independent parts of buildings became a legal and formal way of house ownership in Turkey (Balamir 2002).

Considering the historical background of these property relations during the urbanization process of Turkey, at this point it is necessary to mention that the pro-

[4]Besides, the uncertainties about the process of apportionment were resolved by the decision of the High Court in 1975 that confirms disposal of the rights of shareholders on specific locations of shared lands (Balamir 2002, 164).

Table 12.2 Chronology of elections and Amnesty Laws for illegal, low-income buildings and squatters in Turkey (Prepared by the author based on TMMOB-ŞPO 2002; Torlak 2003; Duyar-Kienast 2005; YSK 2018; Resmi Gazete 2018)

Year	Official document no.	Title	Explanation
1946	General Election, Local Election		
1948	Law 5218	Allocation of municipality and government land for the construction of houses	For only capital city; Ankara
1948	Law 5228	The Encouragement of Construction	For whole Turkey
1949	Law 5431	Demolishing unauthorized constructions and amendment of some articles of Law 2290 municipal roads and constructions	It covered all illegal settlements on public land in whole country by legalizing them and enabling the municipalities to provide cheap urban land
1950	General Election, Local Election		
1953	Law 6188	The encouragement of construction and unauthorized buildings	It legalized existing illegal settlements and prohibited new developments under the threat of penalties and demolitions of houses
1954	General Election		
1955	Local Election		
1957	General Election		
1961	General Election		
1963	Law 327	Addition to Development Law No. 6785	It legalized illegal constructions and enabled the illegal settlements to have access to municipal services
1963	Local Election		
1965	General Election		
1966	Law 775	Squatter's Law	First legal document to use the term Squatters ("*Gecekondu*" in Turkish). It legalized the existing illegal settlements and required public institutions whose land was squatted to transfer these areas to the municipality. It also provided a fund for the provision of land for cheap housing
1968	Local Election		
1969	General Election		
1973	General Election, 2 months later Local Election		
1976	Law 1990	A revision of Squatter's Law	It covered all illegal developments built until 1976

(continued)

Table 12.2 (continued)

Year	Official document no.	Title	Explanation
1977	General Election, Local Election		
1983	Law 2805	Amnesty Law on Amnesty procedures about illegal constructions	It covered all types of illegal settlements either on public or privately owned land, and illegal constructions in the regular parts of urban areas
1983	General Election		
1984	Local Election		
1984	Law 2981	Amnesty Law	It defined new institutions, documents and regulations related to amnesty procedure established in Law 2805. The size of allocated land for each squatter owner was limited to 400 m^2
1985	Local Election		
1986	Law 3260	Amendments for accelerating the implementation of Amnesty Law 2981	Time limit of the Amnesty Law was again extended until 1985. It also brought the regulations for the redevelopment of former squatter settlements like building height to 12.50 m. at maximum
1987	Law 3366	Amendments on Law 2981	
1987	General Election		
1988	Law 3414	Amendments on Law 775	
1989	Law 2981	Amendments on Law 2981	
1989	Local Election		
1991	General Election		
1994	Local Election		
1995	General Election		
1999	General and Local Elections		
2002	General Election		
2004	Local Election		
2007	General Election		
2008	Law 5784	Electrical Market Law	Electrical infrastructure for illegal buildings installed temporally
2009	Local Election		
2011	General Election		
2014	Local Election		
2015	Decision for abolishing the Law 2981 was postponed to 3 years later		

(continued)

Table 12.2 (continued)

Year	Official document no.	Title	Explanation
2015	General Election		
2018	Written Communication No: 30443	Procedures for Applying Registration Document of Illegal Establishments	
2018	General Election and Election for President of Turkey		

Table 12.3 Numbers and shares of houses and apartments constructed per year (Balaban 2008, 85)

Years	Number of Houses	Number of Apartment Blocks	Number of Residential Buildings	Share of Houses (%)	Share of Apartment Blocks (%)
1955	39,380	3275	42,655	92.3	7.7
1960	32,595	3294	35,889	90.8	9.2
1965	35,363	6146	41,509	85.2	14.8
1970	40,555	15,558	56,113	72.3	27.7
1975	40,702	18,432	59,134	68.8	31.2
1980	39,948	21,901	61,849	64.6	35.4
1985	34,157	27,636	61,793	55.3	44.7
1990	69,291	40,107	109,398	63.3	36.7
1995	73,525	53,772	127,297	57.8	42.2
2000	40,074	30,218	70,292	57.0	43.0

Based on annual records of Construction Permits in Turkey

cesses of appropriation and apportionment eventually evolved into the process of appurtenance. Therefore, it is regarded as the main factor that resulted in dense and permanent development of modern cities in Turkey (Balamir 1996).

As seen from Table 12.3, the rapid and massive increase in high-rise developments, i.e. apartments, after 1960s is because of the domination of appurtenance process as a way of city creation and urban lifestyle. It should be noted that the decrease in numbers in the year 2000 is due to Marmara earthquakes in 1999, a period when many residential apartments and houses either collapsed or were heavily damaged. The main reasons for the emergence and dominance of appurtenance process as a tenure system in Turkey deserve further elaboration here since it gradually constitutes today's vulnerable cities when supported by amnesty laws on illegal establishments through the years.

Firstly, urban land supply was limited and land prices increased rapidly in urban areas at that time (Balamir 1996). Therefore, intensive investment on multi-storey apartment blocks on relatively small amounts of land gave opportunity to create large numbers of dwelling units. Secondly, appurtenance process came to existence as a response to the lack of capital and investments in the production of urban space. According to Balamir (2002, 172), "the process of appurtenance in Turkey generates

new capital rather than consuming existing investment resources or capital transferred from other sectors of the economy".

After 1980, Turkey began a new phase in urbanization due to several changes in the dynamics and factors that affected urban process. For example, legal and administrative framework of urban planning system and housing policy are one of the areas that had experienced essential changes. In addition, the volume of the production of urban built environment increased rapidly. Both the State and large-scale capital investors have begun to take part so that actors operating in the production of urban space proliferated (Balaban 2008). Nevertheless, these changes did not transform the structure of urban space that was created under the aforementioned property relations all of which have remained in this new phase of urbanization (Balamir 1996). In addition, appurtenance became more widespread as appropriation and apportionment evolved to appurtenance by squatter regularization, amnesties laws and rehabilitations as mentioned above.

Hence, today majority of urban stock in Turkey's cities is composed of buildings and spaces that were created through either of these property relations or a combination as explained above. Unlawfully built structures that were created by appropriation and apportionment processes mainly have low quality of construction and are located on hazardous areas prone to natural disasters. On the contrary, authorized buildings that were constructed through appurtenance process composed of dense and permanent urban spaces. However, most of them have low construction quality due to the ineffective laws and regulations on construction codes regarding earthquakes as well as ineffective implementation of *supervision system*. For example, after the 1999 Marmara earthquakes, most of the buildings that were damaged were composed of four or more storeys and were built after the 1980s (CCE 2010). Those areas of authorized buildings that are worn-out are not easily altered and renewed.

Life and property losses after the recent disastrous earthquake in Van have once again ignited same disputes about vulnerable building stock all over the country. Just after Van earthquake central government together with local governments declared through media that from now on the vulnerable stock that were identified by several projects regarding earthquake resistance will be subject to *urban renewal* projects by the help of Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (hereafter ÇŞB[5]). Additionally, illegal constructions that do not comply with construction standards determined by recent codes will be either demolished by security forces or expropriated by governmental institutions. In 2012, one year later, the Law of transformation of areas under the disaster risks (Law No. 6306) and its regulation in 2013 was published and since then many urban areas have been going through a kind of transformation mainly in residential areas of cities in Turkey. It is a fact that this Law is not the first Law regarding urban transformation projects but it has various controversial applications like coercive government intervention on flat ownership rights as well as opening up ways for building lot-based transformations that have led to rapid physical transformations in cities based on *demolish* and *reconstruct* idea. Therefore, in the following

[5]ÇŞB is abbreviation of Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı in Turkish referring to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization

sections, it is crucial to explain the benefits of this Law by providing details about the official procedure as well as several examples that many people have come across during implementations.

12.3 Brief Review of Urban Transformation/Regeneration Laws with a Focus on Law 6306:

The concept of urban transformation/regeneration has been defined and mentioned in legislation since 2004. Prior to that, there had been several urban transformation projects particularly on lands where squatter houses were located without having any legislative changes. The above-mentioned historical background of property relations during urbanization process of Turkey provides basic idea about the urban development process and relations including such urban transformation processes.

To sum up briefly, until 2000s there had been several approaches on urban regeneration of inner-city areas. One of them is the transformation of single building by contractors or landowners. It was realized through the demolition of existing buildings and reconstruction of new ones on the same land in accordance with the limits of right of development plan decisions on those lands. The other approach is intervention on inner cities by regeneration of urban fabric by central or local governmental units such as opening new boulevards, squares and inner-city roads. The major aim of such projects was *beautification of cities*. The third approach is urban transformation processes after the implication of renewal plans by the help of amnesty laws for squatter areas in order to create regular and healthy living environments for settlements. As shown in Table 12.3, in accordance with the regulations and laws 2805 in 1983 and 2981 in 1984 squatters have been transformed into apartment houses (high-rise development) and legalized by several development rights like 4-storey and maximum 400 m2 building lots that were defined in renewal plans. However, after the 1990s larger areas including building blocks rather than single building lots were preferred for urban transformation processes like Ankara Portakal Çiçeği and Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Projects (ÇŞB and ITU[6] 2017).

