PLANNING WITH COMPLEXITY: THE ANALYSIS OF IZMIR UZUNDERE URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECT THROUGH THE ADVOCACY COALITION FRAMEWORK

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ABSTRACT

PLANNING WITH COMPLEXITY: THE ANALYSIS OF IZMIR UZUNDERE URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECT THROUGH THE ADVOCACY COALITION FRAMEWORK

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Today, cities are defined as dynamic, non-linear, open, and complex systems that can adapt themselves according to various situations and formations and develop continuously in this direction. Planning is about a world-changing from basic and direct interactions to highly complex situations towards the fuzzy middle between technical rationality and communicative rationality; hence, it has begun to be questioned in the presence of complexity theory.

With intensifying neoliberal policies after 2000, Turkey's urban development processes have significantly transformed, and urban transformation has become a powerful intervention tool in urban planning. As becoming a political intervention tool regarding space, it becomes possible to argue the main objectives of urban planning through urban transformation projects, as the goals of urban transformation overlap with urban planning. Hence, to discuss the planning processes and reevaluate them from a complexity theory perspective, urban transformation projects and their implementation process offer a rich ground.

In this context, the thesis examines a process that is constantly reshaped by the internal and external factors that emerged in the planning process, as well as the coalitions created by diverse actors, by investigating the events that emerged in the planning and policy development processes, through the example of urban transformation project

being implemented in İzmir Uzundere. The advocacy coalition framework can provide a theoretical guide for understanding the complexities in planning processes, as it enables and furthers the understanding of policy changes and coalition activities while helping to understand the non-linear, emergent, coevolutionary, and self-organized context of the complexity in planning. In this sense, the advocacy coalition framework outlines the research framework by incorporating the current planning discussions. Accordingly, the research suggests how the advocacy coalition framework can be adapted to bridge collaborative processes with studies of planning processes and complexity discussions.

It is seen that internal and external effects and coalitions influence the planning process of an urban transformation project even when the authorities and planners try to simplify policy-making and planning. In spite of the fact that the authority did not anticipate the fuzzy and complex processes involved in planning and policy-making, it demonstrated an adaptive capacity and developed new strategies by acting in co-evolutions to respond to external and internal factors and unanticipated changes and challenges. Finally, in a world of change, complexity thinking is seen to promote advanced understandings and productive strategies for urban planning.

Keywords: Urban Transformation, Urban Planning, Complexity Theory, Advocacy Coalition Framework, Uzundere Urban Transformation Project

ÖZ

KARMAŞIKLIK İLE PLANLAMA: İZMİR UZUNDERE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJESİNİN SAVUNUCULUK KOALİSYONU ÇERÇEVESİYLE ANALİZİ

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Günümüzde kentler, çeşitli durum ve oluşlara kendini uyarlayabilen ve bu doğrultuda sürekli gelişen dinamik, doğrusal olmayan, açık ve karmaşık sistemler olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Planlama, temel ve doğrudan etkileşimlerden son derece karmaşık durumlara, teknik rasyonalite ile iletişimsel rasyonalite arasındaki belirsiz orta noktaya doğru değişen bir dünya hakkındadır; dolayısıyla karmaşıklık kuramı bağlamında sorgulanmaya başlamıştır.

2000 yılından sonra yoğunlaşan neoliberal politikalar ile Türkiye'nin kentsel gelişim süreçleri önemli ölçüde dönüşmüş ve kentsel dönüşüm, kentsel planlamada güçlü bir müdahale aracı haline gelmiştir. Kentsel dönüşümün hedefleri kentsel planlama ile örtüştüğü için, mekana yönelik politik bir müdahale aracı haline gelirken, kentsel dönüşüm projeleri üzerinden kentsel planlamanın temel amaçlarını tartışmak da mümkün hale gelmektedir. Dolayısıyla planlama süreçlerini tartışmak ve karmaşıklık kuramı perspektifinden yeniden değerlendirmek için kentsel dönüşüm projeleri ve uygulama süreçleri zengin bir zemin sunmaktadır.

Bu bağlamda tez, planlama sürecinde ortaya çıkan iç ve dış faktörler ile farklı aktörlerin oluşturduğu koalisyonların sürekli olarak yeniden şekillendirdiği bir süreci, planlama ve politika geliştirme süreçlerinde ortaya çıkan oluşları inceleyerek, İzmir Uzundere'de uygulanan kentsel dönüşüm projesi örneği üzerinden tartışmaktadır.

Savunuculuk koalisyonu çerçevesi, politika değişikliklerinin ve koalisyon faaliyetlerinin anlaşılmasını sağlarken bir yandan da doğrusal olmayan, gelişmekte olan, evrimsel ve kendi kendini organize eden bağlamını anlamaya yardımcı olduğundan, planlama süreçlerindeki karmaşıklıkları anlamak için teorik bir yaklaşım sağlayabilir. Bu anlamda, savunuculuk koalisyonu çerçevesi, mevcut planlama tartışmalarını dahil ederek araştırma çerçevesini özetlemektedir. Buna göre araştırma, savunuculuk koalisyonu çerçevesinin, planlama süreçleri ve karmaşıklık tartışmaları ile katılımcı süreçler arasında köprü kurmak için nasıl uyarlanabileceğini önermektedir.

Otorite ve plancılar politika oluşturma ve planlama noktasında rasyonel bir yaklaşım ile süreci basitleştirmeyi hedefleseler dahi, iç ve dış etkilerin ve koalisyonların bir kentsel dönüşüm projesinin planlama sürecini etkilediği görülmektedir. Otorite, planlama ve politika oluşturmada yer alan belirsiz ve karmaşık süreçleri öngörmemesine rağmen, uyarlanabilir bir kapasite sergileyerek ve iç ve dış faktörlere ve öngörülemeyen değişikliklere yanıt vermek için birlikte evrimler içinde hareket ederek yeni stratejiler geliştirmiştir. Son olarak, değişen bir dünyada, karmaşık düşünmenin kentsel planlama için gelişmiş anlayışları ve üretken stratejileri desteklediği görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Dönüşüm, Kentsel Planlama, Karmaşıklık Kuramı, Savunuculuk Koalisyonu Çerçevesi, Uzundere Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi

With the hope of an equal, fair, and honorable life and cities for all

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

ACF: Advocacy Coalition Framework

CTC: Complexity Theories of Cities

FAR: Floor Area Ratio

HDA: Housing Development Administration

IAD: Institutional Analysis and Development

IMM: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality

UTP: Urban Transformation Project

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Definition

With time, planning theories have been influenced by a variety of political movements and shifts and continued to evolve. First, from a positivist and modernist perspective, planning discussions asserted that cities could be analyzed with scientific tools and techniques and that solutions could be formulated through technical processes to reduce complexity (Marshall, 2012). However, later it was understood that cities were too diverse and dynamic to treat in this manner. Nevertheless, the models developed were too reductionist to address urban area problems. The first reactions were also related to the complicated nature of planning to elaborate on the existing traditional approach to address it. During the mid-20th century, other discussions were against the physical approach toward urban problems (Batty & Marshall, 2012). Then, by the end of the 1960s, the rational comprehensive planning theory that viewed cities as simple systems had stepped into a theoretical crisis as a result of a communicative shift in planning with the effect of communicative action theory (Habermas, 1984). Based on top-down designs, modernist urban planning approaches have been criticized for ignoring cities' "self-organizing capacities" (Jacobs, 1961).

Moreover, in the wake of uncertainty and complexity that began to arise after the 21st century, traditional assumptions of planning theory were sharply criticized. The planning theories have evolved from formulated approaches to more flexible approaches (De Roo, 2010) that rely on communication and interaction. However, planning is seen between the two opposing rationales, between technical and communicative rationality (De Roo et al., 2012; De Roo, 2010), in other words, in the fuzzy middle, which invokes both uncertainties and certainties (Figure 1). Hence,

planning has begun to be questioned in the presence of complexity thinking, and a new approach emerged towards urban planning.

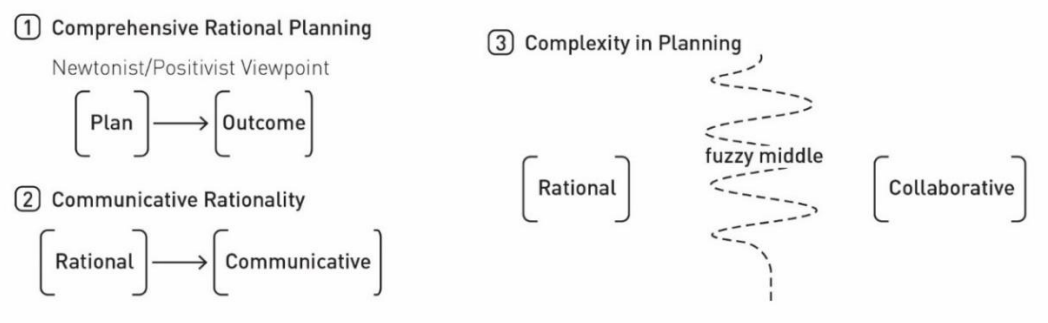


Figure 1. Shifts in the planning theory

Ultimately, planning in complexity necessitates a higher level of understanding in order to strive towards a deeper level of understanding about the dynamic change and development of urban space and move beyond the provision of descriptive outcomes. In a similar manner, cities are realized as dynamic, non-linear, open, and complex systems and processes capable of adapting to changes and to a large extent, "unpredictable, uncontrollable, and unplannable" (Portugali, 2000, p. 230). It is seen that the discussions on cities in the context of complexity theory focus on understanding the complex structure of many different variables, which can organize itself, but maintains this organization in organic integrity rather than randomness, rather than how cities should be. While planning is handled as a collaboration between many participants and the process of producing solutions together, the planner also takes part in the process as a negotiator. In this sense, planning is concerned with producing optimal results. On the other hand, complexity theory has been associated with the process of producing this dialogue in planning.

With intensifying neoliberal policies after 2000, Turkey's urban development processes have significantly changed. Urban transformation is a powerful trigger for urban development and change and a tool to intervene in urban planning. This necessitates rethinking urban transformation projects' planning process, and as a result of the discussions of theoretical framework, urban transformation projects, and their

planning processes are appropriate for discussing the complexities in planning. As urban transformation has become a strong political intervention tool regarding space, it became possible to argue the main objectives of urban planning through urban transformation projects, as the goals of urban transformation overlap with urban planning. Hence, to discuss the planning processes and reevaluate them from a complexity theory perspective, urban transformation projects and their implementation process can offer a rich ground. Also, a multi-actor structure of urban transformation projects can enable the investigation of unpredictable local dynamics.

Urban transformation projects in İzmir represent both similarities and differences when compared to the national trend. İzmir Model-based urban transformation projects differ from other urban transformation projects implemented nationwide. Implementing an on-site transformation process based on 100% negotiation with the participatory approach model, rejecting the urban rent increase method, protecting the existing planning rights in the areas subject to urban transformation, and the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality's advancing the transformation process as a mediator are among the exceptional qualifications of the urban transformation implementation through the İzmir Model.

On the other hand, the Uzundere urban transformation and development project, implemented within the İzmir Model's scope, was declared an urban transformation project in September 2012. The project is being implemented with the aims of an on-site transformation and 100% negotiation. In Uzundere, social and cultural transformation can be observed apart from physical changes. Moreover, starting from the first field visits, the project enabled to observe the phases in which the constructions were completed by reaching a 100% negotiation, the areas where the demolitions were completed and the construction process continued, the phases in which negotiations were completed and are in the tender process, and the areas where no agreement could not be reached. Hence, these different implementation phases of the project allow for examining different emergences, collaboration, and conflicts that the urban transformation project brought about. On top of that, the Uzundere project is the fastest-progressing urban transformation project implemented via the İzmir

Model, which also enables testing the anticipated and unforeseen changes throughout different phases of the project.

1.2 Aim of the Dissertation and Research Questions

Planning is required to be responsive in the face of dynamic complexity, developing different coevolution and adaptations. In case of knowing the incompleteness of the system, it also will be known that it is not possible to predict the future state or define optima (Batty & Marshall, 2012) because planning in a fuzzy and dynamic world is subject to anticipated and unforeseen changes. Due to these anticipated and unforeseen effects, even after the planning and policy-making, there is a need for a transparent, accountable planning approach integrated with participatory processes by considering the complexities of planning. There is a need to explore how complexity can contribute to and enable planning strategies to be effective in this complex and evolving world.

In this direction, the study aims to discuss the planning process of urban transformation projects in the context of complexity and to reveal the key actors and coalitions that promote changes as well as the effects of internal and external events in planning processes. It is aimed to discuss the formation of advocacy coalitions and the role of key actors as elements that promote changes in the policy process as well as the effects of external changes in planning processes.

Within the scope of this aim, research questions of the research are formulated as below:

> **Research Question 1:** What might be the internal and external factors and actors affect planning processes?
>
> **Research Question 2:** Considering the current discussions of planning, do planners, decision-makers, and authorities consider the complex nature of planning?

Research Question 3: How can urban transformation projects be implemented by considering the complexities in urban planning?

Research Question 4: Can the advocacy coalition framework provide an appropriate discussion framework for examining the complex nature of planning?

Along with the first research question, by examining the internal and external factors and unforeseen emergent configurations, any possible coevolution practices of the authority will be searched for. Also, by observing any development of a coalition and conflict and collaboration practices between diverse actors, the self-organization capacity of actors and, accordingly, any coevolution practice of the authority during the planning process will be investigated.

Despite emerging new understandings and discussions in planning theories, it is assumed that authorities and policymakers do not recognize the complexities embedded in the planning processes. In parallel, Innes and Booher (2010) highlight that policymakers and planners cannot address the complex and non-linear processes in planning and decision-making. By examining the different roles of the authority and any possible adaptive capacities, as well as any actor or policy broker, it will be investigated whether the decision makers observe the complex structure of the process and even if there are unforeseen external or internal shocks or emergences, whether they can navigate against it or not will be traced.

Thirdly, by examining the policy or plan-making processes during the urban transformation implementation, it will be investigated whether the authority develops new strategies with its adaptive capacity by considering the fuzzy and dynamic processes throughout the trajectory of an urban transformation project.

Finally, the last research question aims to find out if the advocacy coalition framework ensures a basis for the discussion of emergent configurations, collaborations, and other internal and external shocks by considering the complexities and nonlinearities of policy-making processes.

Overall, by tracing the trajectories of the urban transformation project in İzmir, Uzundere, the research unfolds the coevolutions, self-organizations, and nonlinearities through the planning of the urban transformation project. It discusses the formation of coalitions and the role of key actors as elements that promote changes and effects of internal and external events in planning processes considering the complexity. As a result, it is seen that it is crucial to produce policies and plans by considering the dynamic, non-linear, complex structure of cities. The new planning approach needs to focus on the process rather than the result to appreciate the complex structure of the city.

1.3 Research Methodology

1.3.1 Framework of the Research

A research methodology concordant with the framework of complexity theory can capture new insights into complex problems, advancing the application of complexity theory and qualitative research design. Hence, with the help of the advocacy coalition framework, the research aims to discuss how diverse actors varying from locals to authorities form coalitions and conflict and collaborate to influence policy decisions and how coalitions can influence the planning and policy-making processes.

The advocacy coalition framework, developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, provides a theoretical guide for understanding the complexities of conflicts and changes in planning processes, as it enables and furthers the understanding of policy change and coalition activities (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). With the aim of analyzing the trajectory of urban transformation policy and projects, the advocacy coalition framework (ACF), focusing on forming local advocacy coalitions and key actors and policy changes, is used as a research framework. The external and internal effects and coalitions discussed in ACF also emerge during planning. It is aimed to discuss the formation of advocacy coalitions and the role of key actors as elements that promote changes in the policy process as well as the effects of external changes in planning processes.

The advocacy coalition framework enables the elaboration of research questions with its inclusive approach and helps to understand the non-linear, emergent, coevolutionary, and self-organized context of the complexity in planning. Accordingly, the research suggests how the advocacy coalition framework can be adapted to bridge collaborative processes with studies of planning processes.

1.3.2 Research Method

The research is conducted based on a mixed methodology utilizing combined data collection methods. Within the scope of the research, three different processes overlapped: the urban transformation project, the research project, and the research regarding the dissertation. Each process contributed to different and distinctive observations and results affecting the interpretations of the research. Also, the data collection process is carried out in three stages: preliminary investigations in the field, literature review phase, and field studies and interviews in the project area. First, preliminary investigations and observations in the field were conducted in July 2018, and information was collected by making field visits with local government representatives. In the second stage, the literature review and the data obtained from the municipalities were examined, and previously conducted scientific researches were studied. Finally, field studies and in-depth interviews were conducted between September 2018 and September 2021. In addition, within the context of a research project, "Interpretation of Settlement Pattern Changes in Turkey: The Case of İzmir" funded by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey, semi-structured surveys were conducted in September 2020 with random sampling in the completed and resettled first stage of the project. The dissertation also used official documents and media analysis as secondary data collection methods. While searching for the main pillars of complexity, the research findings are analyzed via narrative, content, media, and survey analysis methods.

1.4 Outline of the Dissertation

The study is organized into six chapters (Figure 2).

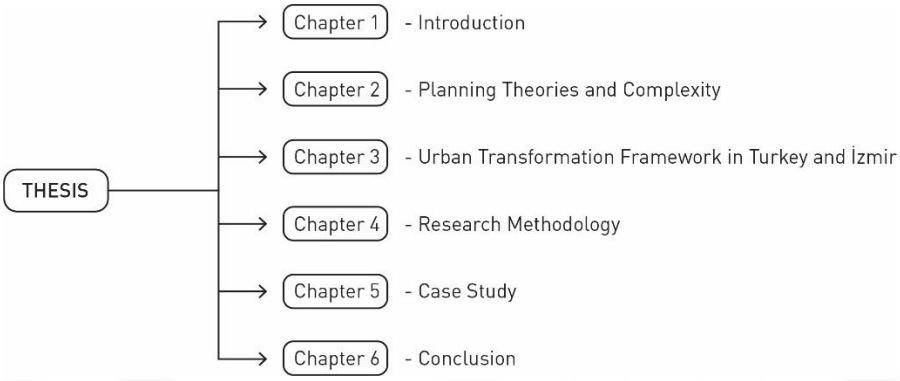


Figure 2. Outline of the research

In Chapter 2, an overview of planning theories will be presented with an examination of the evolution of planning theories over time. Then, the complexity of planning will be discussed. Finally, the relevance of the theoretical background and the research method to the dissertation will be argued.

In Chapter 3, a brief discussion of urban transformation and its scope will be elaborated. In order to discuss urban transformation as a phenomenon within the urbanization process, a critical examination of Turkish urbanization history will be presented within the context of squatter development. A critical examination of the legal and administrative processes influencing urban transformation in Turkey will be presented. Following that, the urbanization history of İzmir, with a focus on squatter developments, will be reviewed. Then, the progress towards urban transformation will be discussed, and urban transformation projects implemented in İzmir will be mentioned.

Chapter 4 discusses the research methodology of the dissertation, which is based on the advocacy coalition framework. The methodology of the dissertation will be elaborated by discussing the data collection and data analysis methods. In addition, the

research model will be presented. Then, the research methodology's justification and the case study area selection will be discussed.

In Chapter 5, the case study, the Uzundere urban transformation project, will be elaborated. First, the urban transformation project in Uzundere will be introduced by examining the internal parameters of the project area. After that, the urban transformation will be detailed with three stages which are the declaration of the project, project negotiations, and construction and resettlement phase. Finally, the chapter will discuss anticipated changes and unforeseen emergences in the future, and the brief conclusion of the case study will be discussed.

In Chapter 6, first, the research findings will be argued. Then, interpretations of the Uzundere urban transformation project will be examined, followed by a discussion of urban transformation interpretations. Then, research limitations and future research opportunities will be discussed.

CHAPTER 2

PLANNING THEORIES AND COMPLEXITY

Planning theories have been affected by various political movements and shifts, first during the 1950s with the influence of the Chicago School, then during the 1980s and 1990s due to postmodernism, and in the 21st century with an increasing interest in complexity (Hillier, 2010a). As such, the role of planning has been to adapt to the changing social and political contexts over time, responding to the discussions of the current era. Especially during the 21st century, traditional assumptions of planning theory were criticized severely in the face of uncertainty and complexity. Currently, planning practices continue evolving and shifting from rigid and formulated approaches to more flexible ones based on communication and interaction (De Roo, 2010). Cities are seen as dynamic, nonlinear, open, and complex systems and processes that can adapt to changing conditions and continue to develop in this manner. Also, planning involves a world where fundamental and direct interactions are transformed into complex situations and technical and communicative rationality overlap. In a complex, continuously evolving, and unpredictable world, straightforward policy-making cannot be efficient as the results are also unpredictable (Morçöl, 2012). Therefore, given the complex, nonlinear, and open structure of policy-making and planning, it is necessary to engage planning theories with complexity theory by being aware of cities' self-organization and adaptation capacity. In this sense, complexity theory can help accommodate cities' uncertain and nonlinear nature.

While elaborating on the mainstream planning approaches that evolved over time, this chapter goes beyond planning in a complex world. In this context, the chapter explains the planning theories, intending to examine the current discussions regarding planning practices in light of the complexity theory. In this sense, complexity in planning is

examined in detail. Also, the relevance of the dissertation's theoretical background and research framework, the advocacy coalition framework, is discussed.

2.1 Planning Theories

Even though cities have been considered to be fundamentally complex, planning practices have historically been associated with reducing the complexity (Marshall, 2012). Following the industrial revolution in the late 19th century, reformist urban utopias started to shape urban spaces of the 20th century focusing on the physical aspects of the city and elaborating the city with a top-down approach with a modernist view. Urban utopians thinking that society needed new kinds of cities, assumed that reconstructing the city would physically and socially overcome the crisis, aiming at the complete transformation of the city rather than its improvement (Fishman, 1977). Utopians envisioning an ideal urban society identified a future urban form by adopting different approaches. While discussing urban utopias, Jacobs (1961) criticizes utopians for being inappropriate to the working of the cities, as the planners are seen solely responsible for planning as well as controlling every significant detail from the beginning. According to her, cities had served as sacrificial victims in the hermeneutic-descriptive planning culture that dominated the period (Jacobs, 1961). Imaginations regarding cities produced future visions by embedding values to modernize unjust geographies of cities. However, as they continued to impose standardized space and social order by establishing homogeneity and controlling differences, they instead reproduced injustices (Monno, 2012).

In a similar vein, at the beginning of the 20th century, planning approaches continued to aim at improving and solving the problems of urban areas merely in terms of physical and spatial aspects (Portugali, 2012c). At that time, the origin of urban planning was based on the reactions against the disorder that the industrial city caused during the mid-19th century. Following the Industrial Revolution in the 1800s, population movements occurred in mass, and because of the high influx of migration, environmental, health, infrastructure, housing, and transportation problems came

along in cities. While trying to implement the reformist city utopias at the end of the 19th century, the beginning of the 20th century witnessed new planning approaches, and the planning transformed from a utopian effort into a scientific discipline during the 1950s with new directions. As Kaiser and Godschalk (1995) argue, the 1950s and 1960s were based on straightforward and clear planning visions and concepts and comprehensive and long-term planning and mapping structure.

Concordantly, the rational comprehensive planning approach has become an increasingly formal planning approach adopted at the institutional level. It was based on instrumental rationality by approaching planning from a positivist lens. The normative dimension of the approach had a concept of public interest. While the concept of public interest was central to this planning approach, the principles such as long-term planning and comprehensiveness were adopted. Moreover, Faludi (1973) introduces the "theory of planning" while distinguishing "theory in planning" in terms of their differences in form and content. For him, planning is a scientific way to make policy decisions, and the "theory of planning" contributes to that understanding of rationality. Also, Altshuler (1965) argues that rational comprehensive planning assumes that qualified people understand society's goals and the public interest better than the society itself. Putting planners in a central position was justified by assuming they could identify the best alternative solution to the current urban problems. Behind this ability, scientific knowledge was envisaged, and the theory was influenced by technocracy and positivism. The rational model relied solely on the planning process, not considering political conflict or specific characters (Fainstein, 2000).