After 2000, several laws that are described in Table 12.4 have been in action until the Law 6306 in 2012. The first legislation regarding urban regeneration and transformation was the Law 5104 for Northern Entrance of Ankara in 2004. In order to improve physical structure, rehabilitation of environmental assets for liveable settlements, a renewal plan that brings new set of development rights was prepared for this specific area. Therefore, property owners and municipal government negotiated and reached a concession that, the properties were to be distributed based on mutual agreement. Following that, the Law 5366 in 2005 was enacted for regeneration or renewal of heritage sites and their associated protection zones. During implementation process of regeneration projects, expropriation can be possible for some cases if there is public interest. With the help of Article 73 of Law 5393 in the same year,

[6]ITU is abbreviation of Istanbul Technical University

municipal law was changed so that in such projects municipal council has to determine the boundaries of such project areas at minimum of 5 ha. However, there is no right of municipalities to expropriate such areas. Therefore, there should be a total agreement within parties. However, in 2010 another amendment regarding municipal law, numbered 5998 the size of project area has been revised to a minimum of 5 and maximum 500 ha while a total of minimum 5 ha could also constitute single and separated parts but related to each other. In this case, the responsible authority is determined as Metropolitan government rather than municipalities (Gür and Türk 2013). The recent Law 6306 was enacted in 2012, namely the Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks. Before going through the details of this law, it is necessary to explain some major terms that are defined and used in transformation projects in accordance with this law. "The aim of this law is to determine the procedures and principles regarding the rehabilitation, clearance, and renovation of urban areas and buildings prone to disaster" (ADB 2016, 92). Here, three major definitions and their designation procedure are critical and somehow controversial.

Three major definitions are explained as:

a Risky area that is determined according to the Law so that redevelopment of that area is implemented by the procedures defined by the Law
b Risky building that is determined for rebuilding/reconstruction
c Reserve area that is determined to be used as new transitional and residential areas.

Risky area is designated based on at least one of three criteria below:

1. Areas that are determined by Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (hereafter Ministry) or local administration and decreed by Council of Ministers with the consent of AFAD[7] upon the application of Ministry as having risks on life and property due to conditions of ground or structures.
2. Places where public order and safety are disturbed until it affects daily routine, where there are inadequate infrastructural services and planning, structures that are incompatible with development legislation or there are structures or infrastructures that are impaired.
3. Areas where 65% of total number of buildings that are incompatible with development legislation are located or areas where there are buildings that were constructed without construction permit or buildings, which have construction and living permits after they are constructed. These areas might be determined as risky areas by the Decision of Parliament after the application of Ministry in order to produce healthy and safe living environments that are consistent with the norms and standards as well as to ensure the provision of regular public services like health, education and transportation.

Before the Amendment[8] in 2016, 163 areas across the country had been determined and declared in Official Gazette based on the definition of first category risky

[7] AFAD is abbreviation of Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı in Turkish referring to Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (Official website: https://www.afad.gov.tr/en/)

[8] Amendment Law No: 6704 in 14.4.2016.

Table 12.4 Summary of the current laws on urban regeneration (Prepared by the author based on ÇŞB and ITU 2017; Çelik and Çilingir 2017)

Year	Code of the Law	Goal/Scope of the Law	Allocation of Authorities	Rules/Principles for Implementation	Spatial Requirements
2004	5104	Regeneration of the squatter area in northern entrance of Ankara city	Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, District Municipality	• Transfer of public lands freely to the Municipality, • For private property ownership matters, agreement should be pursued, • Expropriation is a legal possibility if needed	Law applies to a particular area in the northern periphery of Ankara city
2004	5216	Authorization of Metropolitan Municipalities	Metropolitan Municipalities (population>=750'000)	• Metropolitan governments have gained authority for determining the boundaries of regeneration areas	The authorization about boundaries has shifted from Municipalities to Metropolitan governments
2005	5366	Regeneration or renewal of heritage sites and their associated protection zones	Municipalities, Special Provincial Administrations, Council of Ministers, Conservation Boards of Cultural and Natural Heritage (KTVKK)	• Transfer of public lands freely to the Municipality, • For private property ownership matters, agreement should be pursued, • Expropriation is a legal possibility, if needed, • Purchase of private property, agreement based on revenue/property sharing are also allowed	Cultural, natural and historical heritage site areas and their protection zones
2005	5393 (73rd article)	Regeneration of urban lands within town and district municipalities	Municipalities	• Transfer of public lands to the Municipality is not a clear option, • For private property ownership matters, agreement should be pursued, • Expropriation is not possible	Any area within municipal boundaries with a size of minimum five hectares

(continued)

Table 12.4 (continued)

Year	Code of the Law	Goal/Scope of the Law	Allocation of Authorities	Rules/Principles for Implementation	Spatial Requirements
2010	5998	Regeneration of urban lands within Metropolitan, town and district municipalities	Metropolitan Municipalities, Town Municipalities, District Municipalities	• Transfer of public lands to the Municipality is an option but not free of charge, • For private property ownership matters, agreement should be pursued, • Expropriation is not possible, • Property sale by the Municipality is an option	Any area within municipal boundaries with a size of minimum five hectares
2012	6306	Regeneration of all urban lands that are under disaster risk	Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, Metropolitan Municipalities, Municipalities, Council of Ministers, Special Provincial Administrations, TOKİ	• For private property ownership matters, agreement should be pursued, • Expropriation is a legal possibility, if needed, • Sale of property shares and provision of housing certificates are other options, • Decisions are given based on the two-thirds rule	No particular requirements, the Law applies to any area or building designated as "risky"

area (Atay 2016). After enacting the Amendment Law April 2016, second category was added to the definition of risky area. With those categories, it is questioned to find any place whether or not located on risky area under such circumstances (Atay 2016). The third category has been added by a new regulation that describes the changes to the Regulation of Law 6306 in October 2016. When the Cabinet of Ministers identifies an area as risky area, the buildings in that area will be demolished and redeveloped by the related institution, private sector or TOKİ[9].

According to Article 2 of this Law, a *risky building* is a building that is found as *risky* either within or outside the risky area based on scientific and technical data which indicate that the building has completed its economic life or bears the risk of collapse or suffers from heavy damage. This definition points out three types of risky building: (i) the one that has completed its economic life, (ii) the one that bears the risk of collapse and (iii) the one that suffers from the risk of heavy damage. It is acceptable to have only one application from property/flat owners for launching the process of identification of risk of building. That process can be made by consultation of licensed organizations and institutions.

The Cabinet of Ministers identifies r*eserve areas*, as areas for new developments. In order to eliminate disaster risk on such areas new settlements to be constructed after unpermitted, unauthorized and risky buildings are cleared out.

Although the definitions of risky building and risky area have been explained in the constitution as written above, the determining parameters of such areas and buildings that either can be done by the Ministry (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization) or certified institutions on behalf of property owners are not defined properly. As being the sole authorities, the Ministry and the institutions have not shared the way of determination yet. It is also the same for the determination of reserve areas whose actual development rights are temporarily frozen whenever they are determined as reserve areas. If areas and/or immovable that belong to treasury are found as risky or determined as reserve areas for new development, their ownership has to be transferred to the Ministry.

Such kind of historical development of urban regeneration legislation shows us that urban problems in slum areas have been hardly solved, as well as urban regeneration projects that aim to improve such areas physically, economically and socially in the long term have hardly meet such goals. On the other hand, there is no proper explanation about the ways to reduce disaster risks by implementing urban regeneration processes that are defined by the Law 6306 (Gür and Türk 2013).

12.4 Elaboration of Challenges Defined

Challenges that are defined in the introduction section are elaborated further in order to provide clear explanations regarding controversial issues that require more inves-

[9]TOKİ is the abbreviation for Toplu Konut İdaresi in Turkish referring to Housing Development Administration of Turkey (Official website: http://www.toki.gov.tr/).

tigation. For this reason, each challenge is described first then criticized based on their intentions and possible results compared to current conditions.

12.4.1 Challenge 1: Local Area-Based Challenges

As of 2016 October, 1718,415 people were affected in 11,971 ha of land since those areas were declared seismically risky in accordance with the implementation of Law of Urban Transformation (No. 6306). Besides, in 22 provinces 34,485 ha of land was designated as reserve area for new settlement for buildings that were located on risky areas (Gündoğmuş 2016). As of 2017 November, in 52 of 81 provinces a total of 191 risky areas were declared in Official Gazettes by the decision of Council of Ministers since 2012. In addition to that, 161,449 buildings, which are made up of 455,716 housing units and 64,996 working units, were declared risky buildings (Çelikbilek and Öztürk 2017).

Since the first declaration of risky areas in İstanbul in October 2012 in Official Gazette (No: 28434), many areas throughout Turkey have already been totally evacuated, demolished and reconstructed based on the transformation project of those areas. However, it is difficult to find general statistical information about the review of the results of transformation processes until today. TOKİ, which is the main official non-profit governmental institution of Turkey in terms of dealing with housing provision for 30 years, has published several statistics since it has the lead position for conducting several housing projects in urban transformation areas that were declared after Law 6306. As of September 2016, 183 urban transformation projects were launched and 53 of them were accomplished. 68,254 housing units of 111,474 produced housing units were delivered to beneficiaries (TOKİ 2016).

On the other hand, individual studies may give some hints about the experience on some selected cities. According to research study conducted by Özgür and Özgür (2018) on the city of Ordu in the Black Sea region, although the urban transformation projects have started in 2013 the accomplishment of reconstruction processes of risky buildings were highly observed. 75% of risky buildings declared were reconstructed based on seismic codes. However, in other parts of the city, which are known as prone to disasters there were no risky buildings. On the other hand, risky areas that were declared in two districts of Ordu have been still waiting for the implementation projects for 2 years. Besides, there has been as of now, no official declaration in areas that record frequent instances of landslides as risky areas.

Another research that worth mentioning is the transformation projects in Bostanlı neighbourhood in İzmir City in Aegean coast and its effects on the rest of urban areas after the implementation processes of Law No. 6306. Çelik and Çilingir had conducted a survey about incremental decisions that include reconstruction of risky buildings in their building lots by private contractors and construction firms (2017). According to the survey results, the spatial distribution of transformed "risky buildings" in the neighbourhood is not homogeneous rather they are dispersed. After official declaration of risky areas and risky buildings, the realization of transfor-

mation projects depends on the decision of private contractors who would like to get higher return values. In the case of Bostanlı, since they could get higher return values due to additional independent units to actual property owners of a building, they prefer low-rise risky buildings with few independent units so that they get more share of profit after rebuilding. In the case of no increase in floor area ratios, they do not prefer to launch any transformation project although some high-rise apartment buildings that are located on risky areas need serious solutions for their foundation problems due to ground conditions.

One issue observed from the case of Bostanlı is that most of the low-rise apartments with their private gardens have been changing into high-rise apartments with decreasing amount of private gardens and commercial uses at ground floors after implementation of transformation projects. New conditions affect neighbourhood relations and different forms of lifestyles (Çelik and Çilingir 2017).

In many cases, it is rare to see any retrofitting projects unless they are public buildings. The procedure of the Law encourages and even forces the physical transformation of declared areas and buildings in the name of disaster safety. However, it should be noted that incremental changes regarding seismically safe constructions solely does not ensure disaster safe living environments. On the other hand, in some case like Bostanlı high-rise developments that were encouraged by the law have some doubts about the earthquake risks due to ground conditions such as liquefaction risks that have not been considered by most of the private contractors.

However, there were some studies that propose urban regeneration/transformation model in disaster-prone areas, which discusses better liveable environment where all the stakeholder have chance to be included without only using the tool of increase in floor area ratio as pointed out above. Balamir and its team members (2005) propose Zeytinburnu urban regeneration project that has several contributions in order to find out solutions to common issues born in many regeneration projects before since it aims to demonstrate that comprehensive regeneration could prove viable in physical, economic and social terms, even under most adverse conditions.

12.4.2 Challenge 2: City-Wide Challenges

Increase in population in the same lot within a neighbourhood as explained in the first challenge would probably create scarcity of infrastructural and social amenities like open and green spaces that are necessary for evacuation activities in the case of any disaster event. Such examples indicate that transformation projects of risky areas and risky buildings declared by central government based on an official procedure defined by the Law have not been evaluated in comprehensive way which is the essence of urban/city planning discipline. Besides, there has been no clue about the prioritization of projects for the benefit of a neighbourhood, district and the city. However, resilient cities are focus on disaster risk reduction not only in building construction safety but also in safety in other sectors with the help of planning discipline.

Another issue is the designation of reserve areas since the logic behind could hardly be understood. In the case of Istanbul, a research study shows designated areas regarding reserve areas include high earthquake risk zones, wetlands and areas like forests, drinking water basins, agricultural areas and archaeological sites that should be preserved from settlement development (Eren and Özçevik 2015, 232).

For instance, other than the huge problem of vulnerable building stock and dense neighbourhoods in cities, there are also some problems related to incompatible land uses and functions in urban areas. The locations of such functions that include hazardous materials and productions as well as industrial and manufacturing uses create high risks on nearby functions like schools, public areas and residential establishments. For instance, closer contact of the locations of hazardous material production and storage areas like inflammable, explosive and chemical materials as well as LPG and gas stations with urban living environments inhabit risk sources.

Therefore, in a city as a whole, effective implementation of comprehensive disaster risk management is a key in order to be a resilient city. Identification of risks in all sectors would give a better basis for solving such a complicated problem. The Earthquake Master Plan of Istanbul (hereafter IDMP) (2003) has such approach with a list of most of the possible risk sectors (extended version in Balamir 2007 and 2012), as follows:

1. Risks of losing productive capacities in the city, mainly due to multiple vulnerabilities of industrial uses
2. Risks of the current and future macro-form of the city
3. Risks of the urban pattern determined by densities and physical clustering of buildings
4. Special risk areas like tsunami impact areas, risk areas subject to liquefaction, landslides, flooding due to dam failure
5. Risks in buildings and infrastructure (lifelines)
6. Risks owing to deficiencies in open spaces in the city
7. Risks arising due to incompatible uses in specific buildings or areas
8. Risks due to distribution of hazardous uses in space
9. Risks due to non-integrated and mal-distribution of emergency facilities in the city
10. Risks of losing cultural heritage sites and structures
11. Risks due to management deficiencies like lack of drills, untrained staff, unorganized volunteers
12. Risks due to other external factors like accidents, terrorism, sabotage, extreme conditions due to climatic and meteorological factors
13. Risks due to constraints on social participation and community organization, etc.

The above-mentioned risk sectors have been elaborated separately so that risk reduction strategies and action plans could be prepared on timely basis for disaster resilient city of Istanbul. However, the implementation of action plans could not be realized as planned due to lack of commitment of all stakeholders and ineffective strategic planning that should be steered and followed by İstanbul Metropolitan

Municipality. However, such a kind of approach that aims categorize urban risk sectors can be adopted any disaster-prone settlement in order to build up disaster resiliency.

12.4.3 Challenge 3: Administrative and Organizational Challenges

Although most of the cities in Turkey were located on hazardous areas, they are exposed to many disaster risks with their dense urban neighbourhood layouts with apartments and vulnerable building stock having construction deficiencies after urbanization process and change in property relations since 1950s. On the other hand, Turkey's experience of natural disasters and disaster-related legislation may also unveil a fact that the process of urbanization aforementioned above and nationwide disaster management activities has been following separate tracks. Changes in international agenda of disaster managements have few effects on Turkey's administration and legislation that are still focusing on activities after any disaster events with ineffective and non-practical action programs and reports since there is no political will and public acceptance about risk perception and reduction. Political authority still keeps its political will about helping victims abundantly after any disaster event without considering the impacts on its scarce resources. That kind of approach also hinders a shift in new policies like investing more on risk reduction and mitigation activities.

On the other hand, such kind of approaches has been affected by risk perception of the society, which is not ready due to prevailing awareness and education level. Faithfulness and trusting on such political attitude of caring State after disasters, which have been a common belief, prevent society to become resilient.

It is believed that 1999 was a turning point for restructuring the administrative framework and legislations regarding disaster management that is investing more on risk reduction activities. However, this idea has not yet been fully embraced by all the stakeholders as proven by the losses in recent disaster events. AFAD is the sole authority governing disaster management issues since 2009. It is observed that there are still problems either in coordination with other governmental institutions or local governments. Issues like reluctance in data sharing with other governmental institutions, universities and the public, conflicts due to excluding the public and local governments in any disaster-related projects and inadequacies in implementing disaster-related laws have been continuous bottlenecks that make disaster management system ineffective in Turkey.

Similar issues might be rarely seen in other countries because of keeping disaster management at nation's top priority as always. Therefore, every other sectors in such a country has been considered in relation to disaster management. For instance, in Japan local governments and communities have always actively participated in disaster-related issues in order to overcome its consequences for obtaining and sustaining

resilient communities and societies. The idea of the interrelation of "self-help, mutual aid and public assistance" in the emergency management activities covers all the stakeholders and units at around the goal of disaster resilient communities. *Self-help* refers to preparation of individual residents that require self-action to protect themselves during a disaster. *Mutual aid* denotes the preparation activities of local community organizations in order to secure the safety of their local communities during a disaster. *Public assistance*, on the other hand, covers works to improve tangible aspects of disaster prevention such as infrastructure and facilities as well as intangible aspects like self-help, mutual aid (Sendai City 2017). Therefore, all the stakeholders that are covered by these three spheres in a disaster-prone country take their responsibilities so that they prepare themselves before any disaster.

12.5 Conclusion

The results of those recent laws and regulations and their implementations are the major challenges of today. It is necessary to conduct further researches in order to find out actual effects on urban areas with empirical findings so that it would be possible to improve the ongoing applications. For instance, the reconstructed areas that have been produced in the last six years require further studies to determine whether they have created safer living environments or caused new risks that have to be taken care of as soon as possible.

Furthermore, such kind of living environments after completion of projects deserve more elaboration to find out whether or not the idea of *Built Back Better* that was embraced and undertaken by most of the countries was accomplished. At the same time, Sendai Conference's second priority (i.e. *strengthening disaster risk governance* to manage disaster risk) needs to be investigated in recent developments in Turkey since it is obvious to observe implementations that are controlled in a quite coercive way by central government which does not have any implementations that all the stakeholders actively and willingly involved.

International agenda on disaster risk management has been evolving through years based on the experiences and lessons learned after each disaster events that many countries have come across. The level international agenda reached tells us that it is critical to enable *disaster policy* that focuses on not only post-disaster activities but also disaster risk reduction activities that require specialized methods and techniques to managing risks that help to estimate possible effects before any event hits in order to be resilient. The framework document of Sendai Conference points out that multi-hazard management in disaster risk that needs to be developed in each sectoral and inter-sectoral levels was highlighted until the year 2030 (UNISDR 2018).

However, country-wide urban transformation process in the case of Turkey has received some critiques from many authors since it is hard to find any comprehensive logic that prioritizes those transformation activities although its major aim is to produce safe and liveable urban environments. Such activities should be examined

in comparison with the scope of international agenda of disaster risk management that was mentioned above.

This chapter, as a conclusion, by defining the challenges regarding current disaster risk management issues in hazard-prone cities of Turkey aims to point out upcoming future risks that might be born due to recent implementations so that it would create an awareness about possible negative impacts of such physical transformations of cities.

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Chapter 13
Challenges to Turkey's Transition to a Low-Carbon Urban Development: A Roadmap for an Effective Climate Change Policy

Osman Balaban

Abstract Turkey is an emerging economy with a growing gross domestic product, which brings with it a rapid increase in energy consumption. Turkey's per capita GHG emissions increased from 3.88 tons of CO_{2eq} in 1990 to 6.07 tons of CO_{2eq} in 2015. Furthermore, due to being located in the Mediterranean Basin, Turkey is highly vulnerable to such impacts of climate change as temperature rises, flooding and water shortage. Since the early 2000s, there have been several efforts in developing a climate policy in Turkey. The EU accession negotiations have played a catalyst role in pushing the environmental agenda and climate policy forward. However, the current state of climate policy in Turkey is far from being a sound policy framework. Despite the introduction of several policy documents and institutional reforms, GHGs and climatic vulnerabilities of Turkish cities are increasing. This chapter investigates the current state of climate policy in Turkey so as to underline its shortcoming and weaknesses. Following the discussion on the existing situation, a roadmap is proposed to sidestep the existing shortcomings and develop a sound and internationally valid climate policy. The proposed roadmap is believed to facilitate the transition to a low-carbon urban development in Turkish cities.