Rational comprehensive planning was criticized for being top-down, expert-driven, and outcome-oriented (Fainstein, 2000). Also, according to Jacobs (1961), modern and orthodox city planning approaches lack a proper understanding of how cities actually work in real life but instead focus on how cities look like. In fact, her discussions mark a shift from scientific and comprehensive planning to a self-critical approach. She states that unconditionally accepted ideas of orthodox planning are harmful. In fact, each city and place are unique. While she resembles cities to laboratories, theories of city planning are expected to be learned and developed in this laboratory. Jacobs

(1961) criticizes the modernist view in urban planning and emphasizes the social relations from streets to neighborhoods; in other words, she explains the city as a complex problem (Marshall, 2012). Jacobs (1961) demonstrates that cities can be understood for their complexity through simple daily observation. As a result, planning began to move away from a technical and elitist approach after the mid-20th century, and planning theorists educated in positivism became skeptical of the systematic model (Altshuler, 1965; Rittel & Webber, 1973). New approaches criticizing rational comprehensive planning were developed over time, and planning changed its trajectory. Consequently, new approaches were developed to address the limitations of rational comprehensive planning over time.

2.1.1 Criticisms towards Rational Comprehensive Planning

Once the success of technical planning proved to be limited, first incremental planning and then, during the 1970s, advocacy planning discussions came to the forefront. While criticizing rational comprehensive planning, Lindblom (1959) discusses the difficulty that planners face, as they require a high level of data in the face of analytical complexity. In contrast to large-scale and complex decision-making of comprehensive planning, incrementalism suggests comparisons of small, discrete policy changes as an approach. Lindblom (1959) relies on accurate and short-term goals. While defining the rational comprehensive method as a root, he describes the method of successive limited comparisons as a branch. As he criticizes the root method, which the rational comprehensive theory relies on, he thinks the rational method does not work in complex situations. In the branch model, the need for information on values and objectives is decreased compared to the root model. Also, unlike the root model, means-end analysis in the branch model is not meaningful due to the ambiguity of means and ends. Agreement on the policy displays the goodness of the policy in the branch method, whereas, in the root method, it is tested by the achievement of the goals. Unlike the rational model, where every factor is considered, and the analysis is comprehensive, the successive limited comparisons method is limited in analysis and argues that it is impossible to consider every factor in decision-making. Nonetheless,

his approach is criticized for supporting the status quo and neglecting social change (Fainstein & DeFilippis, 2016). Forester (1989) also discusses that incremental planning is inadequate for improving planning practice and does not explain how and what to do to planners.

On the other hand, according to Etzioni (1967), while the rational model assumes high levels of control over the decision-making process, the incremental approach assumes much less control over the environment and suggests that the fundamental determinant is the environment. Rational planning decisions are affected mainly by fundamental, root decisions, while incremental planning neglects any social discovery as it has a conservative approach to keeping existing. Hence, Etzioni (1967) introduces the concept of the mixed-scanning approach as a third method that combines elements of both approaches without being as utopian as the rational model nor as conservative as the incremental model. Despite not covering the entire scope and detail of the rational planning approach, the mixed methodology is proposed to evaluate a problem by covering essential aspects and evaluating it with a limited data set. Ultimately, Etzioni proposes a new mixed model to overcome all the criticisms of rational and incremental planning. Nevertheless, this planning approach has not been successful in practice.

Similarly, Davidoff (1965, p. 335) indicates that equating physical planning with city planning is "myopic." While it was possible to justify traditional planning historically, it is now necessary to integrate planning with knowledge and technique to combat the problems affecting urban populations. For him, a planner should not have a technocratic role as identified with rational comprehensive planning by considering only physical aspects but should comprehend all the factors of the city together with the society and consider economic and social aspects beyond physical planning. Hence, Davidoff (1965) suggests a planner-advocate role in the planning process. According to Sager (2022), advocacy planning, as a form of activist planning, involves planners whose motivation comes from their commitment to groups or communities to which they do not belong and are affiliated with civil society. A planner assists a community or organization through close cooperation with them, acting as an activist. By discussing the success of advocacy planning with the examples of various planning

implementations, Sager (2022) indicates that contrasting values and goals should launch different plans, and democratic decision-making bodies should choose among them or combine them. Following neoliberal policies and their triggering influences, inequalities are growing in the cities, and the need for advocacy planning is increasing (Sager, 2022). Even Sager (2022) introduces empowerment planning as another type of advocacy planning.

Advocacy planning challenges the notion of a particular public interest and calls for promoting the interests of disadvantaged groups instead. Considering that a single institution cannot provide each interest in a diverse community, it aims for a planning approach protecting the rights of the disadvantaged and including equitable pluralism. Davidoff (1965) criticizes traditional planning for being undemocratic and lacking in representing conflicting interests of the society. Also, as traditional planning elaborates on physical planning apart from social aspects, he indicates that it creates inequality. Davidoff (1965) signals a shift in a planner's role from technician to social advocate of the 1960s and promotes that future planning is more welcoming for discussing social and political values. While alternative solutions are supported, they represent different interest groups, forcing authorities to compete with opponent planning groups.

According to Davidoff (1965), although the advocate planner considers all different interest groups in society, special assistance must be given to low-income groups to eliminate poverty. He thinks an effective planning method can be achieved by starting planning from the neighborhood level. In cases where there is inequality in the distribution of resources, planning should also address diverse interest groups, considering different interests. In this direction, the planner should be in an advocacy role for different groups. In a democratic decision-making process, the political debate should take place and actively involve different interest groups instead of excluding them. At this point, planning should also be put into practice in a way that takes the public interest into account for all different groups and minorities (Davidoff, 1965).

Krumholz (1999), while defining equity planning with a similar approach to advocacy planning, defends disadvantaged groups but also argues that public interest would

emerge in a common ground. He advocates minority interests through agency efforts and prioritizes the capabilities to assist those who need planners rather than those who have them. Also, Krumholz and Forester (1990) discuss that planners can seek more equity-oriented work in the face of increasing inequalities. Despite their distinctiveness, by relating equity planning with advocacy planning, they indicate that equity planning addresses urban poverty and community needs, particularly those of underprivileged and vulnerable populations facing discrimination. Moreover, they assert that planning is more than physical and consists of political, economic, and social dimensions. Inequalities are reproducing more inequality, and powerful parties have initiative for their interests. However, politically literate planners should encourage the participation of all affected parties and build coalitions (Krumholz & Forester, 1990).

Moreover, Friedmann (1993, p. 482) proclaims that with the end of the Euclidian world, the traditional and "engineering model of planning" rooted in 19th-century concepts which rely on advanced decision-making, blueprinting, and scientific character is no longer valid. Planning bringing together knowledge and practice beyond document preparation and analysis with a face-to-face interaction has become the new approach. According to Friedmann (1993), in this non-Euclidian world, five characteristics of planning are evident: being normative, innovative, political, transactive, and based on social learning. Friedmann (1973), defining this process as transactive planning, discusses that, unlike the engineering planning model, this model is not efficiency-based but normative. It is in search of creative and innovative solutions for the cities' social, environmental, and physical problems.

Moreover, acting political is a vital element in non-Euclidian planning. Different solutions are explored at regional and local levels in transactive planning, and potentially affected populations are involved in the planning process. According to Friedmann (1993), transactive planning is decentred, seeking diverse solutions at different regions and locals, highlighting the specificities of place. While this planning approach aims to strengthen social learning and planning, the traditional planning model weakens its effects as being non-public and document-oriented. He indicates

that planners take place directly in community action, and their success is related to their skills in managing interpersonal relations. It is a collaborative process where affected populations participate and learn from one another from the beginning of the planning process. Non-Euclidian planning works in real time by linking knowledge with action (Friedmann, 1993).

During the 1950s and 1960s, planning was detailed as a technical and instrumental practice with a quantitative approach, and the development of the rational comprehensive planning approach accompanied this shift. Rational comprehensive planning explored planning in a logical-deductive way with a positivist viewpoint. The approach of rational comprehensive planning, which argues that specific structural and physical elements and certain uses and functions can be defined in advance, started to be criticized for its positivistic approach towards the end of the 1960s and 1970s. During the mid-20th century, other discussions were against the physical approach toward urban problems (Batty & Marshall, 2012). Hence, critics against top-down planning approaches continued to grow.

While the traditional approach was implemented with a top-down approach by professionals, it was understood that cities were too diverse and dynamic to treat in this manner. Initial reactions were the difficulties related to addressing this diverse and dynamic structure with traditional approaches due to the complex nature of the planning process. Harvey (1973) argues that the positivist approach is incapable of addressing society within the frame of critical social theory. Accordingly, after the 1960s, various planning models were developed. Hence, researchers such as Lindblom (1959) and Davidoff (1965) were among the first to criticize rational comprehensive planning.

Nevertheless, almost none implicitly targeted changing the centralized and top-down approach of rational planning; hence, their criticism has remained limited as they still have a rational approach perspective, aiming to develop and correct the rational-comprehensive planning perspective rather than rejecting it altogether (Portugali, 2012c). While aiming to eliminate the difficulty of implementation in large-scale systems, they maintained a technocratic view without considering cities as complex

systems (Batty & Marshall, 2012). In fact, the models developed were too reductionist to address urban area problems. On the other hand, Jacobs (1961) attributed the failure of planning to the complexity reductionist approach of urbanism. In the 1970s, scholars such as Harvey and Castells began criticizing the foundations of the rational comprehensive approach from a structuralist-Marxist perspective (Portugali, 2012c).

Ultimately, two dominant paradigms of planning theories exist. The first one grasps the city as a problem and tries to find a solution with a modernist approach. According to the second approach, planning results from multiple, interrelated actions of actors and interactions and expectations between them. The first paradigm is characterized by quantitative-positivist thinking, whereas the second is characterized by qualitative-constructivist thinking. Likewise, Healey (1996) points to a new wave of ideas in the planning field and discusses two paradigm shifts in the last century. With criticism of urban planning with modernist approaches during the 1960s, the first one emerged with instrumental rationality, and the second idea emerged as a result of the understanding of economic and social power relations. First, as the 1940s approached, planning started to be seen as more technical and instrumental, and rational comprehensive planning was developed, which approached planning from a positivist perspective (Portugali, 2012a). Rational comprehensive planning claimed that cities could be analyzed with scientific tools and techniques, and accordingly, through technical processes, solutions could be formulated.

With the advent of communicative rationality during the 1980s, planning associated with rational choice stepped into a theoretical crisis and transitioned to a populist and open approach that promoted public consensus. Hence, by the 1980s and early 1990s, communicative planning theorists challenged the systematic planning model. Consequently, the second paradigm shift emerged during the 1980s (Healey, 1996) from object-oriented to context-oriented management. Innes (1983) indicates that as being in a crisis with various dilemmas confronting, planning theory showed to be deficient, and there is a need to develop a new way of elaborating planning challenges. The positivist viewpoint, inadequate to context-dependent solutions for specific times and places, discouraged research into meanings and goals.

Several approaches have begun to recognize planning as a negotiating and facilitating practice, leading to a decline in the view of planning merely as a technical activity (Batty & Marshall, 2012). As planning became more of a collaborative process between diverse participants and a result of producing solutions together, planners took part in it as negotiators. In this sense, planning is concerned with producing optimal results. A communicative approach has helped current debates consider local differences. Soon after, it started to anticipate a later interest in complexity.

2.1.2 Communicative Rationality and Planning

With the criticisms of the rational model and logical positivism, opposing discussions have also emerged in the planning discipline. Planning theories continued to evolve, and alternative approaches emerged, adopting Habermas's theory of communicative action (1984). It has been argued that while the positivist approach only deals with the city physically, it ignores the social consequences in the city (Fainstein, 2000). Accordingly, Habermas's critical communicative theory offered a new approach to the planning theory (Forester, 1980; Healey, 1996; Innes,1983). With the shift from technical to communicative rationality, the idea that one actor can acceptably manage spatial development processes for all parties has ended. In order to address local stakeholders' concerns (De Roo & Rauws, 2012), spatial planning was seen to be open to dialogue with different stakeholders. This shift provided an understanding of the complex dynamics and enabled to discover the diverse and complex economic and social relations in contrast to instrumental rationality (Healey, 1996).

Critical theorists of the Frankfurt School, particularly Jurgen Habermas, developed the perspective of understanding the rationality of collaborative dialogue. Habermas (1984) identified the conditions of deliberation and shaped the basis of collaborative rationality with his theory of communicative action. Despite Habermas's view that rationality and instrumental action are critical, his emphasis is on communicative action and rationality. In his theory of communicative rationality (1984), he argues that reality exists but is hidden beneath socially constructed understanding, language,

and action. Socially constructed meanings reinforce the power relations of certain groups that created this "knowledge." The “lifeworld” is “colonized” by conceptions of socially constructed understandings and making people see it through the lens of society (Innes & Booher, 2010, p. 23).

Forester (1980) is one of the pioneers in applying Habermas’s critical communication theory to the planning practice by introducing the theory into planning. He asserts that implementing planning with critical theory may help overcome the obstacles to a democratic planning process, prevent unintended counterproductive planning practices, and overcome planners' distrust by providing an understanding of what planners do. As technically skilled and politically sensitive, critical planning democratizes and organizes practice (Forester, 1989). Pretending a political problem as if it is merely a technical problem, creating unrealistic expectations, misrepresenting benefits, and introducing unhumanitarian social and economic policies will lead to distorted communications, which will negatively affect the lives of the citizens. According to Forester (1980), Habermas's communicative action contrasts these with the mutual understanding and consensus that make any shared knowledge possible. It is the contradiction between the disabling communicative power of bureaucratic, undemocratic institutions and the collective enabling power of democratic political criticism, mutual understanding, and self-determined consensus that forms the basis of Habermas's critical communications theory (Forester, 1980, p. 276). A planning practice without collective criticism and communication will not be cooperative; in other words, technical knowledge alone will not be sufficient for a democratic planning process. Forester (1985, p. 14) discusses planning as an “activity of making sense together” and an interactive work rather than merely form giving. According to him, beyond the rational productivity of designing, planning is also socially reproductive and a social process.

Forester (1980, p. 278) indicates that without communicative acts, there would be “no understanding, no common sense, no shared basis even for disagreement or conflict.” Planning practice requires broadening one's understanding of the planner's action from technical to communicative and combining expertise and non-professional

contributions. According to Forester (1980, p. 283), “critical planning practice, technically skilled and politically sensitive, is an organizing and democratizing practice.” He points out that planning practices confront conflicting interests and power challenges. Planners can empower individuals and community action by understanding power relations. Access to information and resources may not be evenly distributed for different interest groups. He argues that power is exercised in planning through systematic distortions of information. In this context, a planner provides access to information beyond simply describing and producing information and enabling learning, decision-making, and participation. Also, his later work focuses on planning as communicative action, moving into negotiation, mediation, and collaboration.

One of the prominent proponents of communicative action-based planning, Healey (1996), also discusses the communicative turn in planning. She points out that traditional planning does not have a common understanding among conflicting and multicultural groups. Communicative action criticizes the aspect of rational comprehensive planning that sees the plan as an expert and instead encourages its facilitating role in the public. It discusses how planning problems are resolved with discussion and debate. According to Habermasian theories of intersubjective reasoning, planning can be formulated to find progressive ways to make sense collectively. The concept of collaborative planning is introduced by Healey (1996) as an effective way to reach an agreement on action that expresses participants' common interests. She (1996) asserts that there is a need to discuss and build interrelations to undertake strategic consensus-building work to compromise diversity and reach an agreement in the public realm. The paradigm shift that emerged with communicative rationality provided an understanding of the complex dynamics and enabled the discovery of diverse and complex economic and social relations in contrast to instrumental rationality (Healey, 1996). This paradigm shift introduced more participatory forms of discussion based on inclusionary arguments rather than traditional representative notions (Healey, 1996). Inclusionary argumentation grounds the conceptions of participatory democracy (Fischer, 1990) and discursive democracy (Dryzek, 1990).

Communicative rationality is raised as an alternative to the traditional model. All affected groups with differing interests participate in the face-to-face dialogue, expressing different perspectives and views. Dialogue helps discover new opportunities and understand different dynamics. A substantial agreement is reached even if a complete consensus is not reached with a dialogue, and results can be regarded as collaboratively rational. While beliefs and values transform, innovative results emerge (Healey, 1996). Similarly, while highlighting the closing gap between theory and practice in planning, one of the leading theorists of communicative planning, Innes (1995), asserts that planning has begun to be considered a communicative and interactive practice due to a paradigm shift from instrumental rationality. Instead of making general propositions, planning as an interactive and communicative practice is based on qualitative and interpretive analysis. According to Innes (1995, p. 185), social processes transform information into meaningful knowledge and knowledge into action. While it is understood that information is socially constructed in a specific context, it is also seen that the linear model of instrumental rationality and a system in which a policy maker and an expert is the decision maker is not working. While planners create consensus-building processes, there appears a process of learning and deciding. The communicative model in planning defines the planner as a negotiator and intermediary among stakeholders (Innes, 1995).

Furthermore, Perry (1995) argues that it is not easy to plan by considering the society and city conditions and addressing the needs of each citizen and that planning is currently experiencing a crisis at a time when the ways in which planning is being carried out seem to be endless. By offering an alternative way to planning thought, he elaborates on space-making at the core of planning. A comprehensive master plan was an essential function of planners at the beginning of the 20th century, and planning was an idealistic practice. Beyond being a spatial exercise, planning is space-making instead of plan-making in all its complexity. According to Perry (1995), it is essential to envision planning as a spatial and strategic discourse that brings together various discourses from different perspectives and scales in an urban context.

With a paradigm shift that emerged with communication rationality, limitations of science and instrumental reasoning were further recognized. The theory of Habermas (1984) was used and transformed into different concepts. While communicative planning criticized the single common public interest and top-down approach that the rational model targets, instead of acting as technocratic leaders, planners served as mediators between stakeholders and assisted in reaching a consensus. Also, they ensured that the interests of a particular group among all groups with diverse socio-economic hierarchies were not dominant. In contrast to materialist analysis, communicative rationality as a postpositivist approach encompassed a broader view of social structure and benefits (Fainstein, 2000). Accordingly, new strategies and collaborative methods have become prominent. However, communicative planning was also criticized.

2.1.3 New Approaches in Planning Thought

The communicative planning theory began to be critically examined during the 1990s. The criticism of communicative planning theory is mainly directed at its idealistic and utopian nature regarding its goal of consensus, communicative rationality, and power approach (Mäntysalo & Jarenko, 2014). First, according to Habermas (1984), deliberation occurs when participants present arguments for and against operating principles. Participants deliberate equally in an ideal speech situation, free from any constraints. In practice, however, voting is the only means of reaching decisions, and a consensus goal is viewed as highly utopian in the contested planning context (Mäntysalo & Jarenko, 2014).

Fainstein (2000) also discusses that communicative planning theory faces difficulties. Even though Habermas refers to the ideal speech situation as a criterion and it is believed that disagreements would vanish with negotiation, she objects to the idea that there will emerge social conflict and domination of the powerful interest groups inevitably. Also, according to Flyvbjerg and Richardson (2002), power is ignored with its negative and distorting effects. Access to information and resources may not be

evenly distributed for different interest groups. According to Purcell (2009), there can never be total inclusiveness, every inclusive “we” has a “they” to exclude. Communicative action will inevitably impose decisions on those not fully involved in the process, those affected, nonetheless.

Although planners tend to respond to the needs of “ordinary citizens,” city building requires empowering excluded ones from discussions, but this process does not solely depend on the ability to participate; instead, there are other factors and resources, such as access to expertise, source of capital, effective organization, and media coverage (Fainstein, 2000, p. 461). Also, as Flyvbjerg (1998) demonstrates, power often determines rationality in planning. Further, Purcell (2009) discusses that power relations are strengthened rather than transformed by communicative action. Also, with the Habermasian ideal of communicative action, planning theory and practice tend to support the neoliberal agenda rather than oppose it (Purcell, 2009). Moreover, planning authorities and planners often act regressively, exerting dominance and causing inequalities (Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000), called the dark side of planning (Flyvbjerg, 1996). However, it is discussed as plan-making is impossible by avoiding power relations (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002).

Moreover, even though communicative planning theory criticizes the technocratic and central role of the planner, it also spotlights the planner, and rather than considering what should be done about cities, it prioritizes what planners should be doing (Fainstein, 2005). Fainstein (2000) criticizes communicative planning as it avoids creating solutions in case of unjust results and ignores paternalism's possible desirable consequences. She also indicates that changing speech is insufficient for transformation, and different positions cannot be overcome merely by exchanging ideas. In fact, planning should be elaborated “more than a matter of negotiation and consensus building among stakeholders” (Fainstein, 2000, p. 458). She highlights the gap between action and rhetoric.

Additionally, as it is time-consuming, Fainstein (2000) remarks on the requirement of a long time for participatory practices, which will even result in burnout among participants. Also, Innes and Booher (2010) state that it may not be feasible when

immediate action is required. However, compared to the traditional approach, which involves the top-down decision-making process to produce effective policies and develop action on wicked problems, it is still elaborated as flexible and adaptive. Furthermore, framing alternatives is a challenge of communicative planning. On top of that, the aims of communicative planning may not be in rapport with the outcomes of the planning process, specifically within a narrow spatial boundary (Fainstein, 2000).

Postmodernism has impacted planning with processes such as globalization, multiculturalism, the rise of civil society, as well as the decline of welfare states. Therefore, several solutions have arisen, such as collaborative approaches, strategic planning, and new urbanism (Portugali, 2012c). While the traditional planning approach is criticized for being authoritarian, Fainstein (2000) states that more contemporary theories continue to bring new approaches beyond criticisms. In this sense, new urbanism is discussed as a design-oriented approach to urban development planning. It is more an ideology than a theory emerging primarily from architects. Hence, while communicative planning aims to involve people in shaping their environment, new urbanism is more of an ideology. Rather than emphasizing the implementation method, new urbanism stresses the substance of plans (Fainstein, 2000). Hence, it is criticized for fostering an unrealistic environmental determinism. Also, Innes and Booher (2010) criticize new urbanism for excluding the urban poor in the city's image.

Although the movement of new urbanism aimed to go beyond the modernistic approach (Marshall, 2012), it is criticized for having a possibility of failure same as modernism (Fainstein, 2000) by focusing on the physical structures of cities (Portugali, 2012c). Also, Fainstein (2000), discussing communicative planning, describes her concerns regarding its unjust results. For Fainstein (2005), it is crucial to understand under what conditions and how to produce an improved city for all its residents. She (2006), with a pragmatistic approach, discusses a more equitable distribution of resources, a more tolerant view of diversity, and a more democratic decision-making process with the proposal of a "just city" model. The just city model aims to advocate

for a program rather than a particular group, as in advocacy planning (Fainstein, 2000). As part of the theory of the just city, relatively powerless groups play an essential role in decision-making, and outcomes are equitably distributed.