Keywords Climate change · Climate governance · Environmental policy
Low carbon · Resilience

13.1 Introduction

Turkey needs a climate policy. One might say, does not Turkey have a national climate change policy? Well, the answer is both yes and no. Since the early 2000s, there have been several efforts and even some achievements in developing a climate policy in Turkey. The European Union (EU) accession negotiations and other international organizations such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and

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the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC Turkey) have played a catalyst role in pushing Turkey's environmental and climate policy forward (Balaban and Şenol-Balaban 2015). However, what we have at hand cannot be considered a sound policy framework. Although several non-obligatory policy documents and a few institutional reforms have been introduced, there has been slow and limited progress in addressing climate change in Turkey. The greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs) and the climatic vulnerabilities of Turkish cities are increasing substantially.

Turkey's total GHGs reached 475.1 million tons (Mt) of CO_{2eq} in 2015, corresponding to an increase of 122% compared to the 1990 level (TurkStat 2017). Likewise, per capita GHGs increased from 3.88 tons of CO_{2eq} in 1990 to 6.07 tons of CO_{2eq} in 2015, 56% higher than the 1990 level (TurkStat 2017). Among all Annex I parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC),[1] Turkey has the highest degree of emission rate increase, with 110.4% increase in total GHG emissions between 1990 and 2013 (Turhan et al. 2016). The major emitter of GHGs in Turkey is the energy sector. The GHG emissions from the energy sector increased from 132.8 million to 308.6 million tons of CO_{2eq} between 1990 and 2012, mainly because of fossil fuel combustion (TurkStat 2013).

On the other hand, Turkey is located in the Mediterranean Basin, which is one of the most vulnerable regions on Earth to climate change. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 2007) reported the main likely impacts of climate change in the Mediterranean region as reduction in precipitation levels and increase in drought risk. Therefore, Turkey is expected to be highly affected by certain impacts of climate change such as an increase in temperature and a fall in precipitation levels, droughts and water stress. However, precise and updated scientific data on the potential impacts of climate change in Turkey are quite limited. In most policy documents, broad estimations, which are based on regional and global scenarios and expectations, are provided (Balaban and Şenol-Balaban 2015). Şahin (2016, 119) summarizes the observed and projected impacts of climate change in Turkey as "increased temperature and reduced precipitation, increases in the intensity and duration of droughts and hot spells, as well as the retreat of mountain glaciers and reduced river flows, expansion of the regions suffering from water stress, and a decline in crop yields". As a country surrounded by sea from three sides, sea level rise may

[1]The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is the international treaty adopted in 1992 during the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in order to achieve the goal of "stabilizing greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system". The treaty entered into force on 21 March 1994 following the ratification of the convention by a sufficient number of countries. The UNFCCC lists the countries in its annexes according to their economic development levels and sets non-binding limits on GHG emissions for the industrialized (developed) countries and "economies in transition" countries that are included in Annex I. The Annex II is a subset of the Annex I determined in such a way to include the members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The convention requires the Annex II parties to provide developing countries with financial and technical support to assist them in reducing their GHG emissions. For further details, please visit the following website: https://unfccc.int/.

also affect coastal regions of Turkey, where significant proportion of populations and some important economic activities are located.

Despite the fact that Turkey is characterized by a rapid increase in its GHG emissions and being prone to several impacts of climate change, it still lacks an effective climate change policy and governance. Nonetheless, there is no uniform pattern of climate policy development worldwide. Some countries have already made remarkable achievements in addressing climate change, while climate policymaking in others is still at its infancy. Previous research has clearly demonstrated the levels of and reasons for differences among countries in their approach to climate policy. Bättig and Bernauer (2009) have shown that there is a positive correlation between democracy and political commitment to addressing the climate problem. Based on an empirical study that covers data of 185 countries from 1990 to 2004, the authors state that democracy motivates and encourages national governments to develop policies to reduce GHG emissions. However, "the democracy effects on policy outcomes, measured in terms of emission levels and trends, are ambiguous" (Bättig and Bernauer 2009, 303). In another research, Blicharska et al. (2017) highlight a north–south divide in climate change policy and practice due to a large extend, in the current level of climate change research in these two particular contexts. The notable north–south divide in climate change research (Pasgaard and Strange 2013) has led the northern countries dominate not only the practice of climate change policy but also the international negotiations for the international climate change regime (Blicharska et al. 2017).

Regional alliances proved to be a crucial motivation for countries to strengthen their commitment to climate policy. A remarkable example of this is the EU, which has gained a leading position in international negotiations for climate change over the past several decades. The EU's ambitious climate targets and goals have led its member states to strengthen their approaches to climate change policy at international, national and local levels. The EU accession negotiations positively influenced the climate policy in Turkey, paving the way for introduction of some policy documents and institutional reforms. However, the other way round is also likely, as in the case of UK after the Brexit Referendum. Hepburn and Teytelboym (2017) argue that Brexit may have significant impacts on national climate policy in the UK as well as in the EU. While the loss of the UK would mean the loss of a leading advocate for ambitious climate action for the EU, leaving the union may reduce the economic activity in the UK, which would eventually raise concerns over domestic targets and policies to cut emissions (Hepburn and Teytelboym 2017).

Public perceptions of climate change are another factor that shape or influence countries' approaches to climate change policy. This statement is also valid for environmental policy in general. Germany, for instance, is one of the leading countries in the world in environmental and climate change policy, recently pushing forward a policy shift towards the use of renewables in a range of economic and urban sectors. As widely known, the current state of environmental policy in Germany is an outcome of the deep-rooted public engagement with environmental issues. The high level of environmental awareness among German citizens has strongly shaped German politics by strengthening the Green Party and giving it a direct voice in the

German Parliament as well as the governing coalitions since 1983 (Schreurs 2003). A recent research (Steentjes et al. 2017) that was conducted in France, Germany, Norway and the UK in 2016 reveals the strong correlation between public perceptions of climate change and the attitudes towards policy responses to address the issue. The research also highlighted that some urgent social and economic issues such as immigration, unemployment and the worsening of economic conditions can influence public perceptions of climate change negatively (Steentjes et al. 2017).

The recent international achievements and agreements in international climate governance require national and local governments in the global north and south to be more decisive, proactive and coordinated. In other words, the new architecture of the international climate regime forces governments to leave behind their indecisive and tenuous positions based on the much-debated developing and developed world categories and to take action on mitigation and adaptation fronts (Turhan et al. 2016). The Paris Agreement, for instance, invites both developing and developed countries to define their GHG reduction targets in a realistic manner and in line with the 2 °C target of the agreement. In addition, the new agreement urges national governments to include measures and policies for adaptation in their "Intended Nationally Determined Contribution" (INDC).

Furthermore, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which replaced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for the period of 2015–2030, is another international dynamic that necessitates a sound environmental and climate policy in national contexts. SDGs include 17 specific targets that would be pursued by national governments in partnership with local governments, private and non-governmental actors and the citizens in order to end poverty, protect the environment and ensure peace and prosperity for all. Each country is expected to ensure the inclusion and mainstreaming of SDGs into their national policies, plans and strategies by taking into account their national circumstances. Although the 13th goal directly targets climate change, several other goals are one way or the other related to different aspects of the climate problem such as resilience, energy, consumption, sustainable cities and water. Therefore, it is quite obvious that national governments are now in a position to develop an effective and a comprehensive climate change policy for the successful implementation of the Paris Agreement and the SDGs.

In light of this background, this chapter sets out to investigate the current state of climate policy and governance in Turkey with the aim of understanding its strengths and weaknesses. First, the second and third sections of the chapter discuss the shortcomings of Turkey's climate policy and underline the main issues and aspects of a policy shift. Then in section four, a roadmap is proposed to sidestep the shortcomings and develop a sound and internationally valid climate policy. The proposed roadmap is highly crucial for Turkey to develop a better climate policy that would facilitate the transition to a low-carbon urban development in Turkish cities.

13.2 Turkey's Position in International Climate Negotiations

13.2.1 A Developing Country in Both Annexes of the Convention

Turkey is an emerging economy. The country's total population as well as its national income is in an increasing trend. As of 2016, 79.5 million people in Turkey generate a total GDP of 863.7 billion US dollars.[2] Population increase and economic growth are the two major sources of energy demand in Turkey, where domestic resources are limited and energy dependency is increasing. In 2015, 75.2% of the total energy consumed in the country came from imported sources (IEA 2016). Growing energy demand and use have resulted in a rapid increase in GHG emissions.

Although Turkey is an emerging economy, or in other words, a developing country, it is an Annex I party to UNFCCC. When the framework convention was accepted in 1992, Turkey, as a member of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), was included in both Annex I and Annex II. The listing of Turkey in both of the annexes meant the Turkish national government would be responsible for reducing the country's GHGs and providing financial assistance to other developing countries. This diplomatic mistake was partially corrected over time. Turkey insistently requested to be removed from both of the annexes of the UNFCCC right after its endorsement. Although Turkey's request to be removed from both annexes remained unapproved for a long time, its special circumstances were recognized in the 7th Conference of the Parties (COP) Meeting in 2001 in Marrakech (Türkeş 2017). Thereafter, Turkey was removed from Annex II but still remains in Annex I.

Turkey's official position in climate negotiations has largely been shaped by the argument concerning the country's "special circumstances", which, in fact, criticizes the classification of the country as an Annex I party to the framework convention. In line with this, the national government is still loyal to the typical developing country argument, which underlines the nation's lower historical responsibility for global warming as a reason for not acting more decisively to address the climate problem. However, as per UNFCCC reports, Turkey's share of global emissions has reached to 1.24% (higher than the figures used by Turkish authorities), underlining the fact that Turkey is not a top-emitter but not at the bottom of the list either (Turhan 2017).

[2] Data are obtained from The World Bank via the following link: https://data.worldbank.org/country/turkey.

13.2.2 Turkey's Contribution to International Efforts

Turkey has not yet ratified the Paris Agreement. It is among the 27 countries that have signed but not ratified the agreement. As of April 2018, Turkey is the third largest emitter of GHGs among the non-ratifying countries with a share of 1.24% after Russia (7.53%) and Iran (1.30%).[3] The reason for not ratifying the Paris Agreement is again that the national government's request for recognition of Turkey's "special circumstances" remained unapproved during the negotiations of the Paris Agreement. As an Annex I party to the UNFCCC, Turkey is not eligible for climate change mitigation funding, especially the Green Climate Fund. However, the Turkish national government argues that the country deserves access to climate finance due to its special economic and developmental circumstances. At present, there are no signs of approval of Turkey's request for climate funding and thereby of a change in the government's policy to ratify the Paris Agreement.

Non-ratification of the Paris Agreement, in a way, is a manifestation of the Turkish national government's reluctance to address climate problem in decisive and serious manners. Turkey's weak INDC is also an indication of the reluctance to address climate change. The INDC that Turkey submitted promises a 21% reduction from a rapidly increasing business-as-usual (BAU) level by 2030 (Fig. 13.1). Not all developing countries have weak INDCs like Turkey. Brazil, for instance, promised to reduce GHGs by 37% below 2005 levels by 2025. Turkey's INDC has received serious criticisms based on its unrealistic nature. Some experts and observers state that Turkey's INDC would not bring about a real reduction as "the BAU level was unrealistically higher than possible under the five per cent generic growth rate" (Şahin 2016).

Last but not least, some recent (contradictory) policy preferences of the national government should also be noted here as indication of the low priority given to climate change when formulating sectorial policies. For instance, substantial incentives and subsidies have been provided to coal industry in the last decades and coal-fired power plants are being built throughout the country in increasing numbers. When the 70 coal-fired power plants in the pipeline are in place, the total installed coal-fired power plant capacity in Turkey will increase from 15 gigawatts (GW) to 81.5 GW (Şahin 2016). In a similar vein, the large-scale infrastructure investments and urban projects that have been developed in recent years pose serious threats to the natural environment, especially in terms of increasing the total GHGs and climatic vulnerabilities of urban areas. The third bridge over Bosporus and the third airport project in Istanbul are remarkable examples of such infrastructure investments (Fig. 13.2). The two projects have been built over the remaining forest lands and wetlands in Northern Istanbul that are providing the city with various ecosystem services. These two projects have the potential to stimulate further urban development over Istanbul's vital ecosystems, which would eventually increase the GHGs and deepen the climatic vulnerabilities of the city.

[3] See the link: http://climateanalytics.org/briefings/ratification-tracker.html.

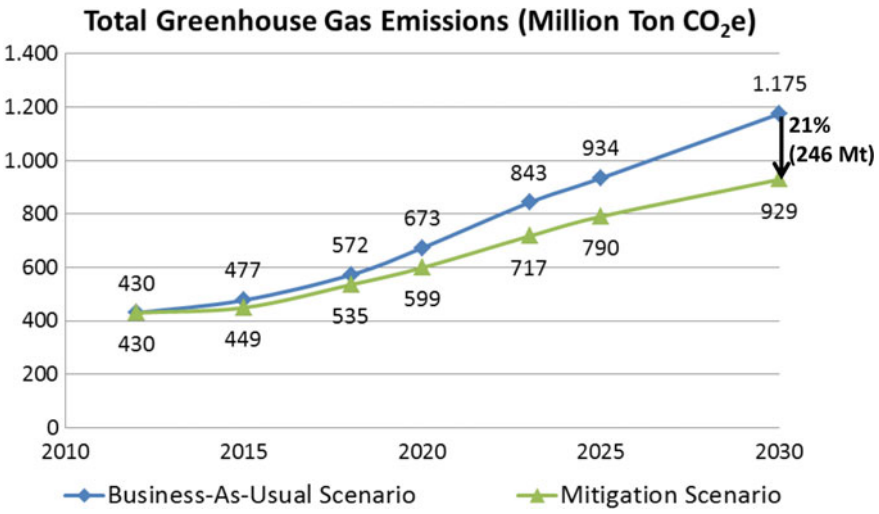

Fig. 13.1 Turkey's INDC target (Republic of Turkey 2015)

Fig. 13.2 Large-scale projects in İstanbul (prepared by the author on the aerial photograph provided by Google Earth)

13.3 Current Progress in Climate Policy in Turkey: The National and Local Levels

Turkey's reluctant and indecisive position in international climate negotiations does not mean that nothing happens on the ground in Turkey. The EU accession process, which was officially launched in 2005 with the start of negotiations, has been a motivation and a driver for environmental and climate policy. Along with some institutional reorganization efforts, several policy frameworks and action plans concerning climate change have been introduced at the national level during the second half of the 2000s.

In 2001, Turkey established the "Coordination Board on Climate Change" with the aim of coordinating the public sector's activities on climate change mitigation and adaptation. The board was restructured a number of times after Turkey became a party to the UNFCCC in 2004 and the Kyoto Protocol[4] in 2009 (MEU 2010). The restructuring actions widened the participant structure of the board by including new representatives from public and private sectors (Balaban and Şenol-Balaban 2015). In 2009, a separate division, namely the Directorate of Climate Change, has been set to deal with the climate policy at the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (MEU), which took over the leadership of the Turkish delegation in climate change negotiations from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in 2014.

The main national climate change policy document in Turkey is the National Climate Change Strategy Document (NCCSD), published in 2010, for the period of 2010–2023. The Strategy Document puts forth some guidelines for climate change mitigation and adaptation, emission reduction strategies and financing and technology policies (MEU 2013). Based on the recommendation made by the strategy document, the National Climate Change Action Plan (NCCAP) was prepared and published under the coordination of the MEU in July 2011 (Balaban and Şenol-Balaban 2015). Last but not least, another important policy document, namely the National Climate Change Adaptation Strategy and Action Plan, was introduced in 2012 by the MEU as part of the UN Joint Program on Enhancing the Capacity of Turkey to Adapt to Climate Change.

Although there has been some progress in the development of a national climate policy in Turkey, the actions taken at the national government level so far are limited to

1. Introduction of some non-obligatory plans and policy frameworks,
2. Efforts to ensure a coordinated policy- and decision-making among national agencies,

[4]The Kyoto Protocol is the legally binding document of the UNFCCC. The protocol was adopted in Kyoto (Japan) in 1997 during the third Conference of the Parties Meeting of the UNFCCC and entered into force on 16 February 2005. The Kyoto Protocol sets emissions targets for developed countries (Annex I parties) which are binding under international law. The second commitment period the protocol will finish in 2020 after which the Paris Agreement will enter into force to replace the protocol. For further details, please visit the following website: https://unfccc.int/.

3. Provide the local governments with "soft" guidance rather than structured and substantial support.

Albeit in a quite slow pace, cities have been engaging with climate policy in Turkey. There are a number of cities that have already got involved in climate change policy in one way or another, but these policies and actions show a great variety in terms of scope and scale (Balaban 2017). The frontrunner cities in local climate policymaking have developed their local climate change actions plans, mainly due to being members of some transnational municipal networks. These cities are also known for their efforts to raise public awareness by means of some self-governing and enabling-type activities. Among the frontrunner cities are Gaziantep and Bursa. The Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality was the first city administration that developed a climate change action plan in Turkey, which was then followed by Bursa Metropolitan Municipality. In Bursa, the city administration hosted an international project that aimed to develop a guideline and a roadmap to help cities prepare their city-level adaptation plans. The first implementation of the guideline and the roadmap was conducted by Bursa City. Nevertheless, the achievements at the local level are as yet limited to climate change mitigation, comprising mostly small-scale experiments on transition to renewable energy and solid waste management projects that include waste-to-energy initiatives (Gedikli and Balaban 2018). Adaptation is still not a concern for most Turkish cities, despite being located in the Mediterranean Basin, where some climate change impacts have started to be faced (Balaban and Şenol-Balaban 2015).

Perhaps, the most obvious achievement in local climate policymaking in Turkey is the renewable energy initiatives that were launched in several cities in the last decade. The support provided and the regulations introduced by the central government have been the main driver behind these policy initiatives. For instance, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources introduced a financial support mechanism for renewable energy generation, namely the YEKDEM,[5] in 2005. The support mechanism consists of feed-in tariffs given to projects for generation of energy (electricity in particular) from specific renewable sources including landfill gas and biomass along with hydropower, wind, solar and geothermal. YEKDEM encouraged cities to develop landfill rehabilitation and integrated solid waste management projects in partnership with private firms. As of 2017, there are 32 waste-to-energy (landfill gas) plants licensed under YEKDEM and 75% of these plants have been put in place after 2012.

Despite the progress mentioned above, the current state of local climate policymaking in Turkey is still behind many of its counterparts. For instance, only seven of the 30 metropolitan municipalities have already developed their GHG inventories, and explicit GHG emissions reduction targets are mentioned in only four of them (Sayman and Odabaş 2017). Figure 13.3 presents the geographical distribution of the metropolitan cities that developed their GHG inventories. In general, Turkish cities do not consider climate change as a major municipal duty. As per a research

[5] YEKDEM is the abbreviation for "Yenilenebilir Enerji Kaynakları Destekleme Mekanizması", which is the phrase for "Support Mechanism for Renewable Energy Sources" in Turkish.

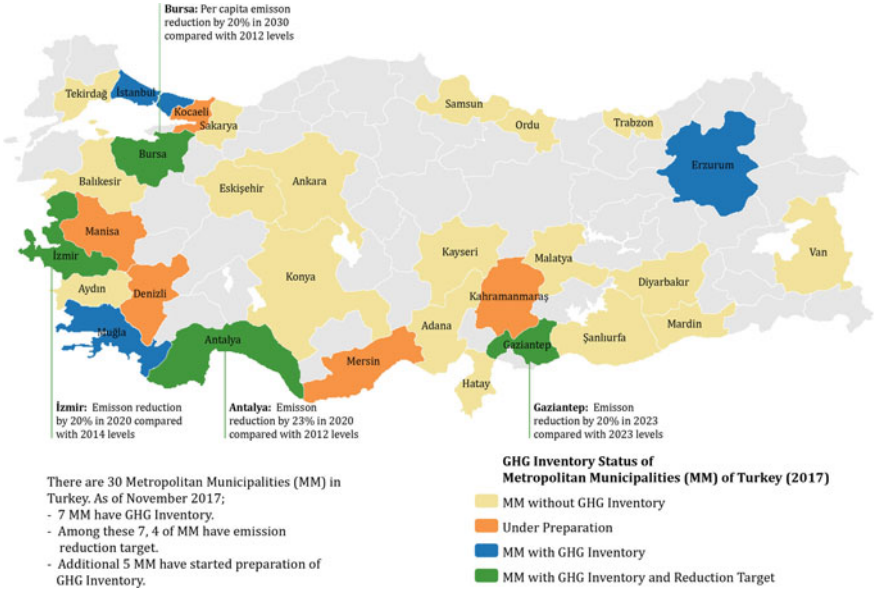

Fig. 13.3 GHG inventories of metropolitan municipalities in Turkey (Sayman and Odabaş 2017)

conducted by REC Turkey, 65% of the Turkish municipalities tend to avoid being responsible for addressing climate change (Sayman and Odabaş 2017). Among the major factors that limit urban climate governance in Turkey are the institutional and financial weaknesses of local governments, which is deepened by the lack of policy pressures from upper levels of governance as well as the community (Balaban 2017, Gedikli and Balaban 2018).