Collaborative tendencies highlight the need for more open, flexible systems to respond quickly and adequately to changing social and economic conditions. In this context, the strategic spatial planning process is revisited. Albrechts (2004, p. 743) indicates that "one best or one single way to do strategic planning" is impossible. Traditional planning emphasizes spatial ordering to provide public interest; hence, they are rigid and inflexible and do not respond fully to changing circumstances. As a framework for action, strategic planning anticipates changes and discontinuities by identifying opportunities. It is not a single concept but a set of concepts, creating a vision for the future, but all decisions are taken in the present (Albrechts, 2004). In strategic planning, inclusiveness plays a central role. Planners provide direction for change and engage in open dialogue, collaboration, and consensus building. As Albrechts (2004) points out, it is a democratic, open, dynamic, and creative process. According to strategic planning, space is no longer considered the result of a design but rather the result of reassembling the unfolding uses of space in specific contexts of action. Also, Healey (1996) draws attention to the locality of strategic spatial planning. Power relations are distinctive to each context, which need to be confronted and reduced through communication practices, which will undoubtedly require a localized process.

Moreover, Innes and Booher (2010) criticize the traditional rational model for not including public engagement and for almost no room for listening, and for aiming at producing the best solution to the policy problem, and accordingly, the problem is analyzed and corrected mechanically. Hence, changes are less adaptable. Innes and Booher (2010) emphasize that collaborative processes create collective and individual jointly learning processes with open-ended approaches, which make the community more resilient and adaptive. Working collaboratively with diverse knowledge creates adaptive strategies that provide flexibility to deal with uncertainty. In this approach, there may be solutions that may be better than the status quo, but they are not the best solutions. Innes and Booher (2010) propose a new theory representing the major

components of collaborative rationality: diversity, interdependence, and authentic dialogue (DIAD). It is aimed to explore what collaborative policy-making can accomplish and under what conditions.

In order to better understand and address the wicked problems, there is a need to improve collaborative practices. By discussing different collaboration efforts, Innes and Booher (2010) indicate that although there are various collaboration applications, the ones meeting the conditions of DIAD theory are limited. Collaborative rationality that leads to effective results is seen as more extensive and long-term. Thus, the authors emphasize the need for a face-to-face dialogue to facilitate the discovery of mutual gains and agreements, challenge assumptions, and involve all stakeholders. Moreover, shared knowledge and meaning are elaborated as central to single and double-loop learning. Collaboration can lead to the creation of new knowledge as well as changes in values, goals, shared understandings, and underlying attitudes. On the other hand, if not managed with a dialogue, power differentials will harm the decision-making process (Innes & Booher, 2010).

Innes and Booher (2010) discuss collaborative policy dialogue as not being a panacea. Collaborative processes may not be able to resolve all policy issues. A collaborative dialogue will not be effective and appropriate without bringing all stakeholders together. Moreover, a complex problem with multiple elements is essential, considering the time and energy required for effective collaborative dialogue. Also, there is no single approach that fits every situation. Every context, every problem, and every stakeholder requires a nuanced and unique approach. As a result of successful policy dialogue, social and intellectual capital, and institutional capacity will be achieved. Collaborative processes continuously evolve and adapt. Therefore, Innes and Booher (2010) frame their theory within the concept of complex systems. They assert that complexity science with adaptiveness and creativity offers a way to discuss a collaborative model in an uncertain and changing world.

To sum up, after the 1960s, various planning models developed did not target the centralized and top-down rational planning approach. During the 1970s, physical planning weakened, representing nothing better than the status quo. While aiming to

eliminate the difficulty of implementation in large-scale systems, they maintained a technocratic view without considering cities as complex entities (Batty & Marshall, 2012). Jacobs (1961) evaluates planning approaches as being inappropriate for the contemporary city by acknowledging the complexity in simplicity. According to Batty and Marshall (2012, p. 44), "the idea of the planned city as a knowable utopia is a chimera." Mainstream planning theory evolved and shifted from technical to communicative rationality (De Roo, 2010), and consequently, a planner's role has also evolved. Considering the complex nature of planning, collaborative approaches in planning are evolving, and as Innes and Booher (2010) assert, in a complex and changing world, no problem will be fixed totally. Instead, there is a need to move beyond collaborative practices and create new practice forms (Figure 3).

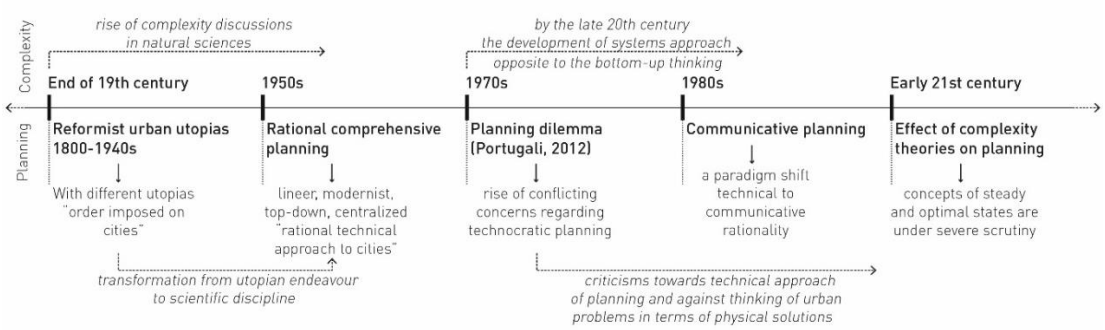


Figure 3. Evolution of planning approaches

Innes and Booher (2010) argue that complexity theory can provide a framework for collaborative rationality. Instead of an optimal and universal solution, they consider the consequences of collective decisions. Also, Hillier (2010a, p. 11) regards "planning as a complex and performative multiplicity of practices, knowledges, human and non-human actants."

> Nevertheless, we continue to try to plan in the belief that the world will be a better place if we intervene to identify and solve issues that are widely regarded as problematic. But this must be tempered with an awareness of the limitations of planning, not least through an awareness of the evolutionary nature of urban change. (Marshall, 2009, p. 266)

According to De Roo and Rauws (2012), the communicative approaches accept uncertainty in spatial design through communicative methods. Recognizing diversity and unpredictability forces spatial planning to be open to dialogue with local stakeholders and their concerns (De Roo & Rauws, 2012). Hence, a crisis is rising in contemporary planning theories.

2.2 Planning with Complexity

The quantitative approach dominated the planning discussion during the 1950s and 1960s, followed by critical approaches in the 1970s (Portugali, 2012a). Whereas classical systems are simple and mechanistic, and accordingly, predictable, non-classical complex systems are not predictable even in the case of knowing initial conditions in advance. Hence, examining society in the presence of complexity causes limitations due to its unpredictable nature (Portugali, 2011). According to De Roo (2010), although planning is addressed in a "fixed-state reality" according to the quantitative rational approach, the temporal nature of the complexity impacts the planning approaches. Accordingly, traditional processes started to be seen as inadequate, along with the awareness of the open interactive systems, and be replaced by nonlinear socially constructed processes. In other words, there is a shift from the rational view approaching cities as general systems from the top-down and static-equilibrium to the view of dynamic theories with bottom-up and out-of-equilibrium approaches. Cities are accepted as complex and self-organizing systems (Portugali, 2012a), and as De Roo (2010) asserts, planning, with its various concepts, is fuzzy by its nature. In this context, Batty and Marshall (2012) discuss the need to establish a planning theory adapting to cities' rising complexity.

Darwin made a lasting impact on the top-down approach with the groundbreaking work called Origins of Species (1859). While centralized models started to be criticized in science, in the late 19th century, a theoretical concern for cities began to rise (Batty & Marshall, 2012). Accordingly, in the light of different ideologies, paradigm shifts in other sciences, firstly in natural sciences and then in social sciences,

started to be observed. As indicated by De Roo (2010), as well as accepting the uncertainty in planning, researchers started to draw attention to restrictions caused by an object-oriented approach. According to Batty and Marshall (2012), as linking biology and city together, Geddes (1915) is one of the pioneers in discussing complexity in planning and draws attention to the necessity of developing urban life from the bottom up. Geddes (1915) remarked on the organic complexity of the city during the early 19th century by criticizing the mechanical perceptions regarding urban elements. Hillier (2010a) indicates that Darwinism was too restricted to discuss urban planning, whereas Geddes applied this biological approach to planning.

Jacobs and Alexander are the pioneers who strongly argued the complexity of cities during the early 1960s by criticizing the modernist approach (Portugali, 2012a). The idea that simplistic order would be more functional was criticized (Marshall, 2012). Moreover, Rittel and Weber (1973) defined planning problems as wicked. De Roo et al. (2012) argue that wicked and fuzzy problems open space for the sciences of complexity and that spatial planning eventually progresses towards a new turn with a nonlinear planning understanding. Theories of planning need to explain all the complexities of planning and the diverse contexts of planning (Innes, 1983). Hence, there emerged a need to rethink planning theory and practice in the light of nonlinearity, resilience, adaptivity, complexity, and complexity thinking. According to Hillier (2010a), complexity and uncertainty are aimed to be challenged with a spatial planning theory. Portugali (2011) asserts that complexity theory provides a new perception of cities and can shed light on “muddled” issues (De Roo, 2010, p. 36).

2.2.1 Complexity Theory

Science has an aspect that creates an expectation for certainty and clarity, resulting in a reductionist way of thinking that ignores complexity (Cilliers, 2005). However, complexity theories dating back to the 1960s originated with physical-material systems with "the phenomena of emergence, self-organization, and history." According to Martin and Sulley (2007, p. 575), interest in complexity theories

increased with the work on the dynamical properties and structural transformation of nonlinear, “far-from-equilibrium” systems. Also, Cilliers (2002) discusses the effect of technological developments on applied sciences, which concordantly increased the interest in complexity theories. After a while, the theory started to be applied to various areas, including social science (Portugali, 2012d, p. 1).

There are various conceptualizations of complexity theory developed by different schools of thought, and there is no complete framework regarding the definition of complexity theory (Hillier, 2010c). Hence, clarification of concepts within the area they are transferred to is needed (Morçöl, 2012). Even though there is no broad agreement on what complexity is, Martin and Sunley (2007) discuss the inherent components of complex systems as distributed nature and representation, openness, nonlinear dynamics, emergence and self-organization, adaptive behavior and adaptation, and non-determinism and non-tractability. Although time, development, and progress play no role in equilibrium situations, the main characteristics of complex systems emphasize temporality (De Roo et al., 2012). Hence, a complex system evolves over time and contributes to our understanding of progress, change, and development. Cilliers (2005, p. 257) describes some key characteristics of complex systems as follows:

- Complex systems are open systems.
- They operate under conditions not at equilibrium.
- Complex systems consist of many components. The components themselves are often simple (or can be treated as such).
- The output of components is a function of their inputs. At least some of these functions must be nonlinear.
- The state of the system is determined by the values of the inputs and outputs.
- Interactions are defined by actual input–output relations and they are dynamic (the strength of the interactions change over time).
- Components on average interact with many others. There are often multiple routes possible between components, mediated in different ways.

- Some sequences of interaction will provide feedback routes, whether long or short.
- Complex systems display behavior that results from the interaction between components and not from characteristics inherent to the components themselves. This is sometimes called emergence.
- Asymmetrical structure (temporal, spatial, and functional organization) is developed, maintained, and adapted in complex systems through internal dynamic processes. Structure is maintained even though the components themselves are exchanged or renewed.
- Complex systems display behavior over a divergent range of timescales. This is necessary in order for the system to cope with its environment. It must adapt to changes in the environment quickly, but it can only sustain itself if at least part of the system changes at a slower rate than changes in the environment. This part can be seen as the "memory" of the system.
- More than one description of a complex system is possible. Different descriptions will decompose the system in different ways. Different descriptions may also have different degrees of complexity.

Complex systems are also described as complex adaptive systems (CAS), and adaptability is an essential property of complex systems related to systems' self-organization capacity and being open (Portugali, 2012a). However, by comparing complex systems and complex adaptive systems and thinking that a system does not necessarily have to be adaptive to become a complex system, Morçöl (2012) uses the term "complex systems." Nonlinearity is the primary concept of complex systems. The norm of nature is nonlinearity and openness, despite linear thinking being the foundation of scientific thought (Morçöl, 2012). Nonlinearity does not necessarily imply randomness and negativity and may even positively generate patterns. Also, these systems are in far-from-equilibrium conditions, as they are highly sensitive to external factors. Emergence is related to the notion that a whole is more than the sum of its parts. Local and micro-interactions generate macro transformation (Hillier, 2010a). Moreover, self-organization results from actors' relations and resistance against command and control. Also, dynamic systems are seen as coevolutionary

processes. Complex systems cannot be defined as optimal, as there are unpredictable exogenous changes, no closed solutions, and no certainty (Batty and Marshall, 2012).

Although Cilliers (2002) notes that complex systems have a large number of elements, Morçöl (2012) argues that rather than the number of elements, interactions between elements make a system complex. A nonlinear relationship between the elements may cause this complexity, and even small changes can profoundly affect a system's behavior (Morçöl, 2012). According to Cilliers (2002), it is impossible to understand the whole system by examining its parts in complex systems. The relation between parts is not fixed, yet it shifts and changes due to self-organization. It is also not possible to understand the complete system due to its complex structure. Even having complete knowledge of parts of a system, the future behavior of a system cannot be predicted (Morçöl, 2012). Hence, instead of complete knowledge, only a specific frame of knowledge can be comprehended (Cilliers, 2005). Hillier (2010c) indicates that as multidisciplinary thinking, complexity is concerned with the tension between order and chaos resulting from unpredictable events and emergence.

Hillier (2012, p. 64) states that planning has "schizophrenic effects," while it is useful for certain entities, it is disadvantageous to others. According to her, planning can never be fully actualized. Similarly, Morçöl (2012) defines public policy as an emergent, self-organized, and complex system. There is a nonlinear system of relations between actors of this complex system. Although he discusses the complexities of public policy, the same framework fits with the planning and planning policies.

2.2.2 Revisiting Planning Theories with Complexity

> Cities are the example par excellence of complex systems: emergent, far from equilibrium, requiring enormous energies to maintain themselves, displaying patterns of inequality spawned through agglomeration and intense competition for space, and saturated flow systems that use capacity in what appear to be barely sustainable but paradoxically resilient networks. (Batty, 2008, p. 769)

Historically, planning has been associated with reducing complexity in cities and involved the imposition of planned order despite cities' inherently complex nature (Marshall, 2012, pp. 191-192). In the traditional perspective, while planning was associated with physicalist blueprint planning, planners were thought to have the authority and power to regulate the built environment (De Roo & Rauws, 2012). However, in time, it has been seen that the failure of planning was primarily related to the diminished complexity of planned urbanism. In fact, cities were perceived as complex systems long before the "complexity theories of cities" (CTC) were introduced (Alexander, 1965; Jacobs, 1961). During the past few decades, the understanding of cities has started reflecting Jane Jacobs's arguments (1961). No longer elaborating the cities as disordered systems, it is seen that order emerges from various decisions and processes beneath the chaos and diversity (Batty, 2008), as also indicated by Alexander (1965). Portugali (2012a) indicates that this chaos and order do not contradict each other, enabling cities to become complex adaptive systems and endure changes.

Alexander (1965) criticizes the top-down approach and argues that the structures produced by the bottom-up method would be more suitable for complex problems. Again, with the discussion of a city is not a tree (1965), he resembles a way of thinking of cities as a tree and a semilattice in which the latter has a complex structure. According to him, a city is conceived as a tree with a limited number of components and levels, which are also fixed and unchanging residues in a system. However, in a city system, there are numerous residues and levels. As a result, he does not believe that current city plans are in line with social realities. Moreover, a planner conceives the city as a tree and does not encompass the complexity of the city by relating this to the tendency for simpler thinking in the presence of a complex system. Alexander (1965) argues that a city cannot be a tree due to its complex networks. Therefore, his point of view highlights the need for a more comprehensive approach to city planning that considers urban life's complex dynamics and realities. In this sense, today, planning is more about maintaining the complexity of cities, and it is seen to enable the failures of traditional planning approaches (Marshall, 2012). Also, the planner's role is to guide the spatial processes to a limited extent (De Roo & Rauws, 2012).

Qualitative and quantitative studies regarding cities progressed concurrently. While with the first one, humanistic studies were produced, with the latter, quantitative studies such as central place theories and size distribution of cities were discussed (Portugali, 2012b). Portugali (2012c) elaborates on forms of planning twofold and resembles this split of planning approaches to "two cultures of planning," referring to Snow's (1964) positioning of social science and positive science as two cultures (Portugali, 2012a). Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, planning was dominated by the first scientific culture of cities when the mainstream planning theories based on quantitative and scientific culture were developed. Although modernist and reductionist approaches were criticized, they retained their dominance until the late 20th century because this approach made managing cities much easier (Portugali, 2012a). Especially after the wars, the reconstruction period in cities required to act based on functionality, resulting in spatial implementations with a modernist approach, also identified as technical rational planning (De Roo & Rauws, 2012). After being criticized for its positivistic approach by the end of the 1960s, the gap between the two cultures of planning, namely qualitative and quantitative, started to widen (Portugali, 2012b). According to De Roo and Rauws (2012), during this period, it also became clear that the success of such a rational planning approach was limited. Hence, this period ends with disillusionment and disappointment (Portugali, 2011). In line with the criticisms regarding the Euclidian and fixed planning approach of the 1960s, there appeared a call for multiple approaches to planning (Hillier, 2010a)

During the 19th century, bottom-up approaches developed in different disciplines, and a systems model was introduced. However, for the planning, this departure did not emerge radically because the planning was institutionalized within a scope of a top-down approach, and even it aimed to sustain better equilibrium while acting as a comprehensive activity. When a systems model was introduced, the need for a change in planning and thinking of cities as a system increased with the rapidly changing urban life. Consequently, during the early 1970s, a paradigm shift was observed in urban studies, which Kuhn (1962) has termed. Kaiser and Godschalk (1995) also point out that a shift emerged after the mid-20th century from an elitist planning vision to a framework focused on community consensus, in other words, from simple policy

statements to complex combinations. According to De Roo and Rauws (2012), communicative rationality paved the way for an open, nonlinear, and multi-actor process and led to the recognition of uncertainties in spatial planning and the appreciation of the intersubjective perspective (De Roo et al., 2012; Habermas, 1984).

Previous studies based on scientific theories were criticized for being incapable of elaborating on the real problems of cities, and discussions about planning as a non-scientific process arose. Accordingly, discussions on planning split into two; proponents of positivists who develop quantitative approaches and proponents of structuralist-Marxists stand who advocate qualitative and critical approaches. Thus, on the one hand, first proponents try to develop urban science, while on the other hand, latter proponents approach the city from the perspective of humanities and social philosophy. According to Hillier (2010a), this group admits the subjectivity of knowledge; there is no way to establish any correct meaning, and the path is not linear. It is understood that spatial planning must consider local circumstances and address local stakeholders' interests by recognizing diversity and uncertainty. Hence, different actors with diverse interests collaborate for a consensus (De Roo & Rauws, 2012). This second hermeneutic culture of planning dominated the last few decades.

During the last decades, complexity theories evolved, developing a science of society. Classical theories approach cities as they are predictable, controllable, and plannable, which leads to reductionism; on the other hand, complexity theories of cities approach cities as open systems, far from equilibrium and even on the edge of chaos. According to Portugali (2012a), complexity theories of cities offer an opportunity to unite these two planning cultures going beyond both and becoming the link between them. In other words, complexity theories of cities have two messages: quantitative and qualitative. Complexity theory, originating in sciences, offers a fundamentally quantitative approach. With the developments in communication and information technologies, there appeared new potential for quantitative planning tools. Complex, out-of-equilibrium, and open systems are qualitatively different from the first culture of systems. Even if each initial condition is specific, the future product cannot be predicted due to the system's nonlinearity (Portugali, 2012c). Portugali (2012a) defines

the third culture of cities as perceiving the cities as complex systems. He also indicates that the potential of complexity theories lies in developing a better balance between qualitative and quantitative messages, which means that CTC can bridge two cultures of cities: functional and communicative rationality (De Roo, 2000). Also, De Roo and Rauws (2012) assert that systems thinking can connect planning and complexity. Portugali (2011) emphasizes the importance of research efforts that elaborate on both limitations of the quantitative approach and the qualitative potentials of the qualitative approach.

Also, according to De Roo and Rauws (2012, p. 210), planning issues generally lie between opposing rationales and typically involve certainties and uncertainties, resulting in fuzziness. Complexity theory, by proposing a "what if…" understanding of interventions, help to suggest a framework to deal with uncertainties. De Roo and Rauws (2012) define three systems by associating the systems theory with planning. In system I, there is a cause-and-effect relationship in a closed and goal-oriented system with complete information. In system II, internal and external effects result in a less direct cause-and-effect relationship, and this system is semi-open. On the other hand, in system III, the cause-and-effect relationship is weakest in an uncertain, open, and process-oriented system. In this last system, there are various actors with different interests, and the system has a flexible and dynamic structure due to external effects. Technical rationality and communicative rationality fall between two extremes, system I and III (Figure 4).

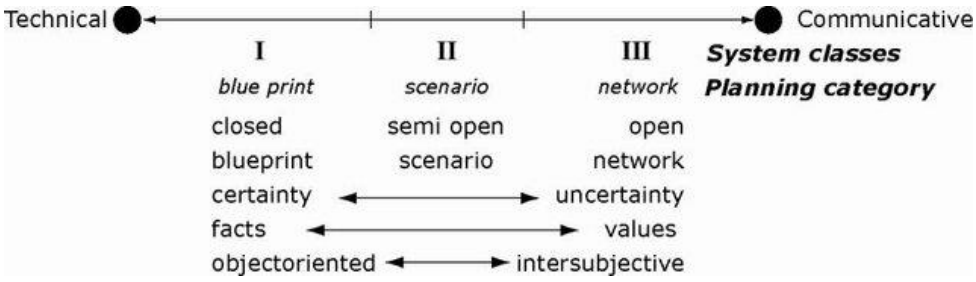


Figure 4. A rationality spectrum for planning (De Roo, 2012, p. 133)

On the other hand, system IV is included with nonlinear and out-of-equilibrium features in the complexity theory. This system evolves, progresses, and changes in a discontinuous and nonlinear way. De Roo and Rauws (2012) resemble a city to a complex system that is changing and adapting over time due to internal and external effects. It has an adaptive capacity to external effects and a self-organization ability with the effects of internal developments. In systems I and III, planning between order and chaos focuses on the "here and now." In system IV, on the other hand, what is focused on is "becoming" instead of "being." A planner establishes a bridge between real and possible, that is, between being and becoming (De Roo et al., 2012). De Roo and Rauws (2012) argue that there can be no atemporal planning and that it would be inappropriate to do time-independent planning, such as present-day planning, in a constantly changing and uncertain system. Hence, exploring the "becomings" and mapping future trajectories should be handled (De Roo et al., 2012) (Figure 5).