The public administration system in Turkey is greatly centralized, making municipalities dependent on the centre in both administrative and financial terms. The Turkish Constitution defines municipalities as local administrations in charge of delivering urban and public services at the local level. However, the related legislation allocates the authorities for provision of local services on a selective basis in a restrictive manner. Furthermore, the constitution provides the central government with the power of administrative tutelage over local units, which weakens the political and administrative power and autonomy of local governments. While basic revenues of local governments are distributed by the central government, cities collect a few taxes and charges at the local level but cannot develop additional revenue-raising means apart from those set by law (Gedikli and Balaban 2018). In most cases, municipal revenues are barely adequate for service delivery functions determined by legislation.

In the context of climate policy, cities are not provided with either clear guidance or strong support from the central administration. As mentioned earlier, national climate change policy documents either suggest broad or non-binding goals or simply provide local authorities with very basic instructions. More to that as municipal budgets are

barely enough to deal with traditional municipal duties, most cities lack the finance to be spent in short term on policy fields like climate change to acquire benefits mostly in mid and long terms. There is also no significant push or demand from the society for an effective climate policy. Local communities are not well aware of the climate problem, and thus, they do not make pressure over political authorities to address the problem.

As there is almost no push is forthcoming from either the central government or society, cities are mostly left on their own to develop their position on climate governance (Balaban 2017). Under such conditions, progressive efforts regarding climate policy in Turkish cities are, on the one hand, related to international connections and, on the other, shaped by proactive or motivated individuals at the local level. There is mostly, if not always, a dedicated mayor or municipal staff in local contexts where climate change has become an important policy concern for the municipality.

13.4 Roadmap for an Effective Climate Policy in Turkey

Turkey has various reasons to take part in global efforts to address climate change. The country's energy demand and use has been rapidly increasing, so as its dependency on external energy sources. So, a significant improvement in energy efficiency and an increase in the generation of renewable energy would deliver substantial co-benefits, including GHG reduction, energy security, cost savings. On the other hand, Turkey is located in one of the climate change hotspots, where climate change has already proved to be a serious threat. Turkey's historical responsibility for global emissions may be low, but at the same time its vulnerabilities to climate change impacts are quite high, and thus deserve policy intervention. Consequently, climate change adaptation is an urgent need for Turkey, especially for its cities.

Nevertheless, Turkey has failed to develop a sound climate policy that would help achieve mitigation and adaptation goals as well as make Turkey one of the proactive nations in international policymaking for climate change. In the wake of the Paris Agreement, the Turkish national government should commit itself to develop a sound and an internationally valid climate change policy. In what follows, there is a discussion on some important actions that have to be undertaken or at least considered in the course of such policy development.

13.4.1 Political Will

Maybe the first step to be taken for developing a sound climate policy in Turkey is to create the necessary political will at the national and local levels of governance. As Şahin (2016) rightfully states "a better climate policy needs political will". What is meant with the political will here is the continuous and sincere intention by political authorities to address climate change. In the contexts like Turkey where political

authorities are highly influential on other societal actors including public institutions, private sector and even NGOs, motivation and willingness of political actors act as a stimulus. Politicians in Turkey should carefully take into account the climate change threats that the country may face and scrutinize the potential win-win situations that may be created by addressing climate change.

If the necessary political will could be created, it should first be reflected in Turkey's INDC. A new INDC target, which is in line with Turkey's historical responsibility and current vulnerabilities, should be set. Considering the climate change impacts that Turkish cities will face, the renewed INDC has to include adaptation goals and strategies to be pursued at the local level. Based on the new INDC targets, realistic objectives in sectors and fields that are directly and indirectly related to the climate policy should be set by the national authorities. Then, the necessary measures have to be taken to ensure the diffusion and embracement of the targets and objectives of the national climate policy by lower levels of governance. As cities constitute the major implementation focus of the climate policy, the political will should be translated into clear messages and directions for local governments.

13.4.2 Institutional Reforms

Current institutional setup of climate policy and governance in Turkey is not appropriate and sufficient. A series of reorganizational attempts need to be made to overcome the existing institutional shortcomings and strengthen the institutional capacity.

13.4.2.1 National Coordination Committee on Climate Change

As mentioned earlier, Turkey has a national coordination committee for climate change since 2001. With the recent amendment in 2013, the committee is named as the "Coordination Committee for Climate Change and Air Management". The committee is intended to bring together the major stakeholders of climate policy so as to coordinate their actions with the aim of avoiding policy conflicts and duplicated actions. It is in fact important to have such a coordination committee within the national climate governance in Turkey. However, there are important problems in membership composition of the committee. At present, the committee has 20 members, 14 of which are the representatives of national ministries such as environment and urbanization, foreign affairs, internal affairs, economics, energy, agriculture and forestry. Three of the remaining six members are also public institutions like Turkish Statistical Institute, Undersecretariat of Treasury, and Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency. The last three members are business sector representatives, particularly the three major business organizations of leading entrepreneurs and executives of the business community of Turkey.

As seen, the committee lacks participation from academic and research communities as well as the civil society. It seems there is an urgent need for Turkey to change

the organizational structure of the coordination committee in a way to include representatives from NGOs and academic institutions as well as independent experts. More to that, global climate governance has been reframed in recent years, providing more room to cities and sub-national governments in climate talks and actions (Bulkeley 2015). National governments are no longer the only players in the game, as city governments have gained a central position among the major actors of the climate governance (Balaban 2017). The coordination committee of Turkey, surprisingly, lacks the participation of cities and local governments. Mayors of the biggest cities as well as (former) mayors, who are known to be pro-climate politicians, and representatives of the Union of Turkish Municipalities should be included in the committee.

13.4.2.2 Research–Policy Dialogue in Climate Governance

Sound and effective policies could be built on updated and robust scientific knowledge. This is highly valid for climate policy and often underlined in international climate policy documents. One important shortcoming of the Turkish climate policy and governance is the absence of properly developed academic work and scientific research on climate change in direct relation to the Turkish context. This is further deepened by lack or insufficiency of updated and reliable data which is accessible and available for scientists and researchers. As Turhan (2017, 154) truly states "in the absence of properly peer-reviewed scholarly works, climate change knowledge is left in the hands of a wave of civil society assessments, often supported by unchecked claims or reports prepared for internal use by state institutions".

Therefore, an important step in developing an effective climate policy and governance in Turkey is to bring scientific research and researchers into policymaking for climate change. This can be done by providing various sorts of support (especially funding) to climate change science and research. In addition, scientists and researchers should be provided with opportunities to take part in decision-making and policy formulation processes at the national level. One idea here can be to set up a national scientific committee on climate change like in the example of the national coordination committee. Renowned scientists, researchers and experts working on a range of issues concerning the climate policy should take part in the scientific committee. The IPCC could be taken as an example to set up this committee. Thus, the main mission of the national scientific committee could be to evaluate the already existing scientific data and information in a way to produce an updated and robust knowledge base to support policy and decision-making processes.

Both the coordination and scientific committees should consult each other on a regular basis to address the gaps in research and policy domains. The scientific committee, for instance, could assist the coordination committee in determining an internationally recognized INDC target by means of a transparent and a valid scientific methodology considering Turkey's share in the global carbon budget. Likewise, Turkey's national communication reports are usually criticized for being inconsistent with reporting guidelines and for not being transparent regarding the assumptions

behind emissions trajectories and economy-wide scenarios (Cerit-Mazlum 2017). The scientific committee can also help overcome this problem by giving a better shape to such policy documents. The coordination committee, on the other hand, could learn from the scientific committee about the major data and funding requirements of the academic community for conducting climate change research, assessments and monitoring. Furthermore, Turkish delegation in international climate change negotiations is often criticized for not including "real" experts and for not being "capable of receiving and synthesizing scientific contributions and delivering science-based opinions on Turkey's behalf" (Türkeş 2017). Establishment of a national scientific committee would help address this particular issue as well in the sense that a group of the scientific committee members could be the permanent members of the Turkish delegation.

13.4.2.3 Local Governments and Urban Planning

As argued earlier, city governments have gained a central position among the major actors of the climate governance in the recent decades. This is mainly because of the critical links between urbanization and climate change. On the one hand, cities are where a significant part of the global GHGs are emitted, and on the other, urban areas are where climate change mitigation and adaptation policies are to be implemented at the end of the day. A recent research by Bai et al. (2018) highlights the fact that building and upgrading the necessary infrastructure to accommodate the future urban population in the developing world by 2050 would release four times the carbon dioxide (CO_2) used to build existing developed world infrastructure (Fig. 13.4). This stunning fact is one of the reasons for the decision of the IPCC to release a Special Report on Climate Change and Cities in the 7th Assessment Report Cycle.

Cities will have a central role in global climate governance in future. However, in many contexts, city governments are weak in economic and political terms and thus prevented from undertaking systematic actions to address the climate problem. This statement is highly applicable to the Turkish context. There is poor progress in urban climate governance in Turkey due, in large part, to the institutional and financial weaknesses of local governments, and the lack of policy pressures from upper levels of governance as well as the community. Therefore, the success of climate policy and governance in Turkey relies on decentralization of governance systems and empowerment of local governments. Local governments should be provided with relevant authorities to address climate change and also with the required financial and administrative capacity to fulfil these authorities.