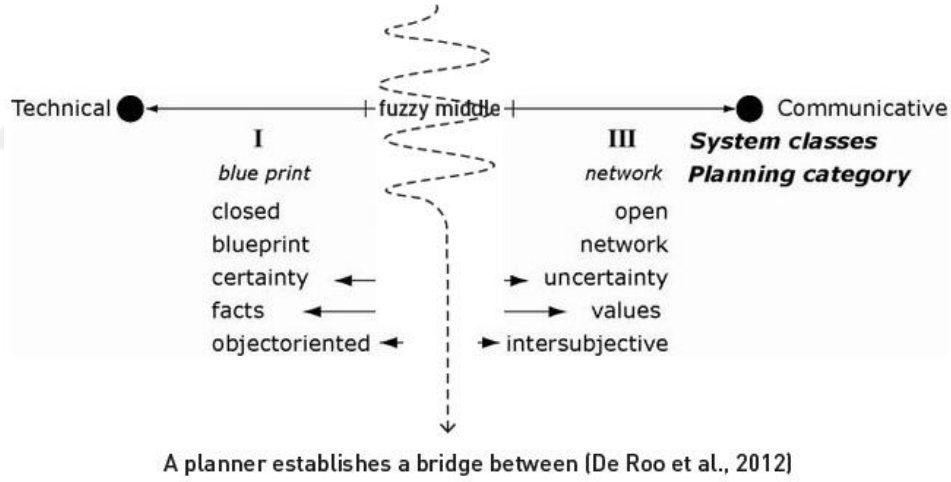


Figure 5. Planning approaches and complexity thinking (Adapted from De Roo, 2012, p. 133)

Planners abandoned the idea that the city could be shaped artificially due to realizing the uncertainty and unknowability of the effects of interventions. Hence, they aim to minimize the negative effects of uncertainty and to benefit from the positive effects at most. De Roo and Rauws (2012) state that this adaptive and evolving planning process is called "adaptive planning," defined by Holland (1995). Adapting to uncertainties by

embracing diversity and flexibility and integrating new concepts such as time, nonlinearity, and self-organization offers different opportunities for planning. It is, therefore, possible to develop alternative approaches by going beyond certainties and uncertainties and incorporating self-organizational and adaptive capacities in a time-dependent context (De Roo and Rauws, 2012). In planning, uncertainty should be acknowledged as essential (Portugali, 2012a). Hence, Marshall (2012) remarks on the challenge of planning as an open system due to the uncertainty and unknowability of the system and the unforeseeable results of implementations.

In understanding cities, complexity theories of cities (CTC) have added new insights (Portugali, 2012a); however, it had little contributed to the city of the 21st century. The properties of the complexity theory are nonlinearity, chaos, emergent properties, and unpredictability. According to Portugali (2012a), most researchers of complexity theories of cities prefer to stick to traditional urban issues. Even complexity theorists discuss the complexity of cities, but they behave them as a simple and closed system. On the other hand, positivists facing uncertainties tend to ignore the complexity from the very beginning (Hillier, 2010a). The city as a complex system contains diverse agents and their interactions, whereas as an external tool, planning performs on the system (Portugali, 2012c). These discussions have made it impossible to ignore the complexity of cities.

The complexity theory emphasizes open, self-organizing systems composed of various parts, such as cities, and their inherent nonlinearity is typical of their openness and complexity (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007). Alfasi and Portugali (2007) introduce a self-organized planning system, which is later defined by Portugali (2012c) as a self-planned city (SPCity) that accommodates the principles of a complex and self-organizing city. In this approach, the planning system has a bottom-up approach and does not rely on predictions but on planning rules and legislation. It is developed to elaborate qualitative statements in planning (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007). With a three layer-system, there are three planning authorities defined in the model. One is the legislative planning authority which determines planning laws. On the other hand, planning executive systems contains every agent rather than a planner alone. This

authority prepares plans and policies and provides information to planning agencies operating simultaneously in the city. Finally, the judiciary planning authority follows the bottom-up structure and focuses on local relations between urban elements (Portugali, 2012c). As a result of this division of power, planning rules are expected to affect everyone equally (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007); hence, this indicates a more democratic and just planning practice. In this city, each urban agent in the society has a say equally, and their ideas are influential for planning practice (Portugali, 2012b).

Moreover, Hillier (2012) emphasizes two trajectories of complexity theories which are romantic and baroque. These trajectories enable discussion of the interaction between spatial planning and complexity planning. In the baroque approach, nonlinearity and the subjectivity of the knowledge are recognized. While planning is becoming more about connections and flows, it is understood that the planning practice's outcomes are also unpredictable. As there are various complexity theories, Hillier (2012) indicates that both romantic and baroque theorization have roles in complexity. Nevertheless, although planning has historically been associated with order and control, she thinks being open to potentials will influence planning. In this understanding, strategies come to the fore rather than specific endpoints. The plan must also be incomplete to prepare for the unpredictable and remain attentive to the unknown.

Healey (2007) states that cities do not depend on a singular driving dynamic. Instead, they are complex structures developed with multiple actors' interactions. Hence, it is impossible to implement planning as a government action in a linear manner. It is significant to exceed two-dimensional space perception and consider sociocultural, environmental, and political dynamics, each with its own dynamics. There will be a difference in terms of experiences of spatial planning and strategy-making in different urban areas. According to Healey (2007), introducing a new relational geography allows for exploring the dynamic complexity of various relational networks in urban areas. The term government is no longer appropriate to embrace governing practices for promoting collective action, but the term governance develops instead. In this new governance form, citizen participation and political inclusion in democratic processes are encouraged, while the government's role is diminished.

In this context, moving forward from a collaborative approach, Innes and Booher (2010) offer democratic governance in the face of complexity, constant change, and uncertainty as being adaptive, flexible, and resilient. Highlighting the parallelism of the collaborative approach and complex systems, they use complex systems to theorize central aspects of collaborative planning, diversity, interdependence, and interaction. Because the community is culturally diverse and decision-makers face various values and perspectives, the decision-making process and trust-building can only be effective through communication and joint action. This enables addressing complex or controversial problems, creating alternatives, and developing more productive consequences compared to traditional government practices with hierarchical and rule-based methods. Consequently, "societal resilience and more responsive democracy" can be achieved (Innes & Booher, 2010, p. 207).

While traditional governance proposes a top-down hierarchical model with closed boundaries in decision-making, collaborative governance offers distributed control, open boundaries, and interdependent network clusters. In the traditional model, single authority and directive leadership come to the forefront, and the role of the leader is to control, plan and guide organizational tasks. On the other hand, the collaborative model presents divided authority and generative leadership. A manager acting as a mediator guides interactions and enables teams to come together. Although traditional governance defines clear problems and best solutions with a linear approach, collaborative governance acknowledges changing and various goals, which implies a nonlinear approach to planning. Public participation aims to create conditions for social learning in the collaborative process, and participants' interactions determine the system's behavior. On the other hand, the traditional model informs and educates rather than providing collaboration. Finally, while the traditional democratic legitimacy of traditional governance is based on representative democracy, collaborative governance corresponds to deliberative democracy (Innes & Booher, 2010) (Figure 6).

Governance dimension	*Traditional governance*	*Collaborative governance*
Structure	Top down hierarchy	Interdependent network clusters
Source of direction	Central control	Distributed control
Boundary condition	Closed	Open
Organizational context	Single authority	Divided authority
Leadership approach	Directive	Generative
Role of manager	Organization controller	Mediator, process manager
Managerial tasks	Planning and guiding organizational processes	Guiding interactions, providing opportunity
Managerial activities	Planning, designing, and leading	Selecting agents and resources, influencing conditions
Goals	Clear with defined problems	Various and changing
Criterion of success	Attainment of goals of formal policy	Realization of collective action and conditions for future collaboration
Nature of planning	Linear	Nonlinear
Public participation objective	Legal conformity, inform and educate, gain support of public for agency policies	Create conditions for social learning and problem-solving capacity
Democratic legitimacy	Representative democracy	Deliberative democracy
Source of system behavior	Determined by component participant roles	Determined by interactions of participants

Figure 6. Comparison of traditional and collaborative complex governance approaches (Innes & Booher, 2010, p. 202)

Moreover, Hillier (2010b), with a Deleuzoguattarian-inspired approach, defines planning as strategic navigation beyond knowing or controlling with the aim of translating theory into practice of strategic spatial planning. According to her, strategic spatial planning represents a form of strategically directed practice of becoming, which is a movement between things. Hillier (2010c, p. 454) indicates that "it evolves, it functions, it adapts, somewhat chaotically, always pragmatically, concerned with what can be done, how new things, new foldings and connections can be made experimentally, yet still in contact with reality." Hence, strategic spatial planning is a vision that represents the possibilities, as the future cannot be predicted fully (Hillier, 2010b). Accordingly, planning in uncertainty is always incomplete (Hillier, 2010a, p. 13), as primarily, the future for planners is, by definition, uncertain (Bertolini, 2010). "Within a context of strategic spatial planning, rather than the end-points trajectories are significant, in other words, "journeys" are concerned instead of "destinations" (Hillier, 2010c, p. 471). Strategic navigation, a "what might happen if" approach, necessitates understanding the current position and future potentialities to understand how to reach the overall objective or trajectory. It includes risk-taking as not being in total control in the face of uncertainty and complexity (Hillier, 2010c). Hillier (2010c, p. 466) defines strategic navigation as a "conservation that weaves between the molecular of specific episodes and local or micro stories, the networks and coalitions, assemblages and agencements of governance processes, and the molarities of governance cultures."

It is not possible to develop a theory or practice of strategic spatial planning that can be applied universally (Hillier, 2010a). As Rittel and Webber (1973) suggested planning problems as wicked and pointed out the participatory and argumentative side of planning practice, Bertolini (2010) emphasizes that further exploring this approach can challenge the wicked and chaotic environment of contemporary planning problems. He argues that "planning should be a process of reflection in action … linking naming situations, framing problems, moving towards solutions, and reflecting on each of these, in order to identify consistent problem solutions combination amenable to collective action" (Bertolini, 2010, p. 416). Nevertheless, these will not

end the process because new rounds of naming, framing, moving, and reflecting are necessary for a continuously changing social context (Bertolini, 2010).

Hillier (2010b) emphasizes the necessity of negotiating and the creative experimentation that emerges during this negotiation process of people living together with flexibility and adaptability. People sometimes have to change their goals and means; sometimes, they may not go in the direction they want. Hillier (2010b) refers to this process as strategic navigation and resembles it with the practice of strategic spatial planning. Strategic navigation is a conversation constructed between specific departments and local or micro-stories, networks, communities and units of management processes, and molarities of governance cultures. Strategic planning as strategic navigation refers to taking a risk in which there is a state of not having full control, which transcends the techniques of planning practice to create “an open reading frame for the emergence of unprecedented events” (Hillier, 2010c, p. 473). Hillier (2011) describes the strategic planning process on two different planes, based on Deleuze and Guatari's "plane" conceptualization, which are the plane of immanence and the plane of organization (Figure 7).

Plan(e) of Immanence/Consistency	Plan(e) of Transcendence/Organisation
becomings/emergence	transcendence
open-ended trajectories	closed goals
rhizomic multiplicities	arborescent hierarchical relations of power
chance	planned development
time as Aeon/Aion	time as Chronos
smooth space (with some virtual striation)	striated space (with some smoothing)
unstructured	structured
dynamism of unformed elements	stability of judgement and identity
flux and fluidity	inertia or sluggish movement
power to	power over

Figure 7. Schematic descriptors of the plane of immanence and organization (Hillier, 2007, p. 243)

According to the plane of immanence, the plan is not something closed or the end of a process with certain goals to be achieved; rather, it is unpredictable with a long-term strategic plan. A foresight about "what might happen" is the plane of creative transformation (Hillier, 2011, p. 507). The plane is open to new becomings and connections and is not a definite method or set of opinions. On the other hand, the plane of organization includes shorter-term plans and projects, and certain goals and limits define it. Targets and limits set here refer to the predetermined standards as in the regulation, and the plane contains hierarchical power relations to regulate. Hence, this plane is a blueprint plan (Hillier, 2010c). According to Hillier (2011), the plane of immanence and the plane of organization exist simultaneously; in other words, macro and micropolitics occur together. The two planes are sometimes tightly knit and sometimes separate. Thus, the multiplanar theory includes longer-term trajectories or visions, such as sustainability, and shorter-term projects with collaboratively determined tangible goals, such as main street regeneration (Hillier, 2010b, p. 92). Strategic spatial planning operates on the frontiers of these two planes, as there is a need for both long-term visions and short-term decisions (Hillier, 2010c). Between these two planes, the planner constantly redefines and manages the process. Similarly, planning is described by Bertolini (2010) as a means of organizing and governing the process. Hillier (2010c) emphasizes the importance of monitoring in order to maintain that long-term visions are still appropriate.

According to Hillier (2010c), strategic spatial planning ensures a new way to challenge complex problems. In these multiplanar planes, while the plane of immanence provides a more democratic and inclusive approach where different actants run collaborative processes by virtue of its vertical power relationships, the plane of organization facilitates everyday segmentarities of life (Hillier, 2010c). Also, Batty and Marshall (2012) state that with uncertainty, there can be no target destination or no certain direction of progress. In this sense, as in Hillier's strategic navigation, the process is reshaped and navigated depending on the context. Hence, strategic spatial planning as a strategic navigation cannot be in total control; on the contrary, it is a performance of risk-taking and being open to the emergence of unprecedented events (Hillier, 2010b, p. 95).

Similarly, De Roo et al. (2012) demonstrate that even in the most straightforward planning process, uncertainties, legal complications, and power relations can arise, and it will not be possible to fully control this process, which is affected by internal and external complexities in a rapidly changing environment and opinions of society. This ambiguity also influences urban complexity and dynamics. Planners should comprehend the dynamics of the "here and now" and its evolution. In order to grasp the dynamics, flows, and uncertainties, complexity theory offers a perspective (De Roo et al., 2012). Batty and Marshall (2012) indicate that along with the complexity theories, collaborative planning practices have started to be influenced, and they discuss a paradigm shift from top-down to bottom-up approaches and static to dynamic.

With the advent of new planning approaches, instead of a process determined solely by a planner, a process in which individuals and groups were involved and determined the becoming of the city began to emerge. The planner has a negotiator role instead of a technocrat role during the process. Monno (2012) claims that complexity can assist in learning contextual and dynamic features of complexity by considering the injustices and power games emerging during planning. In fact, complexity is for progress (Teisman et al., 2009). With the appreciation of complexity in the planning, planning can consider and accommodate diverse stakeholders' interests and respond flexibly to multiple time-spaces.

2.3 Relevance to the Dissertation

2.3.1 Policy-Making on Urban Transformation Planning with Complexity

The limitations of instrumental reasoning and the positivist approach are recognized due to their simplification and clockwork mechanism, and they are seen as ineffective in understanding social phenomena's complexities and even in natural sciences. Complexity does not argue that every event is random, and complexity theorists try to understand not just disorder but order and dynamic transformations. In case of knowing the incompleteness of the system, it also will be known that it is not possible

to predict the future state or define optima (Batty & Marshall, 2012). However, despite recognizing the limitations of reductionist approaches, Morçöl (2012) indicates that human beings tend to simplify, and even scientific theories simplify. Scientists even try to find methods of simplifying complex problems, and complexity is seen as something to be reduced or fixed (Teisman et al., 2009). Similarly, planners have a tendency for simplification. By challenging this simplification tendency, complexity theory can contribute to developing a new mind (Morçöl, 2012). Policy-making can also be simplified, and policymakers prefer simplifying by rejecting or not appreciating the complexities. Generally, a singular government actor decides and acts in a compliant way with simplification and uses information subjectively. However, although this attitude does not diminish complexities, it will result in problems in the long term.

Innes and Booher (2010) assert that policymakers cannot address complex and rapidly changing problems; hence, ineffective and improper actions are developed. In fact, Alexander (1965), in his seminal research, also indicates that policymakers elaborate the city as a simple system like a tree, whereas their approach should take into consideration the open and complex structure of a city. Healey (2007) similarly demonstrates the increasing instability in discourses and practices, which results in policy actors facing challenging developments while practicing. While this brought distrust by the citizens, the best form of knowledge for public decision-making is no longer considered scientifically developed knowledge by experts. In fact, many governmental actors started to see the value of collaborative dialogue in addressing conflicts.

As part of policy-making and planning, the city must be considered as an emergent, self-organized, and complex system. This means that while the city is a system of interconnected components, the interactions between those components are often unpredictable and nonlinear. As such, the city needs to be managed in a way that takes into account the complexity of these interactions, relations between diverse actors, internal and external events, and planning for the future are considered with an understanding of the nonlinear dynamics of the city.

In Turkey, planning practices are based on rational planning processes. Although it is assumed that there are participative exercises, they are not applications beyond practices such as a one-month formal objection period. In fact, planning does not have linear outcomes and is not regarded with complexity. Nonetheless, certain outcomes arise due to the activities and interactions of individual and collective actors capable of shaping themselves and other external events. Hence, they evolve with other social and natural systems around them. However, when planning is done in a long-term, blue-printed way, requirements, and different policies, projects independent of the plan and urban development dynamics are also observed. In this sense, even if complexity exists in the planning process, it tends to complicate the research as it would require long-term follow-up and multi-actor monitoring to discuss the complexity of urban development plans.

On the other hand, in Turkey, as of the 2000s, urban transformation projects, which are the driving force of urban development and economic development, are carried out in a way that can be monitored and examined temporally with different legal bases. Being a primary urban planning tool, urban transformation projects and their implementation process offer a rich ground to examine the complexities of planning. Also, the main objectives of urban planning overlap with those of urban transformation projects. In this context, the occurrences in planning within the scope of the dissertation, the factors that the complexity theory needs to be re-evaluated from the perspective of urban planning, and nonlinear processes can be evaluated through an urban transformation project example. In this direction, the dissertation elaborates on urban transformation practices implemented by the local government in İzmir, which represent a different approach within the framework of the İzmir Model and which do not actualize in the form of top-down transformation and thus does not involve an authoritarian process with the results of dispossession and displacement but instead a participatory approach. Also, since urban transformation projects progress very quickly in terms of implementation phases compared to urban development plans, they allow for testing and analyzing the planning process and, accordingly, adaptations and emergence throughout the process.

2.3.2 Relevance of the Research Method

Within the context of complexity theory, various conceptualizations are developed by different theorists. Still, there is no single universal theory of complexity or agreement regarding the boundaries of the theory (Morçöl, 2012). Hence, the presence of nonlinear, emergent, coevolutionary, and self-organizing components in complex systems necessitates using varying research methods. In order to base upon a more conceptual and explanatory foundation, meso-level theoretical frameworks might offer to discuss complexity in planning processes (Koliba et al., 2019). Meso-level frameworks enable examining macro-level structures and micro-level behaviors and the relationship between macro and micro-level. Meso-level refers to “intermediate or collective connective relations – between and among governance actors – that build connections among stakeholders” (Koliba et al., 2019, p. 399).

There are multiple methods employed to elaborate complexity theory both qualitatively and quantitatively. Although quantitative methods are widespread in complexity theory research due to being rooted in natural sciences, quantitative and qualitative methods are necessary to understand complex systems better (Morçöl, 2012). Whereas qualitative methods aid in understanding situations and meaning created by actors and agents, quantitative methods allow for generalizations. Also, Martin and Sunley (2007) point out the constraints of quantitative principles to explain complex socio-economic behaviors.

Concordantly, the research frameworks providing a conceptual bridge to elaborate macro and micro-level interactions and relations are discussed first. Following that, multiple research methods appropriate for complexity theory are summarized. Then, the relevance of the research framework and method of the dissertation are justified.

2.3.2.1 Research Frameworks of Complexity Theory

As public problems become more complex and "wicked," computer technology and globalization processes take over, and the resulting changes have altered approaches to planning and public policy (Koliba et al., 2019). Despite that, complexity theory

cannot sufficiently explain or discuss social processes. Cilliers (2005) indicates that complexity theories enable understanding why complex problems are challenging but lack exact tools to solve these problems. Hence, for conceptualization, other social theories are required. Morçöl (2012) puts forward three frameworks that acknowledge the complexity theory, which are the institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework, advocacy coalition framework (ACF), and network governance theories. Similarly, Koliba et al. (2019, p. 400) discuss the meso-level "complexity-friendly" theoretical frameworks such as the multiple policy stream, IAD framework, punctuated equilibrium, and ACF. Complexity-friendly means that the research methods discussed allow for emergencies, path dependencies, and avoid reductionism, which are all directly the main discussions of the complexity approach (Deng & Pu, 2021; Koliba et al., 2019; Morçöl, 2012). These meso-level frameworks maintain macro and micro-level connections and provide a basis for discussing empirical studies within the context of complexity theory.

To begin with, according to Kingdon's multiple policy stream model (1995), policy processes are primarily independent, and it does not assume a simple cause-and-effect system (Knaggård, 2015). While policy "entrepreneurs," in other words, actors, develop alternative policies, they also coordinate the actions (Knaggård, 2015; Koliba et al., 2019). Moreover, as Baumgartner and Jone discussed, punctuated equilibrium focuses on the role of certain actors or combinations of actors that are instrumental in establishing system-wide equilibrium (Koliba et al., 2019). In case of any internal or external forces, the macro-level structure adapts and alters its functions. Due to policy changes, phase transitions arise. In this sense, the theoretical framework has similarities with the advocacy coalition framework.

Thirdly, the institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework developed by Ostrom (1990; 2005), encompassing game theory to the understanding of institutional analysis, examines the action arenas where interactions between participants occur and the rules-in-use guide the social agents' behavior. Activities and events in action arenas are derived from social agents converging with institutional rules (Koliba et al., 2019). These arenas affect the system’s performance and are open to being affected by

exogenous variables. Participants' interactions in action arenas produce outcomes, and consequently, the outcomes are fed back onto the participants, changing the situation. Similarly, these outcomes can also affect exogenous variables as well (Ostrom, 2005) (Figure 8).

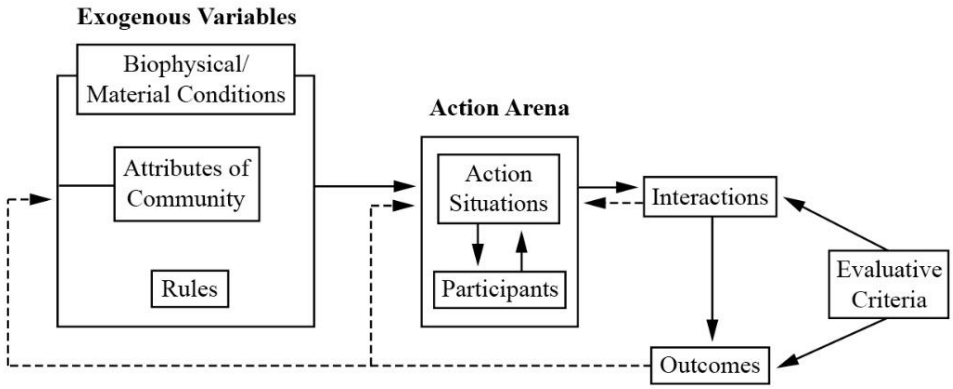


Figure 8. An overview of institutional analysis and development framework (Ostrom, 2005, p. 15)

Lastly, the advocacy coalition framework developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith is predicated on the presence of advocacy coalitions based on common beliefs. Coalitions that share the political will to influence public policy implementations are capable of influencing each other. These influences are nonlinear (Koliba et al., 2019, p. 408). In coalitions, bottom-up influences predominate over top-down and externally imposed rules.

In his study, Morçöl (2012), while emphasizing that complexity theory requires careful and multi-directional conceptualizations, refers to complexity theory as a meta-theory. He argues that complexity theory as a meta-theory should take particular forms according to its application areas. Morçöl (2012) indicates explicitly that the institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework and the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) acknowledge the complexity and policies as multi-layered systems. The advocacy coalition framework seeks macro and micro-level relations and provides an intermediate framework to discuss complex systems. In this sense, the dissertation

utilizes the advocacy coalition framework as a research framework to discuss and understand the complexities of planning processes (Figure 9).