Urban planning deserves a particular attention in this respect. Transition to a low-carbon and climate-resilient urbanization requires the mainstreaming climate change issue into current urban planning legislations and practices. This is an important weakness of the climate policy as well as the urban policy in Turkey. A few cities in Turkey have developed their climate change action plans, some of which include ambitious emission reduction targets. To date, 11 municipalities including Antalya, Bursa and İzmir metropolitan municipalities have signed the Covenant of

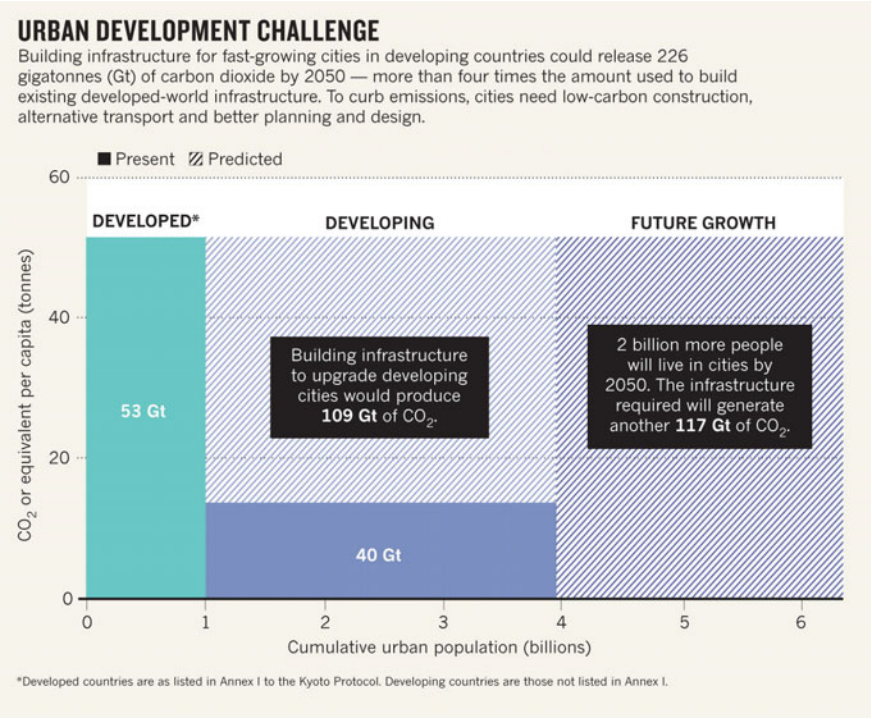

Fig. 13.4 Carbon budget of future urban development (Bai et al. 2018)

Mayors[6] and developed memberships to the network. All of these cities already had their climate (energy) action plans approved. The emission reduction targets until 2020 in these plans range from 20 to 40%, with Bursa Metropolitan Municipality recording the highest target. However, these action plans are of voluntary nature and not legally binding, and even they have no explicit place in the hierarchy of urban spatial plans in Turkey. Therefore, the influence of local climate action plans over actual urban development remains quite low. Furthermore, the coordination between climate action plans and other urban development plans is usually not very strong and this weak coordination limits the synergies between climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies and urban planning decisions. Gedikli (2018) highlights the structural reason behind this issue as the absence of guidance on consideration of climate change in urban planning and design in the Turkish planning legislation. Therefore, mainstreaming of climate change into urban planning legislation and prac-

[6]The Covenant of Mayors is an EU-based city network launched in 2008. The network aims to bring together thousands of local governments voluntarily committed to implementing the climate- and energy-related objectives set by the EU. In particular, signatory cities pledge action to support the implementation of the EU 40% GHG reduction target by 2030 and the adoption of a joint approach to tackling mitigation and adaptation to climate change. For further details, please visit the following website: https://www.covenantofmayors.eu/en/.

tices has to be an integral part or one of the main components of a decentralization agenda or a reform on local governments in the Turkish context.

13.4.3 The Challenge of Finance

Finance is an important requirement of climate policy and governance. Mitigation and adaptation actions, benefits of which may come in the long term, require short-term finance. Especially in the developing world, where financial resources are limited, developmental targets are given priority over environmental ones in allocation of the already limited governmental finance. Financial shortcomings increase the burden on local governments that are responsible for dealing with such climate change impacts as flooding, water shortage and heat waves. This general situation is highly applicable to Turkey where national government is not very enthusiastic to allocate resources generously to climate policy and where local governments' budgets are quite tight and barely sufficient to deal with the traditional municipal duties. Therefore, one important question is where will the money for climate policy come from?

One possible answer to this question is given by an economist, Erinç Yeldan, in a couple of studies on economics of climate change in Turkey. Yeldan (2017) suggests imposing a "carbon tax" in Turkey based on the famous "polluter pays principle" in order to change the environmental behaviour of economic actors by making carbon dioxide emissions of firms and premises expensive. In another related study (Kolsuz and Yeldan 2017), the authors have calculated that the carbon tax would correspond to around 3.5% of Turkey's gross national income (GNI), which, in relation to Turkey's emissions, would make the price of emitting carbon dioxide approximately 30 US dollars per ton equivalent of CO_2. This policy suggestion could be taken one or two steps further to create a, for instance, "urban climate fund". Turkish cities are in need of finance for low-carbon and climate-resilient urban transitions. Another important component of decentralization and empowerment of local governments should include a fiscal dimension, principally in terms of providing financial support to local administrative units based on their GHG levels and climate vulnerabilities. The suggested "carbon tax" revenues could be collected in a special fund, like "urban climate fund", to be allocated to city governments on policy or project base. Cities that are found to spend their share of the "climate fund" in appropriate ways to generate substantial achievements or co-benefits can be rewarded by budget increase or additional grants. In a nutshell, Turkey should seriously consider using fiscal instruments like taxes, grants, incentives not only to facilitate behavioural change in various sectors of climate policy but also to encourage and support local governments in low-carbon and climate-resilient urban transitions.

13.5 Conclusion

Turkey, despite being a developing country with low historical responsibility for global GHGs, has to take serious steps and actions for a low-carbon and climate-resilient future, not only for aligning with proactive actors of international climate governance but also because climate change is a serious socio-economic and spatial threat to the country. Political will is the basic requirement for developing a sound and internationally valid climate policy in Turkey. Without the continuous and sincere intention by political authorities to address climate change, achievements on the ground will continue to be very limited.

The current institutional setup of climate policy and governance in Turkey has several shortcomings. A series of reorganizational attempts may strengthen the institutional capacity. First of all, the organizational structure of the National Coordination Committee for Climate Change and Air Management should be changed in a way to include representatives from local governments, academic institutions, NGOs and independent experts. Second, a national scientific committee formed by renowned scientists, researchers and experts working on a range of issues concerning climate change should be established so as to evaluate the already existing scientific data and information and produce a robust knowledge base to support policymaking processes. Third, Turkish cities lack the necessary administrative and financial capacity to address climate change. An important step in developing an effective climate policy and governance in Turkey is the decentralization of governance systems and empowerment of local governments. More specifically, cities have to be provided with relevant responsibilities including climate-sensitive urban planning practices as well as with the financial and administrative capacity to fulfil these responsibilities. Finally, emitting carbon should be made expansive by means of a climate change tax and revenues from this tax should constitute a climate change fund to be allocated to local governments.

The Paris Agreement has opened up a new path for the world's nations to make the future of our planet cleaner and safer. Turkey is hesitant to work along this path, which in fact provides a window of opportunity to obtain developmental and environmental co-benefits including energy security, resilient future, international recognition, green economy and jobs, etc. Turkey should read correctly the new direction to the world's future and develop an effective climate change policy and governance at home.

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Chapter 14
Evaluation of the Issues and Challenges in Turkey's Urban Planning System

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Abstract This concluding chapter focuses particularly on the period, which starts with the 2002 general elections, covering almost the last 15 years of the country. In this period, Turkish cities have experienced significant spatial and social transformations. This raises a number of issues and challenges for urban and regional planning in Turkey. The current urban and regional planning agenda worldwide covers dozens of topics. For Turkey, three issues have become prominent: (i) actors (and institutions) other than planners (and planning) that have control capacity in the production and transformation of the built environment, and adverse effects of their actions on the integrity of urban plans and the control capacity of urban planning, (ii) the need to achieve resilient, safe, and sustainable urban environments, and (iii) consequences of population growth and the spatial expansion of cities as well as the problems stemming from the current efforts at urban transformation. Some cross-cutting issues and significant points among the chapters of the book are emphasised in this chapter. The Turkish case provides useful examples and fruitful discussions for international readers from developed and developing countries.

Keywords Actors in planning · Built environment
Sustainable urban development · Spatial expansion of cities · Resilience

14.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this book has been to evaluate the contemporary issues in the urban and regional planning field and the challenges it faces, employing the Turkish planning system as a case study. This final chapter highlights a number of significant

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points based on the arguments and findings in the previous chapters. In most of the chapters, including the introductory Chap. 1, the authors refer to four distinct periods based on the economic and political changes experienced in the country. This final chapter focuses particularly on the last period, which starts with the 2002 general elections, covering almost the last 15 years of the country. During this period, construction has become the leading sector in economic growth via the macroeconomic policy adopted by the government. Moreover, the legal and institutional framework concerning urban development and its control has been deregulated and liberalised (Balaban 2008). This triggered the spatial expansion of cities to the urban fringe, particularly through large-scale residential projects. Furthermore, extensive clearance and redevelopment operations have been conducted in the squatter areas and historical parts of Turkish cities. This was followed by efforts at urban transformation in areas at risk of disasters. Additionally, Turkey has experienced mass migration from Syria since 2011, as a result of the civil war there. In other words, since 2002, Turkish cities have experienced significant spatial and social transformations. This raises a number of issues and challenges for urban and regional planning in Turkey. The current urban and regional planning agenda worldwide covers dozens of topics. For Turkey, three issues have become prominent: (i) actors (and institutions) other than planners (and planning) that have control capacity in the production and transformation of the built environment, and adverse effects of their actions on the integrity of urban plans and the control capacity of urban planning, (ii) the need to achieve resilient, safe, and sustainable urban environments, and (iii) consequences of population growth and the spatial expansion of cities as well as the problems stemming from the current efforts at urban transformation.