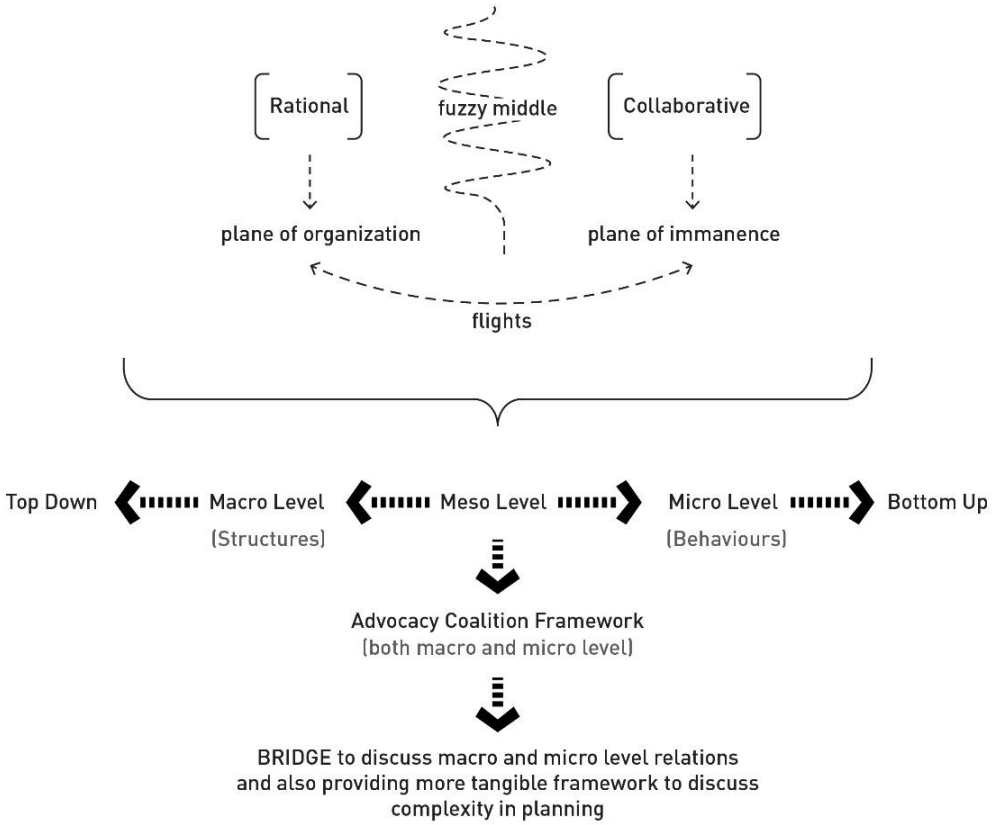


Figure 9. The micro-macro level approach with two extremes of planning

2.3.2.2 The Advocacy Coalition Framework

With the discussions of planning in complexity, there appear main discussion points which are the external effects, internal effects on the planning process, and the effects of self-organization and adaptation capacity of diverse actors and coalitions as affecting the policy-making and plan-making processes (Figure 10). Internal and external events are discussed within complexity discussions, resulting in nonlinearities, policy changes, and adaptations. A city, as described by De Roo and Rauws (2012), is a complex system that ever changes and adapts as a result of external and internal factors. Moreover, interactions between different parties and coalitions are discussed to result in emergence. Public interest is getting molded and shaped due

to different coalitions formed by different interest groups and individuals (Koliba et al., 2019). Even the outcomes of the same interactions may differ based on when and where the interaction takes place (Teisman et al., 2009). In this direction, planning collapses and readapts continuously. Hence, officials in charge of an implementation process never know in advance which part of the multiple contexts will generate (Teisman et al., 2009). With the uncertainties and nonlinearities of the process, there arises a challenge for administrators, policymakers, and decision-makers. Hence, there is a need to find "ways to navigate complexity to generate extensive results" (Koliba et al., 2019, p. 2).

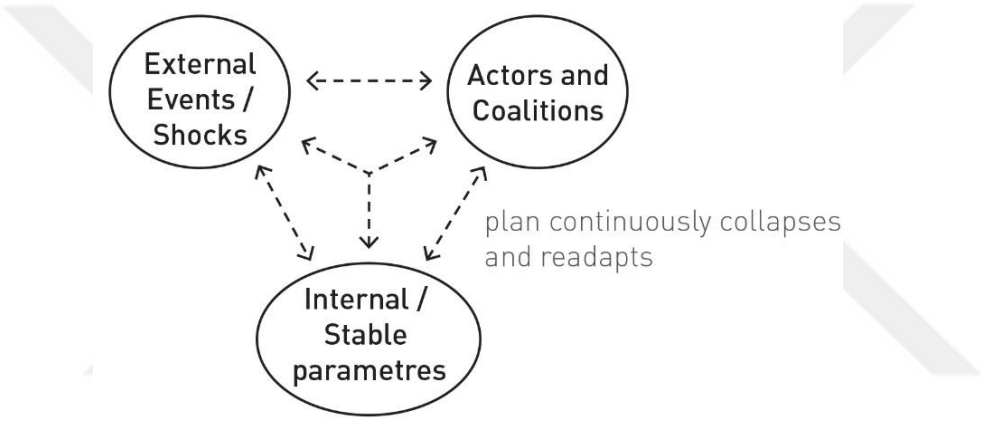


Figure 10. Main discussions in planning with complexity

With the aim of forming these discussions with a concrete discussion framework, conceptualizations in complexity theory are examined. As the advocacy coalition framework assumes that policy-making is complex in modern societies (Sabatier & Weible, 2007), it helps the understanding of planning and policy changes due to diverse coalitions and external and internal effects. Also, this process enables observing the co-evolutions and self-organization practices. Hence, it is utilized as a research framework for the dissertation to understand the complexities of policy-making and plan-making processes.

To begin with, the advocacy coalition framework was coined during the 1980s by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith as a way of developing an alternative policy process theory

and offering a comprehensive approach to understanding politics (Cisneros, 2021; Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018, Rodrigues et al., 2020) and to tackle the wicked problem in the policy process (Koebele, 2016). The framework was later revised by considering the limitations and criticisms of the framework (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). The framework is intended to allow researchers to collaborate in explaining and predicting phenomena both within and across different contexts. In addition to providing a theoretical framework for single case studies, the ACF can provide a baseline for comparative policy analysis (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018). It emphasizes a holistic view of policy-making in which political debate is pervaded by actors' beliefs and ideas (Rodrigues et al., 2020). Such ideas, beliefs, and other stable and external events shape policy. The framework's scope examines how actors of coalitions with shared beliefs and interests result in policy changes.

Three foundations of the ACF are discussed. First, a macro-level assumption is that policy-making occurs within a policy subsystem with the effect of external events. Second, a micro-level model of the individual is drawn by social psychology. Third, a meso-level conviction is that a multiplicity of actors can be dealt with by aggregating them into advocacy coalitions (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, p. 191-192). In this sense, the theoretical domains of the framework are policy subsystems, advocacy coalitions, and policy change. Advocacy coalitions and policy subsystems are the most effective means of organizing actors interested in empirical research on policy processes. The primary unit and the main focus of the ACF is the subsystem, which represents a venue for coalition interaction (Heikkila & Cairney, 2018). Subsystems have many components, such as physical and institutional characteristics, actor attributes, beliefs, and interests of actors (Cisneros, 2021). Any actor affects subsystems directly or indirectly, and subsystems undergo major change (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018). Actors within a subsystem "can be aggregated into a number of advocacy coalitions composed of people from various organizations who share a set of normative and causal beliefs and who often act in concert" to further policies that align with their values (Sabatier, 1988, p. 133). Subsystems are also complicated by overlapping and nested other subsystems (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

An essential aspect of the ACF is the aggregation of political actors into advocacy coalitions based on their shared beliefs and coordinated strategies to facilitate understanding of policy subsystems (Ma et al., 2020). The ACF assumes a three-tiered belief structure of the coalition actors. Three main types of beliefs are deep core, policy core, and secondary beliefs (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018). Deep core beliefs are normative and ontological values; hence, they are the most stable ones. Policy core beliefs are related to basic guidelines and priority values, and even being hard to change, they are more likely to be adapted than deep core beliefs. On the other hand, secondary beliefs are based on empirical experiences, so they are more likely to be learned and changed (Rodrigues et al., 2020). Grouping and analyzing actors by coalitions ease the research and simplify the numerous actors (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018). Actors with similar beliefs and interests become part of the same coalition and cooperate with each other while competing with opponents. These competing coalitions attempt to influence authorities' decisions, rules, plans, and, eventually, policy outcomes. The extent and consistency of actors' involvement and influence vary. Participants in policy-making are motivated to translate shared beliefs into policies (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

Moreover, understanding policy change and policy-oriented learning form two of the main aims of the ACF. There are four pathways to change which are policy-oriented learning, substantial external or internal subsystem changes (shocks), and negotiated agreements between previously warring coalitions (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018). The main focus of the ACF is on how coalitions interpret and respond to events as internal and external shocks (Heikkila & Cairney, 2018). Coalition actors with extreme beliefs are more unlikely to learn, and, in some cases, particular actors serve as policy brokers, seeking to mitigate conflict and assist opponents in reaching an agreement (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018).

At the micro-level, by investigating the collaboration between actors, and at the macro-level, by investigating the external events, such as other political decisions' effects and changes in socio-economic conditions, the advocacy coalition framework enables observation of the relations and interactions between these two levels. A policy-

making process takes place within the policy subsystem between diverse advocacy coalitions. The subsystem is affected by two variables which are external events and stable parameters. However, compared to external events, stable parameters rarely change and trigger policy change (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). Stable parameters are mostly related to the basic social, cultural, physical, economic, and institutional structures embedded in a subsystem (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018). On the other hand, external events include changes in socioeconomic conditions and public opinion. Crises and disasters may also be evaluated as dynamic external events (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018). As a result of a policy decision, policy outputs impact the subsystem and affect external events (Figure 11).

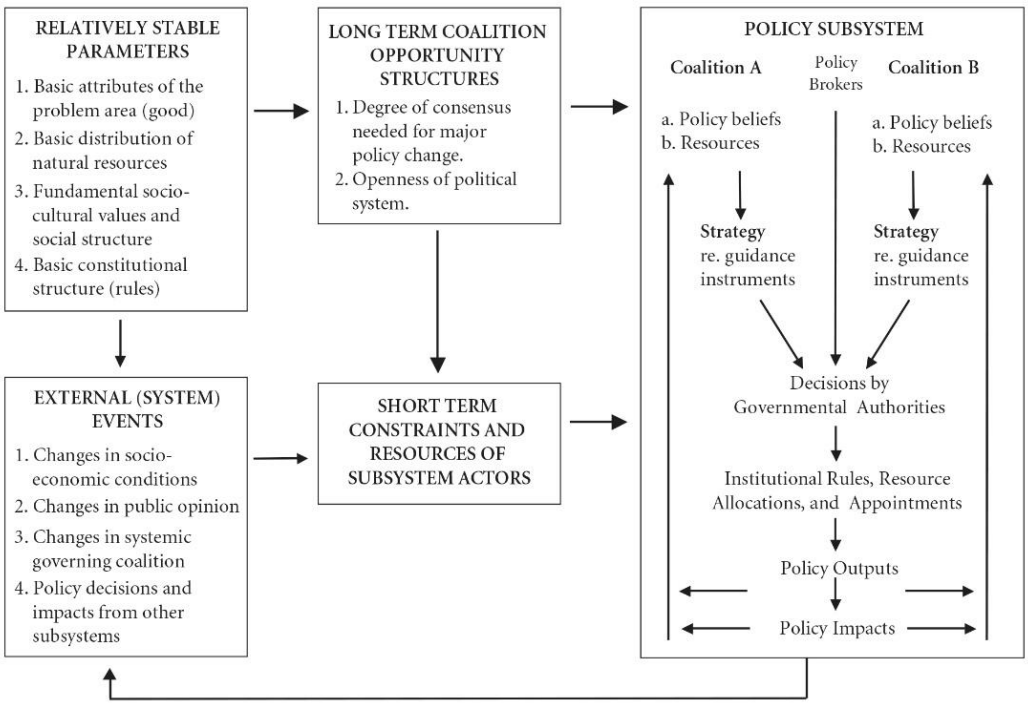


Figure 11. The advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, p. 202)

The advocacy coalition framework experienced revisions after the 1990s, and the diversity of areas concentrating on the framework widened, as Cisneros (2021) indicated. However, the ACF is still widely used in environmental and energy studies research areas. Similarly, in their study, Ma et al. (2020) found that the studies

conducted between 2015 and 2018 utilizing the advocacy coalition framework were predominantly in the environmental research area. Additionally, several criticisms have been developed regarding the framework. First, the framework acts as if there is no communication between the coalitions. In fact, there may appear to be negotiation instead of conflict. In a similar manner, Koebele (2016) emphasizes that collaboration between coalitions may also result in policy change through negotiated agreements. In addition, coalition actors do not directly interact with governmental authorities. Even further, in their study, Rodrigues et al. (2020) find out that there is no interaction at all within and between coalitions in some instances. Nevertheless, on the contrary, a collaborative approach within and between coalitions and authorities is substantial. From this point of view, a theoretical framework is developed by integrating the inputs of planning discussions with the research framework to facilitate the dissertation.

2.3.2.3 Research Framework of the Dissertation

Together with the results of planning discussions, the theoretical framework of the advocacy coalition framework is developed for the purposes of the dissertation. The framework assumes advocacy coalitions as separate coalitions, and they neither interact with each other nor with authority. However, Habermas (1984) discusses that people are not autonomous subjects pursuing their individual preferences, but their interests are constituted with others through communicative practices. Even an interest and value of an individual are constructed through collaborative processes with others. Each policy participant holds strong beliefs and is motivated to translate those beliefs into actual policy. In this direction, apart from the interactions at the advocacy coalition level, different coalitions interact, neither conflicting nor collaborating. With learning and adjusting, different coalitions impact the direction and path of the process (Teisman et al., 2009).

Innes and Booher (2010) emphasize that dialogue has a transformative feature of beliefs and values. A single or double-loop learning process can emerge with dialogue. Double-loop learning goes beyond the change of opinions that occurs with single-loop

learning and not only adapts actions to the newly acquired knowledge but also changes goals and perspectives on a problem. Collaboration with highly active participants represents high performance and influences decision-making processes. Diverse actors employ diverse frames that express how they see issues or practices. Since different actors have framing differences, determining a single goal and linear approach with traditional top-down planning will not be valid. Actors, who can present their own framing with dialogue, can also collectively create new ways of thinking. According to Innes and Booher (2010), knowledge is built and interpreted with dialogue; in other words, socially constructed. A shared meaning emerges as actors with different perspectives discuss knowledge and learn collaboratively. Conversely, without dialogue, they do not accept the information as valid or relevant. This collaborative process effectively deals with complex and controversial situations (Innes & Booher, 2010).

Moreover, even though the ACF elaborates on advocacy coalitions formed by policy participants, coalition formation starts from an individual level for the planning. Hence, while adapting the framework, the collaborative planning structure is considered. According to Innes and Booher (2010, p. 34), collaboration results in the development of new knowledge and unanticipated policies and practices, leading to a change in the values, goals, shared understandings, and attitudes of the various participants. Hillier (2010a) points to ethical points regarding the exclusion or inclusion of actors in complex systems. By referring to Brown's concept of "dialogic accounting" (Brown, 2009), she remarks on the importance of discussing different values and priorities in a democratic decision-making setting with the participation of different actors.

Being a meta-theory (Morçöl, 2012), complexity theory remains intangible and does not provide an explicit basis for conducting a discussion. As planning is taking place in the fuzzy middle between theoretical-technical rationality and communicative rationality (De Roo, 2010), micro and macro-level relations need to be investigated. In the reality of complexity, authorities cannot foresee what part of multiple contexts will cause distracting actions and change conditions. Even the dynamic and nonlinear

nature of the complexity results in deviating outcomes. Hence, initially intended practices commonly end up in a different state (Teisman et al., 2009). Similarly, in the planning processes, the reality of blueprint planning and the reality in the field is divergent. According to the ACF, this may arise due to conflicts and negotiations within and between coalitions as well as unanticipated external and internal events, such as socioeconomic changes, cost increases, or crises. A variety of different dynamics have an impact on the subsystems and project and policy impacts and outputs. Therefore, within the framework of the dissertation, it is argued that all actors and authorities carry out a collaborative process with interactions between different advocacy coalitions and authorities. Each advocacy coalition can be dissolved and reshaped with changing beliefs and interests. Hence, different policy subsystems can be observed continuously and nonlinearly (Figure 12).

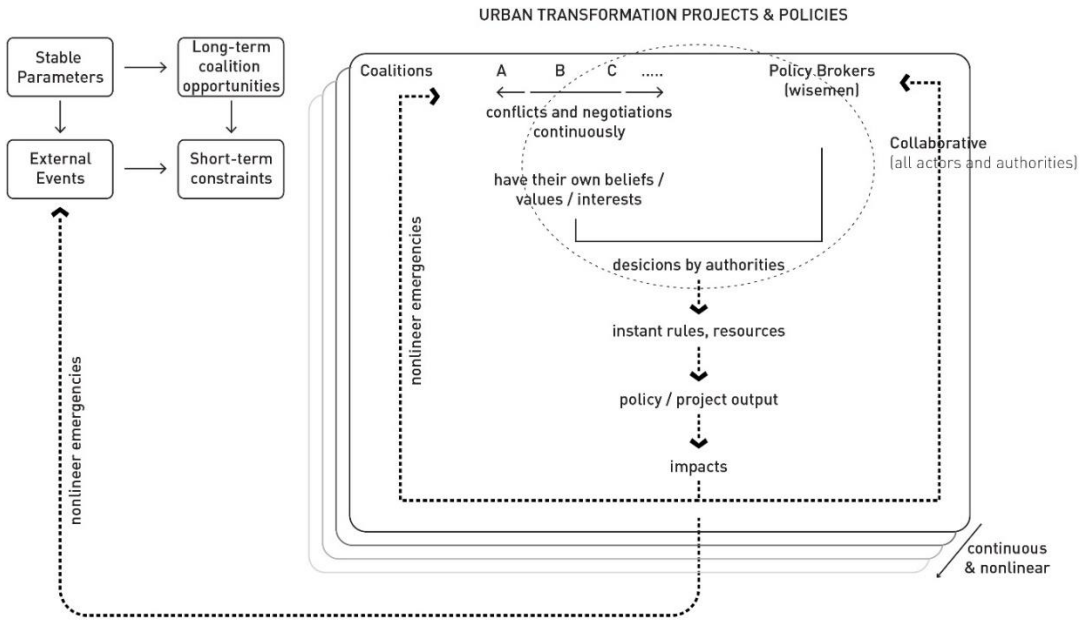


Figure 12. The research framework for the dissertation

While the dissertation is searching for a framework capturing the complexity of the policy and planning processes, considering the criticisms and obstacles regarding the ACF, a model is reviewed to assess the complexities in urban transformation projects' planning and policy processes. Accordingly, one assumption is the continuous relation

between coalitions, policy brokers, and authorities during decision-making. The importance of collaboration within and between coalitions and authorities cannot be eliminated. Moreover, collaborative processes may continuously result in conflicts and negotiations while bringing along new subsystems. Considering the nonlinear, coevolutionary, self-organizational emergencies, the research framework is utilized to discuss an urban transformation project in İzmir, Uzundere.

2.3.2.4 Research Methods in Complexity Theory

Although it is broadly thought that complexity theory uses methods of natural sciences due to being developed with a positivist approach, Morçöl (2012) argues that various methods developed by social scientists are used predominantly. He proposes a taxonomy of methods used in complexity theory by social scientists and groups them into three categories: macro methods, micro-macro methods, and micro methods. The interactions at the micro-level result in macro-level structures. Despite alterations at the micro-level, structural features of the macro-level endure once they emerge. According to Morçöl (2012, p. 89), public policies are macro structures that evolve from individual actions at the micro-level. Accordingly, the macro-level structure is "more than the sum of its parts" (Koliba et al., 2019, p. 415) at the micro-level. At the micro-level, micro-level behaviors directly affect the macro-level.

Similarly, the whole is not simply the sum of the parts, according to Teisman et al. (2009), since coevolution and self-organization within and among systems produce emergent characteristics. A reductionist approach fails to provide insight into the whole by only focusing on parts. It is impossible to deduce the whole from the parts. Thus, it is necessary to analyze complex systems by looking at their parts and emerging patterns. In fact, the complexity theory's main idea is to avoid simple reductionism, and there is no direct cause-effect relationship. Correspondingly, Jacobs (1961) discusses how macro-level structures emerge from micro-level behaviors and the complexities of the cities.

Methods for studying macro-level structures benefit in measuring structural properties of systems, the evolution of these properties, and system-level emergencies. Methods for studying macro-level processes include regression analysis, fractal geometry, and systems dynamic modeling and simulations. Regression analysis measures cross-sectional relations between variables as a methodological approach rather than a particular research method (Morçöl, 2012). Regression analysis is an effective method for investigating complexity theories because it enables handling a large number of variables and calculating interactions between variables (Gilstrap, 2013). Furthermore, Mandelbrot coined fractal geometry in the 1960s as a spatial expression of chaos theory. Repeating a simple geometric shape at different scales makes it possible to obtain complex patterns. Lastly, systems dynamic modeling and simulation (SDMS) is used to study the structural properties of systems. By taking the measurements on multiple variables, structural changes are tracked on all the variables simultaneously (Morçöl, 2012).

Micro-level methods assess the complexity of individual agents' minds, values, preferences, or collective minds of the group. A mind has multiple dimensions that interact in a nonlinear manner. This complexity and multidimensionality of the mind can be conceptualized through the methods of Q methodology, concept mapping, and repertory grids (Morçöl, 2012). By simulating generalized assumptions, it is possible to eliminate the nonlinear interactions among agents and decontextualize the knowledge of a complex system. Morçöl (2012) proposes that cognitive mapping allows for gaining insight into agents' minds, preferences, and values. In addition to that, these data can be used as input for simulations.

On the other hand, micro-macro methods are more appropriate for studying micro-macro relationships in systems. Micro-macro methods help understand the link between micro agents and actors and macro-level structures that emerge from their interactions. First of all, social network analyses (SNA), even being heavily quantitative, help address the connections between micro and macro levels, differentiating it from other quantitative methods. Moreover, via agent-based simulations (ABS), relations among agents are observed and analyzed by assigning

certain values to represent each individual agent and simulating. The two methods examine the static snapshots of relations in networks to understand how the relationship between actors and structural properties changes over time. However, unlike the empirical approach of social network analyses, agent-based simulations are artificial because of using generalized assumptions regarding the agents and being inherently dynamic. Finally, ABS and SNA make no qualitative use of contextual information, and they both provide merely general interpretations of structural properties. Complex systems, however, also require qualitative understanding. In this regard, qualitative case studies offer insight into complex systems and networks and micro-macro relations.

In essence, complexity theory allows for multiple methods to be utilized, and Morçöl (2012) offers a taxonomy of methods based on macro or micro levels. Inasmuch as micro-level behaviors impact macro-level structures, and as macro-level structures also emerge through the interactions of actors and agents at the micro-level, it is vital to examine the macro and micro levels and their relation together. Accordingly, within the scope of the dissertation, micro-macro-level research methods will be employed in accordance with the meso-level research framework. As the ACF attempts to emphasize the role of actors in diverse coalitions conflicting, negotiating, and coming to a consensus, it is concordant and provides a basis for the planning theory discussions elaborating the collaborative and participatory practices while criticizing the technocratic rational planning approaches. In this sense, the study adopts the advocacy coalition framework as a basis.

CHAPTER 3

URBAN TRANSFORMATION FRAMEWORK IN TURKEY AND IZMIR

Urban planning goals overlap those of urban transformation, and accordingly, urban transformation operates as a main planning implementation tool. Hence, to discuss the planning processes and reevaluate them from a complexity theory perspective, the dissertation develops through a case of an urban transformation project. This chapter briefly introduces the historical evolution, scope, and definition of urban transformation in this context. In order to understand urban transformation as a phenomenon within the context of urbanization, the urbanization history of the country within the frame of squatter development and the legal and administrative processes of the urban transformation process in Turkey are critically discussed since it is helpful to understand the processes that reveal the development of urban transformation. Moreover, undergoing a similar urbanization process to the country, İzmir is selected within the scope of the dissertation and discussed in terms of its squatter development history and current urban transformation practices. Finally, different urban transformation implementation models in İzmir are examined as urban transformation projects for the city are on the agenda of both local and national governments.