14.2 Planning Agents and Their Control Capacity

The contemporary world involves highly complex social, economic, and political relations. In such a world, urban planners are not the sole agents of planning decisions and urban and regional planning is not the only institution with control capacity over the production and transformation of the built environment. The issues of agency and control capacity of different actors in shaping the built environment have always been significant for urban planning scholars. Urban planning addresses complex, multidimensional problems. This complexity fundamentally stems from the nature of cities, where social, economic, cultural, environmental, and political layers overlap. The multiplicity of actors/institutions inherent in this multilayered structure of cities affect the integrity of urban plans and the control capacity of urban planning in shaping the built environment.

Urban planning systems differ from country to country. The differences fundamentally stem from the dissimilarities in legal and institutional structures of the countries. However, the urban planning system and its domain can also display variations in different periods of a single country. Turkey is a good case to exemplify this situation. Turkey's parliamentary system was replaced by a presidential system in

2018. Several transformations in the legislative and institutional structures followed this shift in government system. Currently, the major challenge facing the urban and regional planning system is to deal with the uncertainties associated with these transformations, which alter the actors involved in planning activities and their control capacity over different scales of plans as well as the plan types and nature of the existing plan categories.

In the Turkish case, there are multiple public and private agents having some types of planning powers or control capacity in the built environment. On the governmental side, some of the public institutions attached to the central government have power over planning for different areas, such as the Ministry of Tourism having powers over coastal areas or the Ministry of Industry and Technology developing plans for organised industrial districts. As Chap. 2 emphasises, the existence of a multitude of institutions with planning powers already hampers urban and regional planning. It appears that changes in the legislative and institutional framework which took place with the change to the presidential system are going to exacerbate this problem, particularly in the area of regional planning. Cities and regions in the contemporary world are highly interdependent and dynamic in nature. Each region aims to improve its competitiveness and innovation capacity to attract economic activity as well as labour. In order to ensure balanced social, economic, and environmental development, planning at macro scale is inevitable. Guiding development, redistributing resources, and eliminating regional inequalities are usually within the scope of regional planning. Regional planning has been a hot topic in Turkey since the 1960s. Regional development disparities have always been a significant issue for the country. A fundamental problem for the Turkish planning system, however, is the inclination of decision makers to consider regional planning as more of a socio-economic task without a spatial dimension. A recently introduced change in legislation, which defines two types of regional plans for the same NUTS 2 regions, could also be regarded as a continuation of the same perception. Accordingly, there will be two types of regional plans in Turkey with overlapping boundaries: (i) regional plans prepared by the Development Agencies based on Development Law having a socio-economic emphasis independent of physical space, and (ii) regional spatial strategic plans (responsible authority undefined) based on the By-Law of spatial planning having a spatial emphasis. Chapter 2 highlights this dualistic structure and its drawbacks, also stressing the expected outcomes of the absence of regional planning in the newly defined planning hierarchy. Due to these developments, regional planning and its practice will become challenging issues in near future.

Planning has a highly centralised structure in Turkey despite the attempts to empower local authorities in the 1980s. Large-scale public infrastructure investments are planned by the central authorities without any consideration of the current local urban plans and usually not in collaboration with local authorities. Some of these investments pop up as election campaign promises. A recent example is the tunnel project under the Gulf of İzmir, which was announced by the ruling party as an election campaign project in 2014 and protested by local actors. Chapter 5 mentions some of these large-scale infrastructure projects and plans in Turkey. The existence of such top-down large-scale investments disconnected from urban and

regional plans has adverse effects on the integrity of plans, the urban governance system, and, as mentioned in Chap. 7, the conservation of archaeological heritage.

The multitude of actors observed in the Turkish urban and regional planning system is due not only to the strong central government but also the structure of the economic system. Turkey has a mixed economy, in which both free market and government intervention take place. In other words, society's limited resources are allocated through the market mechanism and planning, which are often seen as alternative (and conflicting) mechanisms to each other. Debates which question the success and failure of states and markets in allocation of resources and regulation of the built environment are considered out of date in the twenty-first century (Weber and Crane 2012). Apart from this debate, the coexistence of the market and planning sometimes has adverse effects on the integrity of urban plans and reduces the control capacity of the planning and the planner. Chapter 3 reflects on this issue, highlighting that each actor, with their varying needs, values, and judgements, has a capacity to shape the built environment and thereby contribute to the changing nature of the city at different scales. The role of the planner in shaping the urban form is still prominent in countries where a planning culture has been established. However, in mixed economies, planners' role and power over the built environment are continuously and inevitably changing with respect to the phase of the market–state relationship. This transformation is very well exemplified in Chap. 3 in different development periods of Turkey, where the market–state relationship has changed in favour of the market, which is equipped with more powers over time. Urban planning gives priority to ensure public interest more than achieving efficiency in resource distribution. However, understanding the operation of markets and their failures, particularly in land and property markets, is highly significant for urban policy (Cheshire et al. 2014). From the urban planning point of view, a total disregard of market forces results in ineffective or unrealistic planning decisions, whereas complete obedience to the markets leaves no room for planning for the public interest.

14.3 Resilient, Safe, and Sustainable Urban Environments

The Turkish case is an interesting example of an urban and regional planning system established under the influence of the developed planning systems of the West while patterns of urbanisation closely resemble those of developing countries. The history of planning legislation and municipalities in the country dates back to the Ottoman Period, the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Ersoy 2015). The Ottoman Empire was not industrialised; thus, urban planning did not emerge as a reaction to the problems of the industrial city (Tekeli 1998). However, it followed a path similar to that of developed countries with the earlier planning legislation being related to health issues. Although the economic development and associated urban problems in Turkey were not similar to those in Western countries, the Turkish urban planning system has been developed under the impact of Western planning systems. Nevertheless, limited capital accumulation in the country forced governments to

make a choice between industrialisation and urbanisation policies and investments. Limited public resources for infrastructure investment and urban land development resulted in the production of a built environment under free-market conditions. In this process, the majority of the building stock in the country is produced without adequate technical supervision and unauthorised stock becomes widespread, leading to unsafe urban environments facing natural hazards and other risks (Balamir 2002). Thus, one of the current issues for urban and regional planning in Turkey is ensuring resilient, safe, and sustainable urban environments. For this purpose, not only the production but also the transformation of the built environment becomes significant.

From a macro perspective, as Chap. 11 argues, multiple problems concentrated in cities and regions could only be overcome through the integration of a resilience thinking framework into the planning system. This integration requires a transformation in the institutional and legislative framework to ensure coordination and cooperation, use of scientific knowledge within the decision-making processes, and participation and engaged governance. However, the operationalisation of resilience planning in Turkey is a challenge in itself. Chapter 12 addresses the safe and resilient urban environments in the context of natural disasters and hazard-prone cities, and criticises the current urban transformation efforts for being partial interventions rather than creating resilient settlements and encouraging solely clearance and redevelopment while ignoring the potentials of retrofitting. Chapter 9, on the other hand, discusses safety and quality of life issue particularly for the existing housing areas and argues that regeneration strategies should be developed to maintain and improve the standards of living and quality in existing urban environments. That chapter adds that current urban transformation efforts in the country ignore the challenge of regenerating neighbourhoods of apartment buildings, which form the larger segments of the Turkish cities, where the private and fragmented ownership structure is an obstacle to regeneration. Transition to a low-carbon urban development for a climate-resilient future, discussed in Chapter 13, could also be covered as part of the resilient and sustainable urban environments. Climate change is currently an accepted risk for cities all around the world, and therefore it is one of the fundamental challenges of urban planning. Turkey is highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change such as temperature rises, floods, and water shortages. Thus, transition to low-carbon urban development stands as a challenge for urban and regional planning.

14.4 Growth, Expansion, and Transformation

Another remarkable point about the Turkish case is the rate of urbanisation in the country. In the early decades of the Republic, the rate of urbanisation remained at nearly 25%. Starting from the early 1950s, the share of the urban population of the total displayed a continuous increase. Population growth in the country was accompanied by urban growth, and Turkish cities have experienced an enormous urban spatial expansion through addition of legal and illegal parts to the existing urban areas. Currently, more than three-quarters of the population live in urban areas. This means

that urban problems affect very large sections of society. Furthermore, Turkey has recently received mass migration from Syria starting from 2011. As Chap. 10 elaborates, urban problems are exacerbated by the refugee/immigrant influx.

Most Turkish cities are no longer at human scale, either vertically or horizontally. Over the last 15 years, the construction sector has been seen as the trigger of economic growth and governments have supported construction activity. As discussed in Chap. 9, Turkey has produced a significantly high housing output, which has led to the expansion of cities to the urban fringe. Although realised through development plans most of the time, spatial expansion of cities produces several problems such as loss of agricultural land and open/green spaces at the urban fringe, and increased transportation costs and commuting distances for households. Urban spatial expansion not only changes the land use at the urban fringe but also transforms the existing built-up areas of cities. As highlighted in Chap. 4, with the expansion of cities to the urban fringe, the monocentric structure of urban areas has been transformed into a polycentric structure, particularly during the last two decades. In this process, shopping centres and large-scale multiuse residential areas with varying functions began to compete with the city centre. Chapter 8 stresses that changes in the residential areas of cities along with the problems of city centre transformation are significant challenges for planners and policy-makers. Urban transformation is not a new discussion in the field of planning of Turkey, but it is an enduring one with several highly criticised implementations as exemplified in Chap. 8 and 12. Although comprehensive redevelopment interventions to fulfil social objectives have priority on many occasions, urban repair and rehabilitation in existing built areas are imperative to maintain safety and quality of life in the existing urban environment.

14.5 Concluding Words

This chapter reflected on the findings and arguments advanced by the contributors to the book. The intention here was not to summarise the individual chapters; instead, some cross-cutting issues and significant points among the chapters were emphasised. It must be recalled that this book does not purport to cover all of the issues and challenges in urban and regional planning. That is a task impossible to achieve in a single book. However, the editors believe that the Turkish case provides useful examples and fruitful discussions for international readers from developed and developing countries. Although urban and regional planning systems differ from country to country, planners deal with similar problems and challenges all over the world. Different works examining the urban and regional issues and challenges in different countries could contribute to the discovery of common grounds for urban and regional planning in different countries.

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