3.1 Approaching Urban Transformation

Following the industrial revolution-driven urbanization, cities have undergone significant economic, social, physical, and environmental changes. Rapid industrial development resulted in increased urbanization and concordantly rural-urban migrations, which also forced cities to undergo massive restructuring to cope with the impacts of the era. Further to that, after the industrialization period decelerated, urbanized areas experienced a decline in rural-urban migration (Couch, 1990;

Mehdipour & Nia, 2013). As a means to address the significant impacts of industrialization, such as economic collapse, environmental degradation, social exclusion, and urban decline, urban regeneration came to the forefront as an act. The first implementations of urban regeneration interventions were observed during the 18th and 19th centuries, and there appeared a need to take steps to improve the quality of the urban area, and a regeneration effort needed to be carried out. Moreover, after World War II, repairing wartime damage and reconstruction and slum clearance were prioritized with the modernization of urban areas (Couch et al., 2011; Roberts, 2017). The reconstruction and regeneration processes that emerged as a response to the urban decline as of the 18th century were observed with different scopes and purposes and became a significant component of urban policy. Since then, numerous definitions and policies have developed regarding urban regeneration. Roberts (2017) provides an extensively accepted urban regeneration definition which is:

> Comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social, and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities for improvement. (p. 18)

Couch (1990, pp. 2-3) also defines urban regeneration as a process "in which the state or local community is seeking to bring back investment, employment, and consumption and enhance the quality of life within an urban area" while also highlighting its being multi-faceted and complex process nature. According to Roberts et al. (2017), urban regeneration aims to address the forces leading to urban degeneration to formulate a lasting response that will permanently improve the quality of life.

From the mid-1800s to 1945, urban renewal was the most critical intervention form against physical and social deterioration in cities (Akkar Ercan, 2011). Following the post-World War II period, renewal and transformation strategies in cities differed in every period in terms of the major strategies and orientations, stakeholders involved in the process, spatial level of activity, and economic, social, environmental, and physical emphasis (Roberts, 2017). While during the 1950s, reconstruction

implementations gained importance, intending to transform old and dilapidated city centers in addition to experiencing suburban growth, the 1960s and 1970s, with a similar approach, included attempts of revitalization and renewal in existing older urban areas. After the 1980s, with the inclusion of the private sector, urban redevelopment projects started to be implemented, emphasizing developing abandoned and economically deprived urban areas. Starting from the 1990s, regeneration projects came to the forefront with the involvement of both private and public sectors as well as voluntary funding, and even in time, the private sector became more dominant, aiming to improve the urban land in terms of economic, environmental, social, and physical aspects, also with the aim of sustainable development. The 1990s also witnessed new institutionalizations regarding urban transformation implementations (Akkar Ercan, 2011; Roberts, 2000; Roberts, 2017; Uzun, 2006a). Southern (2013, p. 400) elaborates on the period between the late 1990s to early 2000s as a "golden years of urban regeneration."

Urban regeneration implementations differentiate and diversify in time by varying in terms of different approaches and aims. Rather than merely reacting to changing circumstances, urban regeneration can sometimes be proactive and seek to prevent an emerging problem, such as the decline of industry, or enhance the neighborhood's future (Roberts, 2017). Mostly in developed countries, the main aim of urban regeneration is developing and enriching the country's economy, whereas in developing countries, improving living conditions in squatter areas or deteriorated places is aimed. Urban regeneration in Turkey also at first-hand aims to intervene in deteriorated urban areas. A holistic, comprehensive, and integrated approach to urban regeneration, as Gibson and Kocabaş (2001) argue, incorporates three aims which are economy, equity, and environmental development, including innovative and more equal relationships between the public, private, and non-profit sectors.

Couch (1990) asserts that urban renewal is becoming increasingly significant for two reasons. Firstly, with the increasing population in urban areas, more renewal in the old urban areas is required. Secondly, instead of creating sprawl and abandoning more urban areas, urban renewal helps to reuse and redevelop existing urban land. In the

past, while the main aim was to improve the urban area physically, social aspects were less focused. However, community engagement and empowerment are currently considered during urban regeneration implementations (Andersen & van Kempen, 2003). Zheng et al. (2014) emphasize the need to handle urban regeneration with a holistic approach, focusing on the physical improvement of the urban space as well as social and economic aspects.

In Turkey, urban regeneration was recognized as a concept in the early 1990s. As indicated by Akkar Ercan (2011), it was introduced in the early 1990s under the concept of urban transformation that encompasses several planning interventions, such as urban regeneration, urban conservation, urban renewal, and urban development. Keleş (2004) defines urban transformation as the renewal of an urban area with an external intervention for social, economic, cultural, and political purposes. It is stated that these areas are generally squatter housing areas, areas of high-density unauthorized high-rise buildings, areas at risk of natural disasters, deprived urban areas, and urban areas that have completed their economic life. The urban transformation concept has been discussed intensely in Turkey and evaluated within the framework of urban regeneration or urban revitalization conceptualizations (Altınörs Çırak & Yörür, 2006). In this sense, this dissertation elaborates on urban regeneration policy under the name of urban transformation and particularly focuses on the transformation processes of already-built urban areas by producing new housing, commercial, and social center.

3.2 Urbanization History of Turkey Within the Frame of Squatter Development

Since the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in the 15th century, the spatial structure of the cities remained stagnant, despite the highly differentiated social structures. As a result of the changing socio-economic structure with population growth that immigrants accompanied, the spatial structure began to change rapidly at the beginning of the 19th century (Aktüre, 1985; Tekeli, 1985). In fact, the history of spatial planning in the Ottoman Empire began with the Tanzimat Reform Era (Ersoy, 2011). The

transformation that started in the structure of cities during this period was triggered by fires, followed by the administrative transformation in the second half of the 19th century. Destructions caused by fires, the development of roads for transportation, and the construction of residential areas to accommodate the increasing population in cities revealed the search for planning. In this sense, urban maps and planning initiatives emerged in the late 1700s and 1800s, and planning began to institutionalize (Tekeli, 1985). Towards the end of the 19th century, although the residential texture in cities was preserving its traditional structure, the areas built on the peripheries of the cities, especially for immigrant groups, differed from other areas with their planned structure (Aktüre, 1985). Evaluation of the planning and zoning attempts made during the Ottoman Empire and until the establishment of the Republic indicates they tended to be limited to big cities (Tekeli, 1985). Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the Ottoman period legislation remained in force for ten years (Ersoy, 2011).

Urbanization in Turkey can be elaborated in four periods, which are from the establishment of the Republic to 1950, from the 1950s to 1980, from the 1980s to 2000, and after the 2000s (Genç et al., 2021; Uzun et al., 2019); specifically, 2002 and afterward when a new government was elected (Uzun, 2019). While examining the country's urbanization process, a deeper understanding of squatter development can be gained by taking a closer look at the housing policies and amnesty laws that emerged as a result of the dynamics of the era.

1st Period: 1923-1950

When the Republic was established in 1923, the country had a predominantly rural structure with only one central city, İstanbul. During this one-party period, in which economic growth was prioritized, urban investments were mainly observed in the capital city Ankara, and low urbanization pressure was the subject in other regions (Tekeli, 1985). Keleş (2004) states that urbanization and housing problems between 1923 and 1945 were perceived as the problems of the capital city. A spatial

restructuring process was introduced with two main planning issues, upgrading Ankara to the capital city and transferring the capital city's functions from İstanbul to Ankara. Moreover, as a result of the Independence War, it was necessary to obtain development and construction plans for western Turkish cities. However, two main external factors affected urbanization: the Great Depression and World War II (Uzun, 2019). Hence, urbanization effects in other cities started to be observed only after World War II (Uzun et al., 2019).

During World War II, urban investments were suspended, and accordingly, cities were not ready for substantial migrant movement in terms of their housing stock (Genç et al., 2021). On the other hand, housing policies of the period mainly considered the housing problem of the government officials in the capital. In this period, new houses were built and mainly provided to middle- and upper-income groups. In addition, housing rents were limited to reduce the period's economic impact on citizens (Keleş, 2004). Due to the inadequate housing supply, the government, acting as a regulator instead of a direct provider (Özdemir, 2011), encouraged the private sector and involved municipalities in the housing supply efforts. However, low-income groups, as they still could not afford a house because of the limited housing supply, started to build unauthorized houses. Economic deficiencies, low housing supply, and a lack of legal ground regarding planning resulted in the squatting and construction of illegal houses. In this period, unauthorized houses in the old central areas of Ankara can be regarded as the earliest examples (Uzun, 2019). These houses were illegal because of being built on public land, constructed on someone else's private property or shared-title land, or constructed without prior permits (Baharoğlu & Leitmann, 1998).

While discussing the squatting history, Keleş (2004) defines the period until the 1960s as an "innocent" regarding squatter house development as a large part of the squatter houses were built by low-income groups with housing needs. In this period, the squatter was only a means of sheltering in the city (Acar & Adam, 1978). Families lived in squatters built with their own sources, and rental examples were rare. Even though the first reaction of the government during the 1940s regarding squatters was to demolish and prohibit future illegal settlements, they seemed to be the inevitable

outcome of rapid urbanization (Baharoğlu & Leitmann, 1998). In this period, Law numbered 5218 and Law numbered 5228 were enacted in 1948 consecutively to solve the problem of squatter houses. While the first one aimed to improve the already built squatter houses and allocation of government and municipality land for house construction, specifically in Ankara, the latter addressed the same purpose for all other provinces (Keleş, 2004; Uzun, 2019). Law numbered 5218 established a precedent for the on-going illegal practices of the following years while legalizing existing illegal buildings (Özcan, 2000).

Due to the acceleration of the squatter development despite the previous two laws, Law numbered 5431 was enacted in 1949, and while it envisaged the application of Law numbered 5218 to the existing squatter houses, it stipulated the demolition of the squatters built after the date of enaction. Nevertheless, this law did not show an effective response to squatter development (Tercan, 2018). In sum, Keleş (2004) draws attention to three features of the squatter policies implemented until the 1960s. They were the transfer of treasury lands for encouraging construction and accordingly trying to prevent the development of squatter houses, prohibiting the construction of squatter houses by laws, and legalizing the squatter houses built before the legal regulations.

2nd Period: 1950-1980

In the second period, following the Marshall aids in 1945, urbanization gained momentum with industrialization and mechanization and a shift to a capitalist production structure in agriculture starting from the 1950s (Acar & Adam, 1978; Gibson & Kocabaş, 2007; Keleş, 2004). Cities with increased investments in the industry started to attract a surplus of labor in agriculture, and a wave of migration from the rural to urban accelerated, especially to İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir (Uzun, 2019). However, until the Development Law numbered 6785 enacted in 1956, there was no proper comprehensive planning legislation, and planning was considered as a concept limited only to buildings and roads (Ersoy, 2011). During the second half of the 1960s, metropolitan planning offices were opened in İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir

to implement contemporary planning techniques (Tekeli, 2009). Urbanization dynamics were primarily regulated by the comprehensive planning approach in this period (Uzun et al., 2019).

Following the establishment of the Republic, although there was a struggle for planned development of the cities, in the face of unexpected rapid urban migration and urban development, housing stock was insufficient, and housing policies were ineffectively handled (Şenol Balaban, 2019). As a result of rural-to-urban migration, peripheral and undeveloped land became under pressure to expand (Uzun, 2019). Hence, as neither central nor local authorities could effectively respond to the housing demand following the high migration surplus, people met their housing needs with illegal methods nationwide, particularly on government-owned public lands (Uzun et al. 2010). This illegal housing trend already appeared with the establishment of the Republic began to determine the mainstream of urbanization in Turkey, and housing policies were regarded as a societal problem only after the 1950s (Keleş, 2004). On the other hand, the housing demand of the urban middle class transformed to apartment buildings following the 1960s, but in contrast to the 1980s and 1990s, social segregation was still lower. As most of the migrants were followers of pioneer migrants who were their family members or relatives, they were constructing squatter houses collectively. This social capital they had helped to accelerate their adaptation to a city (Erman, 2001) and contributed to the improving of networks (Keyder, 2005).

During this period, housing policies prioritized preventing squatter development (Keleş, 2004). In fact, until the mid-1960s, squatter developments were perceived as the "sources of social ills" in urban areas by governments (Dündar, 2001, p. 391). Following the first amnesty law in 1948, several legislations were enacted to prevent further illegal housing development and provide housing supply in response to these problems. In 1953, Law numbered 6188 was enacted to legalize existing unauthorized settlements while prohibiting new developments and ordering the demolition of further illegal construction (Şenol Balaban, 2019). In line with the principles of the Law numbered 5228, municipalities would be able to buy treasury lands, and those lands would be sold to those whose squatter houses were demolished or who were living in

unsanitary buildings, respectively. However, like the previous laws, this Law was ineffective in preventing squatters' development (Tercan, 2018). Keleş (2004) indicates that in 1948, there were around 25-30.000 squatter houses, while in 1953, this number increased to 80.000 with the effect of Law numbered 6188. Furthermore, Law numbered 7367 was enacted in 1959 to transfer treasury land to municipalities' borders to prevent the construction of squatter houses, yet positive outcomes could not be obtained (Keleş, 2004; Tercan, 2018). As another attempt to resolve the housing crisis, the Flat Ownership Law numbered 634 was enacted in 1965 to secure tenure rights. House ownership in Turkey became legal when freehold tenures were granted in independent parts of buildings. Hence, flats and housing density in planned neighborhoods increased with the effect of the Law (Şenol Balaban, 2019; Uzun, 2019).

Among the other changes affecting residential development was the Squatter House Law numbered 775, enacted in 1966. This Law explicitly legalized the squatter houses for the first time and used the term “gecekondu” (squatter) in Turkish (Şenol Balaban, 2019; Uzun, 2019), which means “built overnight” (Baharoğlu & Leitmann, 1998). It embraced a squatter housing policy that conformed to the principles adopted by the Five-Year Development Plans. However, it did not eliminate the housing supply problems for the rapidly growing population, and squatter houses remained a viable alternative for housing provision (Keleş, 2004; Tercan, 2018; Uzun, 2019). Although demolition of the squatter houses was compulsory for all municipalities, the fact that the number of squatters continued to increase made it challenging to implement the law. In addition, the fact that the law treated the problem only as a sheltering problem also limited its effectiveness (Keleş, 2004). Then, in 1976, a new Law numbered 1990 was enacted as a revision to the Squatter House Law numbered 775. This law enlarged the context of Law 775, and the demolition of the squatter houses built between 1966-1976 was stopped. Hence, squatter houses built before 1976 were legalized. However, this legalization was only relevant to those on public lands. This legal regulation implicitly supported the transformation of public lands into individual ownership (Keleş, 2004).

Although amnesty laws enacted forbid the construction of squatter houses but legalized the existing ones, it has led to a continuous increase in the number of squatters over the years (Tercan, 2018). In other words, legal amnesty laws did not prevent the emergence of illegal settlements but encouraged their construction in anticipation of an upcoming amnesty (Uzun et al., 2010). Although until the 1970s, squatter areas were considered the primary source of negative externalities in cities, by the 1980s, social concerns shifted to economic concerns, and regeneration projects were prioritized for a new century (Güzey, 2009). Keleş (2004) discusses the squatting development between 1960 and 1970 as the period squatter houses started to be rented, unlike the previous period until the 1960s. During 1970 and 1980, the squatter house construction process was commercialized entirely, and even squatter house construction firms appeared.

On the other hand, illegal housing development continued, as a comprehensive solution could not be obtained in the face of insufficient housing supply. The government continued to enact amnesty laws as long as it could not find a solution for the squatter housing areas. Hence, the incentives of the politicians and the distribution of title deeds continued to encourage the construction of squatter houses (Keleş, 2004). Hence, the number of squatter houses, which was 240.000 in 1960, increased to 1.150.000 in 1980 (Keleş, 2004). Despite being home to half the population of large Turkish cities by the 1970s, squatters quickly continued to grow in number with social, economic, and environmental issues (Baharoğlu & Leitmann, 1998).

3rd Period: 1980-2000

While the globalization trend was emerging in the world after the post-1980 period, a transformation in many aspects has also started taking place in Turkey. During the 1980s, a new urbanization era emerged due to globalization, the world economic crisis, and increased privatization policies (Genç et al., 2021; Uzun, 2019). As privatization became the primary policy, the economic development model changed. A financial crisis followed financial liberalization in 1989, and, as a solution, the political

authorities implemented various policies, including privatization and real estate investments. Investments in the construction sector increased, the city centers were restructured, and new centers were formed to generate funds. The allocation of public land for construction, especially urban transformation projects, also served this purpose (Uzun, 2019). During this period, Development Law numbered 3194 was also enacted in 1985 more comprehensively than Law numbered 6785, defining different scales of planning types, hierarchy, and plan-making processes.

On the other hand, the rural-to-urban migration starting from the 1950s intensely ended up with squatter settlements in public lands, transforming the cities physically and economically in the long run. During the mid-1980s, the urban population was already higher than the rural population. In fact, 1985 was a turning point when the urban population exceeded the rural population (Şenol Balaban, 2019). Migration dynamics and economic restructuring drastically transformed, affecting the urban geography. Because of the Kurdish conflict, forced migration and displacement occurred radically. After the 1980s, increasing tension and conflicts stimulated the displacements, and these forced migration movements ended up at most in İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir (Genç et al., 2021). During this period, push factors were more significant than pull factors; in other words, people were displaced due to ethnic and separatist conflicts (Keyder, 2005).

On the other hand, the housing deficit reached its highest level at the beginning of the 1980s (Keleş, 2004), which also affected new migrants' housing solutions; ending up being a tenant often in the cheapest houses and even in some cases being homeless (Keyder, 2005). Still, the government continued to enact amnesty laws to legalize illegal structures during the mid-1980s. Social and physical deprivations in these neighborhoods were ignored and the government even promoted squatting for political benefits, mainly during the election periods (Baharoğlu & Leitmann, 1998). Besides, most squatters were expected to improve their living conditions with a secure tenure (Uzun et al., 2010). Even, the uncertainty of getting access to urban services provided a room for maneuvering for the government to gather votes (Genç et al., 2021). Over time, many squatter houses were recognized and legalized, and during the 1980s even

triggered the transformation of the squatter houses into four-storey apartments (Konbul & Çete, 2014; Özdemir Sarı, 2019), and squatter house construction became an investment method, and secondary squatter houses were started to be built to be rented (Uzun et al., 2019). Also, small developers in squatter areas used a model of build-and-sell (Dündar, 2001) as a housing provision method. Instead of challenging and solving the squatting problems, amnesty laws triggered the problems further by implicitly promoting new illegal development. Hence, the process of squatting, which started as a one-storey single dwelling construction, turned into multi-storey apartments and, in time, squatter neighborhoods (Adam & Acar, 1978; Genç et al., 2021; Keyder, 2005).

On the other hand, Law numbered 2805 and Law numbered 2981 were enacted in 1983 and 1984, respectively, and both aimed to legalize the squatter houses built before 1981 (Keleş, 2004). Following the determination of rights, depending on whether a squatter house was built on public or private land, title allocation documents were given to the squatter owners as legal occupiers. Title deeds accepted directly as an ownership document would be provided to the squatter owners after the preparation of improvement development plans (Uzun et al., 2010). In fact, the legal regulations made in the future were prepared within the framework of Law numbered 2981, but either Law provided no effective solution. Legalizing these houses had been seen by those who occupied the public lands as a means to enrich themselves. Therefore, amnesty laws once again motivated further illegal construction (Uzun et al., 2010) and triggered multi-storey squatter development and implementation of the build-and-sell model (Uzun, 2006a). In fact, improvement development plans enabled even getting a share of urban rent increases (Baharoğlu & Leitmann, 1998).

Moreover, in 1986, Law numbered 3290 was enacted as an amendment to Law 2981 by extending the scope of Law 2981. With this regulation, squatter houses built until 1985 were legalized except for squatter houses on İstanbul and Canakkale Bosphorus (Keleş, 2004; Tercan, 2018). Additionally, the amendment made it possible to complete title deed procedures without an improvement development plan (Keleş, 2004). In addition, regulations for improvement development plans were revised

within the context of the amendment (Uzun et al., 2010). Moreover, in 1987, Law numbered 3366 was enacted again as an amendment to Law 2981. Then, in 1988, Law numbered 3414 was enacted as an amendment to Law 775. This amendment invalidated one article in Law 775 that restricted the right to sell or transfer the residences of the legal occupiers to whom housing was allocated, and as a result, the owner of the squatter house offered the chance to re-build squatters in another place by selling or transferring their squatter house (Uzun et al., 2010).

While squatter houses were legalized with amnesty laws, social segregation increased further in these urban areas with insufficient job opportunities and the resulting poverty of the informal workforce. On the other hand, new housing was offered in line with the demand and consumption habits of the middle class. When the Housing Development Administration[1] (HDA) was founded in 1984 with the Mass Housing Law numbered 2985, it aimed to provide affordable housing for low- and middle-income groups through mass housing (Uzun et al., 2019). The administration had an autonomous Mass Housing Fund. With the establishment of HDA, the central government contributed to housing provision despite its limited involvement until the 2000s (Özdemir Sarı, 2019). However, in this period, most houses served the middle-class incompatible with their demands.

During this period, urban land gained value and started to be seen as a place where urban rent could be generated; hence, squatter housing areas began to be seen as a problem for the urbanized capital. Hence, the first improvement development plans and urban transformation projects were implemented in squatter areas to create urban rent. However, as improvement development plans ended up with low rent, urban transformation projects appeared to aim to transform these areas into prestigious areas (Dündar, 2001). Accordingly, to increase the city's attractiveness, the first examples of urban transformation began to be seen in Ankara and İstanbul (Genç et al., 2021; Uzun, 2006b). In contrast to the pre-1980s, large-scale investors also started to occur in the urban area. While homogeneous neighborhoods were forming in the peripheries, there was a process in which people living in the squatter neighborhoods were socio-

[1] Turkish: Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, TOKİ

economically marginalized and impoverished due to the decrease in job opportunities (Genç et al., 2021).

Following the emergence of market mechanisms and competitive real estate markets in the 1980s with neoliberal policies, the privatization of public lands and the growing presence of global capital in big cities were observed. In the early 1990s, urban regeneration was presented as a way of addressing several urban problems resulting from urbanization in rapidly growing cities (Akkar Ercan, 2011). After the 1990s, the urban transformation has become a means of capital accumulation for the reproduction of urban space rather than meeting the needs emerging in the city (Yalçıntan et al., 2014). In the 1990s, coalition governments, the Kurdish issue, urban problems caused by immigration, rapid financialization in Turkey, and bribery incidents came to the fore. Following the 1999 Marmara earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis, the 2000s were marked by a dramatic economic and political transformation (Genç et al., 2021).

4th Period: After the 2000s

Uzun (2019) embraces the starting of the fourth period with the new government's election in 2002. During this period, a transition from an understanding of national development to an export-led economic growth model was experienced (Genç et al., 2021). Following the economic crisis in 2001, a new economic program focused on privatization policies; hence, the government aimed to downsize the state and sell public assets to create resources rather than address the country's structural economic problems (Uzun, 2019, p. 160). Within this aim, construction investments have been encouraged to create resources. Hence, the volume of construction activity increased by 2002, and between 2002 and 2007, a radical increase was observed (Balaban, 2012). In other words, construction has become the driving force behind economic restructuring. In this context, legal regulations that would pave the way for practices such as the privatization of public lands and urban transformation projects have been revealed. With the Urgent Act Plans after the 2002 elections, urban transformation and new housing production were discussed within the scope of the housing program

(Özdemir Sarı, 2019). In order to promote large-scale urban redevelopment projects, the government has started to promote public agencies and private developers (Balaban, 2012).

Although the rehabilitation of historic urban fabric and subsequent use of it for various purposes played an important role in urban transformation of Turkish cities since the 1980s, it was only after 2004 that urban transformation was first mentioned in legislation (Uzun, 2019). Between 2002 and 2007, when construction activities increased sharply, HDA also became one of the major providers of housing (Balaban, 2012). HDA, "acting in a supra political manner," was the first administration that allowed the neo-liberalization of the land and housing market while taking orders directly from the central government (Kuyucu, 2014, p. 79). Although being established to provide housing to low- and middle-income groups, the powers of HDA expanded with the amendment made in the Law numbered 2985. After 2003, it had the authority of construction on government-owned land with urban transformation projects mostly for squatter neighborhoods.

HDA mainly has two implementation models. The first is a purification of the project area, mostly in squatter neighborhoods, and following the completion of the construction, providing new houses to the entitled right holders in the same area. During the construction, residents move temporarily to another area with rent assistance. The second consists of a purification of the project area but offering new houses built by HDA in a new vacant area, mostly in unfavorable areas of the city. This method is mainly used if the area has a potential for more profitable uses. Also, the land is transferred to HDA for further projects in the second model (Özdemir, 2011; Uzun et al., 2010; Uzun, 2019). Both models require a right holder to pay the difference between construction costs and the value of the existing property (Uzun, 2019). On top of that, in both models, residents are not involved in the decision-making process (Özdemir, 2011). In order to trigger economic growth, housing blocks have begun to increase in the peripheries, and as well as private companies, HDA has been involved in the process with a role "more powerful than local authorities" (Özdemir, 2011, p. 1106).

While the urban poor were displaced from the city center where urban transformation started to be implemented, the middle- and high-income groups lived in secure, socially homogeneous residential neighborhoods built on the peripheries. Social segregation appeared in the city, and the government's intervention supported this segregation (Genç et al., 2021). In addition to the emergence of urban transformation project implementations for squatter neighborhoods, specific laws legalizing the squatter houses and structuring the legal framework of urban transformation were enacted in this period. In 2001, Law numbered 4706 was introduced with an article legalizing the constructions made before 2000 on public lands. This article implicitly prevented public lands from being allocated for social and technical infrastructure.

Furthermore, since 2003, additional amnesty laws have been inserted into existing legislation at various times (Tercan, 2018). After 2009, a more authoritarian and centralized management approach became dominant in Turkey (Genç et al., 2021), which brought results reflected in urban policies and urban transformation practices. In June 2018, right before the presidential and parliamentary elections, the Justice and Development Party unveiled a vast incentive package that included an amnesty for illegal constructions. Law numbered 7143 was announced as “urban development peace” to pardon the actions of illegal buildings nationwide, except constructions located on İstanbul and Canakkale Bosphorus. The fact that structures had any disaster risk did not prevent using this amnesty. The timing and content of the law are elaborated as quite similar to previous amnesty laws (Tercan, 2018). Following the discussion of the urbanization history of Turkey, the urban transformation project processes in Turkey are discussed, focusing explicitly on squatter development and amnesty laws that triggered the further development of squatters and paved the way for urban transformation implementations.

3.3 Urban Transformation in Turkey

Urban transformation, rather than being implemented as a planning strategy, emerged within a framework of contextual and practical dynamics of the country. Hence, urban

transformation cannot be elaborated without considering the dynamics of urbanization (Ataöv & Osmay, 2007). In the Turkish case, most of the legal and institutional regulations developed after the transformation of urban areas (Ataöv & Osmay, 2007) due to the uncontrolled urbanization brought by the political, legal, and economic circumstances. Ataöv and Osmay (2007) examine urban transformation practices with a historical analysis of three periods: from 1950 to 1980, 1980 to 2000, and after the 2000s. Starting from 1948, numerous amnesty laws and initiatives were adopted for unauthorized squatter houses, which contributed to irregular and problematic urbanization since they also encouraged and triggered the further development of squatter houses. Hence, amnesty laws enacted for unauthorized buildings and squatter houses were one of the most influential tools in shaping the built environment in Turkey. After the 1970s, with increased car ownership, high-income groups began to move to suburbs in the peripheries, whereas squatter development continued, resulting in an increase in redevelopment implementations (Uzun, 2006a).

During the second period, when globalization effects started to be observed, while both registered and unregistered buildings emerged in cities, also, urban development gained momentum in peripheries. Additionally, with amnesty laws and improvement development plans, urban transformation practices started accelerating (Ataöv & Osmay, 2007). However, despite the implementation of improvement development plans in the 1980s, problems in the deprived urban and squatting areas could not be solved entirely but only shifted to a new dimension (Aras & Alkan, 2007). Two main approaches were adopted to cope with the problems of squatter houses, which relied on legalizing or demolishing them (Uzun et al., 2010). After the 1980s, urban transformation became a topic of government policies intensely, and, as a concept, was discussed in 1996 in the Habitat II meeting for the first time for the development of safe cities (Güzey, 2009).

After 1980, as a result of the urban transformation projects that aimed to increase capital accumulation, against the principle of environmental sustainability, excessive expansion of cities, and destruction of cultural, historical, and natural wealth, inefficient use of public resources and creation of urban spaces which increased social

inequality, exclusion, and polarization became an issue (Akkar, 2006). Particularly after the late 1990s, opposing arguments regarding the squatter settlements arose. The government demonstrated urban transformation projects like upgrading the deteriorated urban area overlapping with the context of the dominated neoliberal policies. Even the media supported the legitimization of urban transformation by representing the squatter settlements as "an irrational and illegal form of urbanization" (Eranıl Demirli et al., 2015, p. 145). However, while triggering land and real estate speculations, urban transformation projects also led to the relocation of low-income groups to newly built housing units on peripheries or to other low-income neighborhoods (Eranıl Demirli et al., 2015). Urban transformation legislations and implementations starting from the early 1990s created social segregation and fragmented urban areas while ending with possible displacement and gentrification (Akkar Ercan, 2011; Güzey, 2009). Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010, p. 2) also assert that unless the government enforces social policies or other forms of non-state welfare distribution, this "forced marketization will result in increased displacement and dispossession of urban poor and heightened levels of socioeconomic and spatial segregation."

On the other hand, the post-2000 period is when the urban transformation is defined as a strategy (Ataöv & Osmay, 2007) and used in the legislation (Uzun, 2019) for the first time. When there was a conflict between the central government and local coalitions due to the centralist tendency of the government (Genç et al., 2021), dramatic changes and transformations in Turkish cities emerged in the 2000s. Yalçıntan et al. (2014) remark on the 1999 Marmara earthquake as a breakdown while discussing the effects of urban transformation. In addition to emphasizing economic and socio-economic transformations experienced after the earthquake, following the 2001 economic crisis, the Justice and Development Party, after coming to power in the general elections of 2002, constituted urban transformation as the locomotive of the economy. The approach that supports the strengthening and emergence of capital groups has led to using urban space to provide rent (Yalçıntan et al., 2014). While transformation projects have become the driving force of the economy, they have also become a means of capital accumulation for the reproduction of urban space as a result

of the growing state power and highly authoritarian form of neo-liberalism, in other words, “bulldozer neoliberalism” (Lovering & Türkmen, 2011, p. 73).

After 2005, especially with the regulation of the legal ground and new legal frameworks, the urban transformation gained momentum. However, with the opening of the former Ministry of Environment and Urbanization[2] in 2011, the powers of the local in urban transformation were significantly restricted (Kuyucu, 2014). Altınörs Çırak and Yörür (2006) also discuss that authorities have started to tend to solve urban problems with a transformation process, and urban transformation is heavily used due to populist purposes to legitimize the solution of urban problems. According to Eranıl Demirli et al. (2015), this problem-solving approach to urban transformation regarding the urban context has gained importance, most notably since the 2000s. Unhealthy living conditions and crime potential in squatter neighborhoods often used as a justification for the legitimization of urban transformation (Güzey, 2009; Kurtuluş, 2006), and even decreasing crime rates after urban transformation matched with positive reasoning for urban regeneration (Güzey, 2009). However, it is also discussed that the case is more likely that crime will be exacerbated in case of moving away from a familiar living environment (Kurtuluş, 2006). Even though planning is being reshaped with the global economy, urban transformation is changing as a tool aiming to include squatter houses in the construction sector and land market (Güzey, 2009).

Turkish approach to urban transformation has evolved into an effective way of transforming deteriorated areas across the country, yet with a method of performing the same policies for each city and location. Furthermore, while HDA is becoming the direct provider of housing, the projects implemented via HDA are also criticized due to lack of public participation and for the creation of unfair conditions in the market with exemptions in certain fees. On the other hand, while tenants have a weak position, most projects end up with the displacement of householders to the peripheries, which also affects access to livelihoods. On top of that, with HDA's authority, the central government implicitly controlled substantial amounts of land and capital without

[2] With the Presidential Decree of 29 October 2021, the name of Ministry was changed to the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change.

establishing any control or auditing mechanisms (Özdemir, 2011). Even a tendency has appeared to ignore social issues by focusing on clearance and renewal instead of integrated policies (Özdemir, 2011). Consequently, rapid transformation processes with a shared policy for different localities result in an unanticipated rent increase, rent transfer, displacement, social exclusion, and possible gentrification (Güzey, 2009).

According to Güzey (2009), with globalization, investments in regeneration projects targeting to create desirable spaces increased. The regeneration projects are discussed as "a government-assisted gentrification project" in the context of neoliberal urban policy regimes (Güzey, 2009, p. 27). Kurtuluş (2006, p. 9) also argues that national and local governments perceive urban regeneration as the "production of capital and creation and strength of a new capital class." In the urban transformation project areas where low-income groups are located, housing provision for middle- and high-income groups in the form of gated communities has been chiefly the subject. Householders move from the area by selling or renting their rights due to increasing costs over time and their inability to integrate into the area in terms of socio-economic and socio-cultural aspects. With urban space becoming a major source of investment and cities embracing aggressive place-marketing strategies to attract capital, the process ends up with the displacement of the urban poor and increased spatial and socioeconomic segregation (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010). On the other hand, urban transformation projects are criticized rather than resolving legal ambiguities of squatter neighborhoods for reinforcing the socio-economic inequalities and legal complexities that have existed in these places from the beginning (Kuyucu, 2014).

While the Justice and Development Party has ended the squatting policy, it has neutralized those who were harmed by the practices of squatting with social assistance practices (Genç et al., 2021), which in fact, reinforced urban poverty. It even condemns and dispossesses the urban poor to the tenancy (Özdemir, 2011). Moreover, even though squatter owners are offered new houses with affordable installments (Konbul & Çete, 2014), tenants are ignored in almost all projects. Although top-down approaches have been dominant since the beginning, excessive centralization emerged with the presidential system in 2018. With the change in the political regime,

authoritarian, centralized, and neoliberal policies are observed, and they also tend to suppress transformation potentials while controlling the balance of power. This process also means an obstacle to the potential of cities (Genç et al., 2021).

After the Marmara and Düzce earthquakes in 1999 and with the Van earthquake in 2011, a new legal era started, enabling the urban transformation's legitimacy for disaster risk reduction. As of the 2000s, urban transformation projects have been a central focus of policy makers and the government (Uzun, 2019). Municipalities have the authority to implement urban transformation projects by collaborating with the Housing Development Administration. The Housing Development Administration's authority for urban transformation projects is elaborated as an over-authorized actor compared to local authorities. Apart from the Municipalities, the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change is authorized to implement urban transformation projects and dominates all administrations regarding project preparation, approval, modification, and cancellation (Konbul & Çete, 2014). Currently, in Turkey, urban transformation implementations take place with a project-based method rather than a holistic regeneration process and as a tool to redistribute the urban rent while creating settlements for high-income groups (Güzey, 2009). At the same time, urban transformation may serve as a policy of hope for low-income groups to benefit from urban rent (Ay & Penpecioğlu, 2022).

According to Tekeli (2018b), two powerful actors have emerged in the urban transformation process in Turkey. The first is the HDA, whose powers were expanded significantly in the post-2000 period. The second powerful actor is the municipalities. Especially following the urban transformation law enacted specific to Ankara in 2004, broad authorities have been defined for the transformation of municipalities. Tekeli (2018b) assumes that increasing powers accelerate the realization of “pseudo-transformation” projects. He argues that there are pseudo-transformation projects and defines urban transformation projects in three groups. The first is the transformation projects implemented due to earthquake risk. This form of transformation, which targets the structures prone to earthquake risk, actually expresses the neglect of the past. The second group is the transformation of squatter houses. However, this

transformation, being implemented in an area where primarily tenants are located, results in different negative consequences, with a modernization justification. The third group is the ideological transformation, transforming the opposite image to the ideological framework of the government. In addition to pseudo-transformation projects, Ay and Penpecioğlu (2022), by arguing the "politics of waiting," state that the waiting process created by congested urban transformation projects produces spatial injustices. They attribute the "detransformation" process to the nature of the transformation that is open to political negotiation and bargaining. While the government uses "waiting" as a tool of the policy of generating hope, a policy victimizing the citizens emerges.

The first examples of urban transformation projects in Turkey were implemented in central locations in Ankara and İstanbul during the 1980s. While the process began with Ankara and İstanbul and continued with big cities such as İzmir, following the enactment of Law numbered 6306, the implementation of urban transformation projects in smaller cities also increased. Accordingly, various studies discuss different urban transformation projects in Turkey, and transformation strategies differ due to different geographical, economic, and societal reasons. While some studies focus on the methodological framework of urban transformation, legal and administrative frames, and models of urban transformation (Akkar, 2006; Ataöv & Osmay, 2007; Dündar, 2001; Uzun, 2006b), some discuss urban transformation and gentrification (Güzey, 2009; Şen, 2005; Uysal, 2012; Uzun, 2006c), the effects on social life (Kurtuluş, 2006; Türkün, 2014; Erman, 2016), sustainability of urban transformation (Korkmaz & Balaban, 2020), disasters and urban transformation (Şenol Balaban, 2019), urban transformation within a context of housing rights and right to the city (Uzunçarşılıoğlu Baysal, 2010), politics of waiting as a result of detransformation cases (Ay & Penpecioğlu, 2022), and mostly within a framework of neoliberal urban policies and power relations (Demirtaş-Milz, 2013; Kayasü & Yetişkul, 2014; Lovering & Türkmen, 2011; Penpecioğlu, 2013; Türkün, 2011).

3.3.1 Legislation of Urban Transformation Projects

Following a series of former amnesty laws, various legal measures have been introduced to enable urban transformation projects to be implemented, aimed at improving urban areas intensely shaped by squatters. After being elected in 2002, the government decided to subject urban transformation to a separate legal framework (Keleş, 2004). Currently, central and local authorities implement urban transformation projects via different legal bases. The government plays an essential role in urban space's physical and social transformation through legal and administrative regulations. Nevertheless, legal regulations made in recent years have been criticized for being insufficient to create the legal framework for urban transformation projects (Uzun, 2006a), and also one of the main criticisms is that current laws are not comprehensive and holistic (Güzey, 2009).

Most legal regulations, known as the legal basis of transformation, were prepared during the Justice and Development Party period. The common approach of all is to centralize the powers of the local authorities. While not integrating, diverse legal regulations result in separate and partial legislations on development and damage the holistic approach (Güzey, 2009). Currently, Law numbered 6306 and Law numbered 5393 are mainly used to implement urban transformation projects. Before elaborating laws enacted after 2000, Law 2985 and Law 3194 are also discussed briefly as decisive in urban transformation.

Mass Housing Law numbered 2985

Law numbered 2985 was enacted on 2 March 1984, and this legal regulation enabled the realization of mass housing projects to meet the housing need, the transformation of squatter areas, and the improvement of the historical housing stock. Via Article 4 of the Law Housing Development Administration became authorized to implement, design and approve development and transformation plans in squatter areas (Ataöv & Osmay, 2007). However, this article does not directly define the urban transformation implementation procedures and is not a comprehensive law elaborating urban

transformation. Still, with the addition of new articles, the HDA's powers and responsibilities were also defined.

Development Law numbered 3194

Law numbered 3194 was enacted on 3 May 1985, providing fundamental principles for urban development in Turkey. Within the context of this Law, municipalities and provincial administrations are authorized to prepare plans. This Law does not specify urban transformation; it is a supporting material (Konbul & Çete, 2014). Through this legal arrangement, Ankara Dikmen Valley and Portakal Çiçeği Valley urban transformation projects were implemented (Daşkıran & Ak, 2015).

North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project Law numbered 5104

North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project Law released on 4 March 2004 was valid for urban transformation implementations in a specific area in the northern part of Ankara. The project aimed to improve and increase the quality of life by improving the urban area's physical condition and environmental image (Uzun, 2019). Şen (2008) asserts that with amnesty laws and Law numbered 775, legal processes regarding urban transformation had already begun, and with discourses on the necessity of urban transformation by different administrative and institutional levels, a foundation for urban transformation was created in the past. Nevertheless, Law numbered 5104 is the first legal regulation merely on urban transformation. Moreover, it is also distinctive that the law foresees urban transformation only in a specific area of Ankara. However, it has been criticized as not holistic and comprehensive because it covers a specific part of the city (Uzun, 2006b).

The project completed within the context of this law is the first urban transformation project implemented with this particular Law and implementation model between 2000-2010. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality was authorized for the urban transformation project. While the ownership of public areas was given to the Municipality, the ownership of private properties was transferred from right owners to

the Municipality through an agreement. In addition, the Municipality had the power to expropriate the properties of those who negotiated. Also, squatters built before January 2000 and could not benefit from former amnesty laws were eligible to become right owners. Rights holders with title deeds were given flats in HDA-built buildings. As a result of the project, all squatter houses were demolished, and right holders moved to the newly built houses. This process led to partial displacement and a population increase because of increased densities (Uzun, 2019).

Conservation by Renovation and Use by Revitalization of the Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Property Law numbered 5366

Law numbered 5366 was enacted on 16 June 2005, and it aims to protect, renovate, conserve, and use dilapidated cultural and natural heritage assets in protection zones, mainly by municipalities. Urban transformation in historical and conservation zones is enabled by this law (Uzun, 2019). In order to implement urban transformation within the frame of this law, the area should be a cultural, natural, and historical heritage site area and protection zone. Local governments have the authority to transform these areas and construct housing, business, culture, tourism, and social facilities. According to the law, if public interest exists, expropriation may be possible during regeneration projects (Şenol Balaban, 2019).

Although the Law has a similar aim to article 73 of Law numbered 5393, it is criticized for not explaining how and with which principles worn-out and deteriorated urban sections will be identified differently from Law numbered 5393 (Güzey, 2009). The law affects the old historical neighborhoods, aiming to renew or regenerate the cultural heritage and natural environment; however, the Law is criticized for having no direct impact on residential transformation (Uzun, 2019). Ataöv and Osmay (2007) also discuss the law defining urban transformation under two contradictory strategies. While the conservation by the renewal of the historical and cultural texture of the city includes the strategy of renewal on the one hand and protection on the other, it is indicated that these two forms of intervention cannot be applied simultaneously.

Within the law, the conditions under which renewal and preservation will take place are not adequately defined (Ataöv & Osmay, 2007).

Moreover, Şen (2008) states that the enactment of this law resulted in division within the government and Beyoğlu and Fatih districts in İstanbul had a share in the enactment of this law and that they carried out urban transformation processes in Sulukule and Tarlabaşı on the grounds of Law numbered 5366. While discussing the Sulukule and Tarlabaşı, Ünsal (2013) also asserts that through removing existing building restrictions, the law intended to turn areas of extreme poverty trapped in İstanbul into rent-generating territories.

The Municipality Law numbered 5393

Municipality Law enacted on 3 March 2005 has provided the legal ground for implementing many transformation projects. Article 73 of the Law enables the renovation of worn-out historical sites and urban sections prone to natural disasters. Within the scope of this article, municipalities can carry out urban regeneration and development projects in order to create residential areas, industrial areas, business areas, technology parks, public service areas, recreation areas, and all sorts of social facility areas, rebuild and restore worn-out parts of the city, preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the city, or take measures against earthquake (Daşkıran & Ak, 2015). Municipalities are authorized to determine urban transformation project borders and area, which should be 5 to 500 hectares, as well as the density of the project area. In urban transformation projects carried out within this law, there is no tax exemption as in Law numbered 6306. Moreover, negotiation regarding evacuation, demolition, and expropriation of buildings in the urban transformation project area is expected. Since the urban transformation decision can be taken with the majority of the municipal council, the urban transformation announcement process can be carried out quickly (Akbıyıklı et al., 2017). Following the municipal council's decision, the decision is submitted for approval by the president.

First of all, the law has been criticized for enabling the declaration of a 500 hectares area only with the municipality's initiative (Akbıyıklı et al., 2017). Similarly, Kuyucu

(2014) indicates that objective criteria for declaring a transformation area are not defined. The article even allows the vacant areas not open to urban development to be declared as urban transformation project areas (Tezcan & Çelik, 2017). With amendments to the law, it is also enabled to determine urban transformation areas constituting single or separated parts related to each other. While Article 73 enables rebuilding and restoring worn-out areas in line with the city's development (Uzun, 2019), the law perceives urban regeneration only as physical regeneration by excluding social, cultural, and economic aspects (Güzey, 2009). Moreover, it is also criticized for reducing the possibility of public participation (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010). For instance, with the relevant article of the law, Başıbüyük and Ayazma urban transformation projects were implemented in İstanbul. While the projects were implemented in line with the protocol between İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and HDA, they were carried out in an anti-democratic manner, neither representing the implementation plans nor the participation was even considered (Kuyucu, 2014).

In 2010, amendments were made to this law which granted metropolitan municipalities extended powers, and metropolitan municipality is defined as the responsible authority (Şenol Balaban, 2019). The major criticism after this amendment has been the extended powers given to the metropolitan and district municipalities that have been disempowered. While this power extension affected the control and coordination mechanism of district municipalities, it has caused the district and metropolitan municipalities to be uncoordinated in the declaration of urban transformation areas (Daşkıran & Ak, 2015).

Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks numbered 6306

After the 1999 Marmara and Düzce earthquakes, legal regulations were introduced for regulating urban transformation in the face of disaster risk. Accordingly, Law numbered 6306 entered into force on 16 May 2012 to be implemented by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change, approximately a year after the devastating Van earthquake in 2011 (Şenol Balaban, 2019). The law has been explicitly prepared for urban transformation implementations due to disaster risks.

Buildings at risk and urban areas requiring rehabilitation, clearance, and renovation are regulated by law. The law has allowed the transformation at the building and regional scale and enabled the transformation of structures built before 2000. Uzun (2019) points out that the law was enacted specifically for disaster-prone areas; however, due to its implementation method, it has been referred to as an urban transformation law and has started to be used as a tool for transforming even non-disaster-prone areas.

The Ministry is authorized to declare an area as risky area. The information and boundaries of the areas declared risky are published in the Official Gazette. Within the law context, three concepts are developed: risky area, risky building, and reserve area. Risky areas are areas that are at risk due to the construction on it, places where public order or security is disturbed, areas that violate the zoning legislation, areas with damaged infrastructure or structures, at least 65% of the total number of buildings on it are in violation of the zoning legislation or constructed without a building permit. On the other hand, risky buildings can be either inside or outside the risky area because they have completed their economic life, are at risk of collapse, or have been heavily damaged.

Furthermore, reserve areas are determined for new settlements after demolishing risky buildings (Şenol Balaban, 2019). According to the law, structures deemed necessary by the Ministry to ensure implementation integrity can also be subject to the provision of the law besides risky structures. Also, if the 2/3 majority cannot be achieved in the area, the Ministry, HDA, or the administration is authorized for urgent expropriation. Unlike Law numbered 5393, this law provides tax exemptions for urban transformation projects. Also, rental assistance is available to residents, contracted owners, tenants, and limited rights holders in these areas, and workplace allocation is available to business owners. Unlike Law numbered 5393, urban transformation can only be realized due to ground and construction reasons that are prone to disaster. Furthermore, no minimum or maximum project area size is specified.

The main focus of criticisms made for this law is the central government's authorization. In other words, from the law preparation to the implementation and

control phase, the central government is authorized with extended powers. Within the scope of the law, the Ministry is authorized to declare any area as a risky area (Daşkıran & Ak, 2015), as well as any building built before 2000 as a risky building. Although the latter adjudgment was canceled in 2014, as it paved the way for the demolition of all buildings built before 2000, it has been subjected to criticism (Çelikbilek & Çakır Öztürk, 2017). Also, the involvement of the Ministry in the process, from the preparation of the plans to the examination of objections regarding the risky structure detection, is criticized because it harms the objectivity of the process (Tezcan & Çelik, 2017). Even the law enables the transformation of forest lands and agricultural areas. In addition, transforming structures that are not risky regarding implementation integrity violates legal assurance and property rights. It has been criticized as a legal regulation that legitimizes the disaster risk by citing and asserting human life (Daşkıran & Ak, 2015).

Moreover, as in other laws, the transformation process is handled only with its physical dimensions. In fact, the transformation is implemented in a particular limited area where the urban transformation project area is declared; hence, it is disconnected from the city plan and lacks a holistic perspective (Çelikbilek & Çakır Öztürk, 2017). Also, 2/3 majority has been the subject of discussion. It is argued that the right of landowners that are not agreed is violated. Also, an urgent expropriation authority has an aspect that can make the right holders aggrieved (Daşkıran & Ak, 2015). In spite of the fact that the implemented projects are legal because they are based on the law, the law is criticized for demonstrating clear examples of appropriation of property through legal and physical force (Kuyucu, 2014).

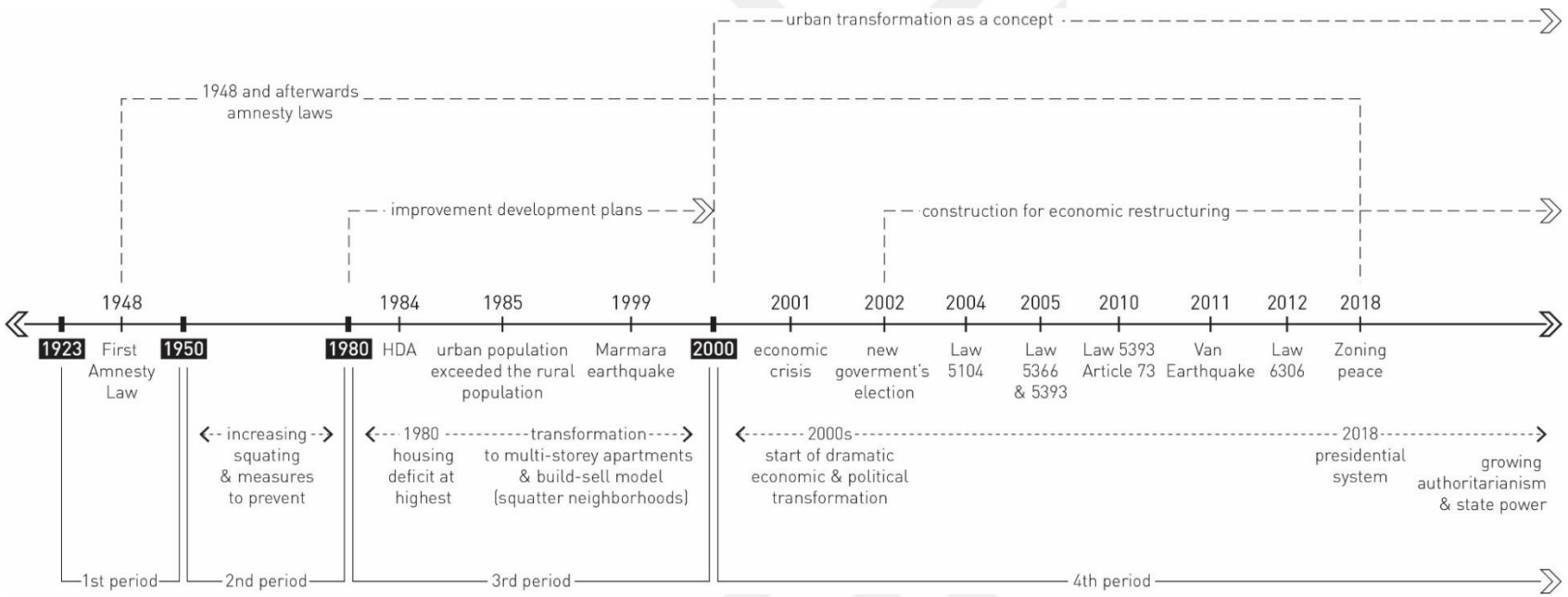
Following the previous amnesty laws, legal regulations regarding urban transformation have predominantly started to be discussed with the Justice and Development Party period. While the first regulations allowed local implementations and empowered municipalities and decentralized planning power, they have evolved from decentralized to centralized direction over time.

Table 1. Comparison of Law numbered 5393 and 6306

	Law No. 5393, Article 73	Law No. 6306
Date of Enactment	Declared on 3 March 2005, amendment in 2010.	Declared on 16 May 2012.
Aim of the law	With Article 73, Municipalities are authorized to implement UTPs, with the aim of carrying out urban regeneration and development projects to create residential areas, industrial areas, business areas, technology parks, public service areas, recreation areas, and all sorts of social facilities areas, rebuild and restore worn-out parts of the city, preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the city, or take measures against earthquake.	The Ministry is authorized to declare urban transformation areas both at the building and regional scale, with the aim of carrying out urban transformation practices due to disaster risks.
Declaration authority	The areas are determined by the decision of the majority of the members of the Municipal Assembly.	The areas designated by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanisation and Climate Change or the Administrations such as Municipalities are determined by the Council of Ministry's approval upon the Ministry's proposal.
Limitations of the area size	Minimum 5 hectars, maximum 500 hectars.	No limitation regarding the area size.
Implementation steps	1. Identification of the current situation 2. Declaration of urban transformation area by the decision of the Municipal council 3. Spatial design and mathematical modeling 4. Plan and project phase 5. Negotiation meetings 6. Parceling, designing, and implementation	1. Identification of the area or areas that may be suitable for the announcement of the risky area 2. Preparation of the application document 3. Requesting risky area determination from the Ministry 4. Examination of files by the Ministry, asking the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency if deemed appropriate 5. Submission of the risky area proposal by the Council of the Ministry and announcement of the risky area 6. Stopping the construction in the announced area and evacuation process from existing structures 7. Identification of the current situation 8. Identification of right holders 9. Valuation works 10. Feasibility works and implementation 11. Preparation of plans and approval 12. Negotiations and deed transfers 13. Expropriation in not negotiated parcels 14. Liquidation of existing structures 15. Preparation of parcellation plans and approval 16. Construction 17. Deed transfer to right holders

Urban transformation processes, which were expected to be carried out locally with Law numbered 5366 and Municipal Law numbered 5393, have brought a much more centralized result rather than strengthening local governments with the enactment of the Metropolitan Municipality Law numbered 6360 in 2012. Again in 2012, Law numbered 6306 supported this centralization process (Table 1).

With the adoption of the presidential system in 2017 and its entry into force in 2018, a dramatic transformation has begun to occur politically, and excessive centralization and more authoritarian qualities have emerged. Accordingly, urban transformation projects have gained momentum and were implemented predominantly within Laws numbered 5393 and 6306. Along with the growing authoritarianism and state power, the integration of laws becomes a challenge. Furthermore, integration problems arise between the projects carried out by different laws, and interventions are not handled holistically throughout the city (Figure 13).



13. Timeline of urbanization in Turkey

3.4 İzmir Squatter Development and Urbanization History

Characteristics such as its central location, being at the intersection of important routes, and the starting point of the first railways of the Ottoman Empire have made İzmir an important center in every period (Akyüz Levi & Genç, 2018). Also, the geographical characteristic of İzmir played a vital role in becoming a significant center since the old historical times (Baykara, 1974). The spatial boundaries of İzmir, an important port city during the 17th century, remained similar during the 18th century. However, in the 19th century, İzmir became one of the most important port cities of the Ottoman Empire with significant developments (Atay, 1998; Tekeli, 2015). During the 19th century, the city's population increased significantly with migrations which also affected the urban development, and the demographic diversity contributed to the city's structure (Alpaslan, 2015). However, following the big fire in 1922 (Great Fire of Smyrna), a dramatic transformation was seen physically, socially, and economically. Also, after the Republic's establishment, significant population loss occurred in the city due to pogroms and population exchanges.

The first planning initiatives began in 1924 by Dangers with the consultancy of Henri Prost in the fire-devastated part of the city after the 1922 fire. The Prost-Danger plan was approved in 1925 (Güngördü & Eldek Güner, 2019). Following this, although the construction activity accelerated between 1925 and 1928, it reached a standstill with the Great Depression, and the plan's implementation could not be sustained (Bilsel, 2009). After that period, investments merely started to increase during the Democratic Party period, during the 1950s (Akyüz Levi & Genç, 2018; Genç et al., 2021). On the other hand, with the increase in migration in the second half of the 1950s, new planning attempts were made in 1951, and Aru, Özdeş, and Canpolat prepared a new plan. Despite these efforts, the urbanization process in İzmir changed dimensions, and the planning process aiming for modernization faced the problem of solving social and spatial problems with rapid population growth and uncontrolled urbanization (Bilsel, 2009).

Even though developed countries experienced urbanization right after the industrialization period, in Turkey, it was only after World War 2 during the 1950s.

Rapid migration resulted in unhealthy urban development, becoming a challenge to struggle with. While the urban area was rapidly growing, cities experienced a social mixture and became the gathering point for migrants (Türkçü et al., 1996), which affected the housing problem. Similar to the urbanization history of Turkey, İzmir also started to develop after the 1950s and received an enormous number of rural migrants. İzmir, with its strategic location and history and rapidly growing population, experienced similar trends with national urbanization. Following Ankara and İstanbul, İzmir was one of the major destination cities for the migrants and started to expand as migrants began to move to the city and grew rapidly. Migration to İzmir gained momentum in the second half of the 1950s due to economic developments; similarly, this reflected the housing stock problem and triggered the squatter development. The lack of capital accumulation required by rapid urbanization has brought two different forms of housing provision. First of all, the development of squatter houses accelerated after the 1950s. Secondly, build-and-sell model implementations increased after the 1970s (Tekeli, 2015).

Türkçü et al. (1996) explain the squatter development in İzmir in four periods which are between 1950-1960, 1960-1975, 1975-1985, and 1985 and afterward. Between 1950-1960, squatter development grew gradually in İzmir contrary to Ankara and İstanbul and was limited to specific neighborhoods, mainly in Kadifekale, west part of Meles stream, and the east part of the railroad in Bayraklı, respectively (Tekeli, 2015; Türkçü et al., 1996). It was followed by squatter development in Samantepe, Ferahlı, İstiklal, Boğazici, Gültepe and Ballıkuyu, Gürçeşme, 1. Kadriye, 2. Kadriye, and Kadifekale during the 1960s. After the 1960s, squatter development spread around these regions (Tekeli, 2015). Also, some squatter houses were improved with the Marshall aid. The lack of housing provisions caused the squatting, so social housing examples were attempted in squatter prevention zones. For instance, in the 1960s, İzmir Municipality implemented a social housing project in Karşıyaka Cumhuriyet Neighborhood, which was a squatter prevention zone (Kılınç, 2017). Furthermore, during the 1960s, once the Alsancak port started service and the construction of the coastal road “Altınyol” began, new settlements were formed in these areas (Tezcan & Çelik, 2017).

Between 1960 and 1975, development in agricultural industrialization stimulated squatting both in terms of increasing numbers and expanding in different parts of the city. Squatter settlements triggered the development of others around. Apart from Bayraklı and Kadifekale region, new squatter neighborhoods appeared in İmariye, Yeşilyurt, Cennetoğlu, Vezirağa, Bozyaka, Çamdibi, and Mersinli neighborhoods. After the 1970s, Naldöken, Emek, Örnekköy, Cumhuriyet, Yamaç, İmbat, Maltepe, Gümüşpala, Balatcık, Güzeltepe squatter neighborhoods emerged. Apart from these, Ufuk, Çamlık, Bahçekapı, Adatepe, Kozağaç, Gediz, Fırat, Çaldıran, 9 Eylül, and Irmak squatter neighborhoods around Buca, as well as 2. İnönü, Çamtepe, Narlı neighborhoods in Narlıdere, and Şafak and Yaka neighborhoods in Güzelbahçe came into the fore with an intense squatter development (Tekeli, 2015).

The main reasons why squatter settlements were located in certain areas were the existence of public land, proximity to the city center, accessibility to agricultural lands by both railroad and highway, and being in the same direction with agricultural and industrial developments (Türkçü et al., 1996). According to Tekeli (2015), these developments led to forty percent of the city's population living in squatters. Additionally, Keleş (2004) states that the squatter development in İzmir appeared outside the city center because the city center, which had a linear urban development structure, was already shared by the wealthiest groups. In addition, the fact that the industrial development took place outside the city center was an important factor. Apart from squatter developments, Tekeli (2015) points out the increasing build-and-sell implementations during this period and the transformation to apartments throughout the city. These implementations ended up with two main consequences. One is the formation of new high-density settlements. The other consequence is the demolition of old İzmir houses and the replacement of these with multi-storey residences, eventually which damaged the old historical housing texture. Particularly, multi-storey apartments along the Güzelyalı-Konak, Alsancak-Konak, and Karşıyaka coasts appeared, which formed a “wall” along the coast of the city.

Moreover, between 1975 and 1985, commercial, construction, and service sectors increased employment opportunities, which boosted migration and squatter

development in various neighborhoods. Squatter developments continued at an increasing rate in areas with intensive agricultural activities and industrial developments. During this period, squatting spread in a much wider area compared to previous periods. Also, the most intense squatting was observed throughout the city, especially along the industrial development corridors (Türkçü et al., 1996). The areas between Çiğli and Menemen, Bornova-Işıkkent-Pınarbaşı and Kavaklıdere, Gaziemir and Karabağlar, and the west of Aydın highway were preferred for squatting (Tezcan & Çelik, 2017). According to Türkçü et al. (1996), the origin of the migrants living in the squatters were mainly surrounding provinces and eastern cities that were mostly Elazığ, Sivas, Tokat, Kars, and Konya. Additionally, the motivation for migration was mainly related to economic reasons.

During the second half of the 1970s, also, mass housing firms appeared in İzmir; however, built with rant concerns, low-income groups could not afford these houses. Hence, the housing production program emerged to produce small square meters with cost-effective materials (Türkçü et al., 1996). In İzmir, after 1985, to slow down squatter development, mass housing projects came to the fore with the leadership of İzmir Municipality and Provincial Municipalities and housing cooperatives. The significant examples of this cooperation were Evka and Izkent projects completed at different stages following the Egekent project implemented in 1983 (Zengin Ünverdi et al., 1993). These housing areas were intentionally located in the development areas of the city. However, squatter houses continued to develop in these areas, expecting to continue and establish the same rural culture before migration. Squatting development was also related to poor economic conditions and not being used to apartment life (Türkçü et al., 1996). On the other hand, Real Estate Bank also implemented specific projects in İzmir, but these housing units were intended for middle and high-income people. Hence, initial squatter settlements continued to develop on the public lands close to the city center. Türkçü et al. (1996) state in their studies that the squatters built between 1970 and 1979 had a share of approximately 45% among all the squatters built by the mid-90s.

After 1985 and onwards, old squatter settlements expanded, while the increasing job opportunities affected the city's physical form. During this period, forced migration and displacement emerged due to the Kurdish conflict, making İzmir one of the major destination cities. In contrast to the previous period, squatter settlements also started to develop in regions where industrialization was underdeveloped, such as Buca, Narlıdere, and Güzelbahçe (Türkçü et al., 1996). Although a permanent solution to the squatter problem was attempted with the improvement development plans between 1985-1998, adequate housing provision could not be maintained, and the squatter problem could not be fully addressed physically and socially (Uysal & Arslan Avar, 2021). This tendency was related to rent speculations in urban areas. Tekeli (2015) mentions two developments affecting the city's macro form after 1980. These are on transportation infrastructure and inner-city transportation and city growth with major urban developments such as mass housing projects, university campuses, and industrial zones. Also, İzmir-Aydın and İzmir-Çeşme highways had a significant effect on urban sprawl. This process also played a role in transforming the city center after 1995. While after the 1990s, large-scale construction firms started to take part in housing provision, after the 2000s, along with the neoliberal policies, mass housing projects in which the market and HDA played a role began to increase (Uysal & Arslan Avar, 2021). With the increase in floor heights in the coastal region, the texture of the city in the coastal region began to transform, while squatter areas such as Kadifekale and Ballıkuyu filled the inner parts of the city center (Yetişkul, 2018).

During the post-2000s period, unlike İstanbul, İzmir could not attract the activities of economic globalization and has remained as a regional center serving the metropolitan area and surrounding provinces (Genç et al., 2021). On the other hand, in the current situation, İzmir, while it cannot handle the population increase with its existing social and technical infrastructure, also has difficulties in offering new development areas (Altınörs Çırak & Yörür, 2006). As cited in Çelikbilek and Çakır Öztürk (2017), according to the report of the Court of Accounts, illegal and uncontrolled structures constitute 65% of the housing stock in İzmir. Accordingly, during the last two decades, urban transformation projects have gained speed, and an important part of the

transformation implementations has become the transformation of squatter neighborhoods (Yetişkul, 2018).

3.4.1 Approaches of Urban Transformation in İzmir

In İzmir, squatting became common practice due to uncontrolled migration, resulting in illegal and unhealthy living environments with poor social and technical infrastructure. However, squatter developments starting from the 1950s became legal with amnesty laws enacted in different periods and improvement development plans. Finally, with the "urban development peace" enacted in 2018, squatters have continued to transform into multi-storey apartments, further complicating the city's urban transformation process (Baran, 2020).

As of the 2000s, with the attempt of large-scale construction firms, urban transformation projects started across İzmir. Following that, with a high need to improve the built environment, urban transformation implementations accelerated with two main legal bases, by which urban transformation exercises are implemented intensely, which are Law numbered 6306 and Law numbered 5393 (Altınörs Çırak & Yörür, 2006; Tezcan & Çelik, 2017; Yetişkul, 2018). Hence, while urban transformation came to the agenda predominantly after the 2004 elections (Tekeli, 2018a), different administrations started implementing projects with different authorities.

One aspect is urban transformation projects undertaken by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) in accordance with the upper-scale plans. There is a unique feature of urban transformation projects in that it has been attempted through an integrated and holistic approach to upper-scale plans, in contrast to other provinces (Çelikbilek & Çakır Öztürk, 2017). Within the 1/25.000 İzmir Master Plan dated 2004 and revised in 2009, an area of 4.100 hectares from a settlement area of 11.100 hectares has been identified for a renewal and rehabilitation program to make healthier neighborhoods (Figure 14). These areas constitute approximately 40% of the settlement area, predominantly formed due to squatter development and amnesty laws (Yetişkul, 2018).

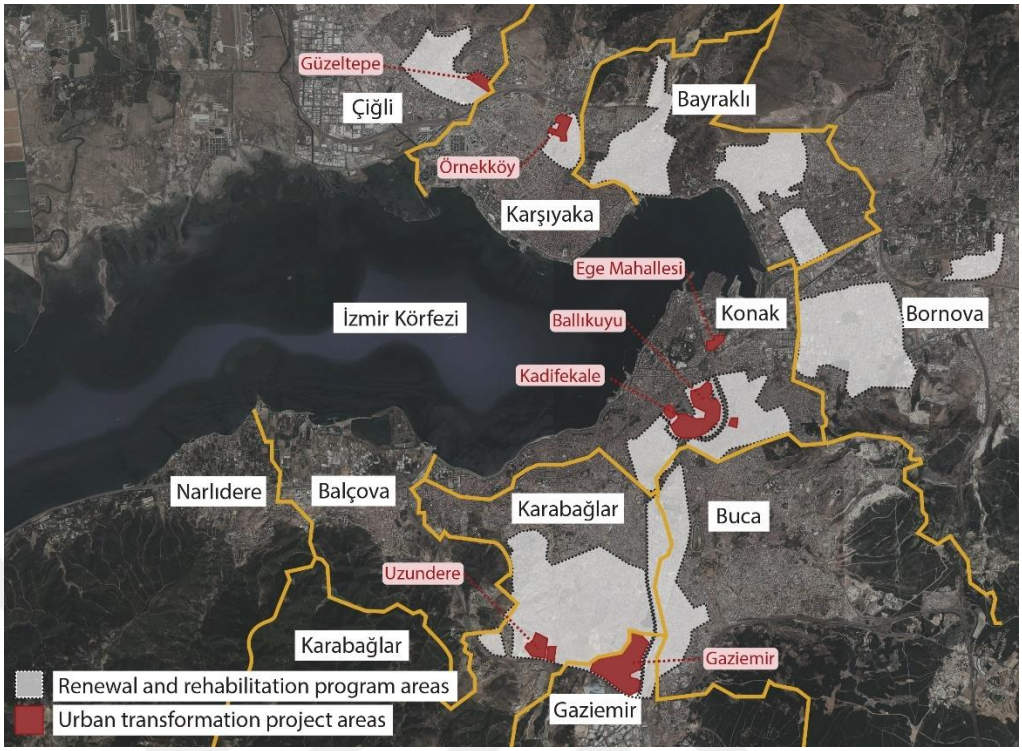


Figure 14. Renewal and rehabilitation program areas in 1/25.000 İzmir Master Plan and urban transformation areas declared by the IMM

As a first step, urban transformation project areas were planned for 354 hectares, among the areas determined to be in the renewal and rehabilitation program. Initially, urban renewal projects were carried out to reduce disaster risk. Kadifekale, Yeşildere, and Gürçeşme urban renewal projects with an area of 46 hectares were completed within this framework. As part of these projects, these areas, which were geologically hazardous, close to the city center, and have a large population, would be evacuated, and new residences would be constructed in a safe place. The other pillar of urban transformation projects is the projects being carried out with the aim of on-site transformation. Uzundere, Ege, Örnekköy, Aktepe-Emrez, Ballıkuyu, Çiğli Güzeltepe, Torbalı, Bayındır, and Bayraklı urban transformation projects are planned to be carried out within this framework (Tezcan & Çelik, 2017; Yetişkul, 2018). However, Bayraklı urban transformation project area was transferred to the provincial municipality. The former mayor indicates that there has been resistance with an expectation of high density in the project area (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality,

2017), and residents did not negotiate and demanded the continue the process themselves by agreement with contractors. Thereby, a total of 354 hectares of urban transformation project area currently constitutes an area of 313 hectares (Figure 15). These project areas have been strategically identified to direct urban transformation projects in the renewal and rehabilitation area of 4.100 hectares, most of which consist of squatter housing areas (Tekeli, 2018a). The selection criteria of these areas are to have the potential to trigger urban development, each area representing a different urban region, having the characteristics of a historical process, legal, social, and spatial developments, and producing different solutions for different processes for each area.

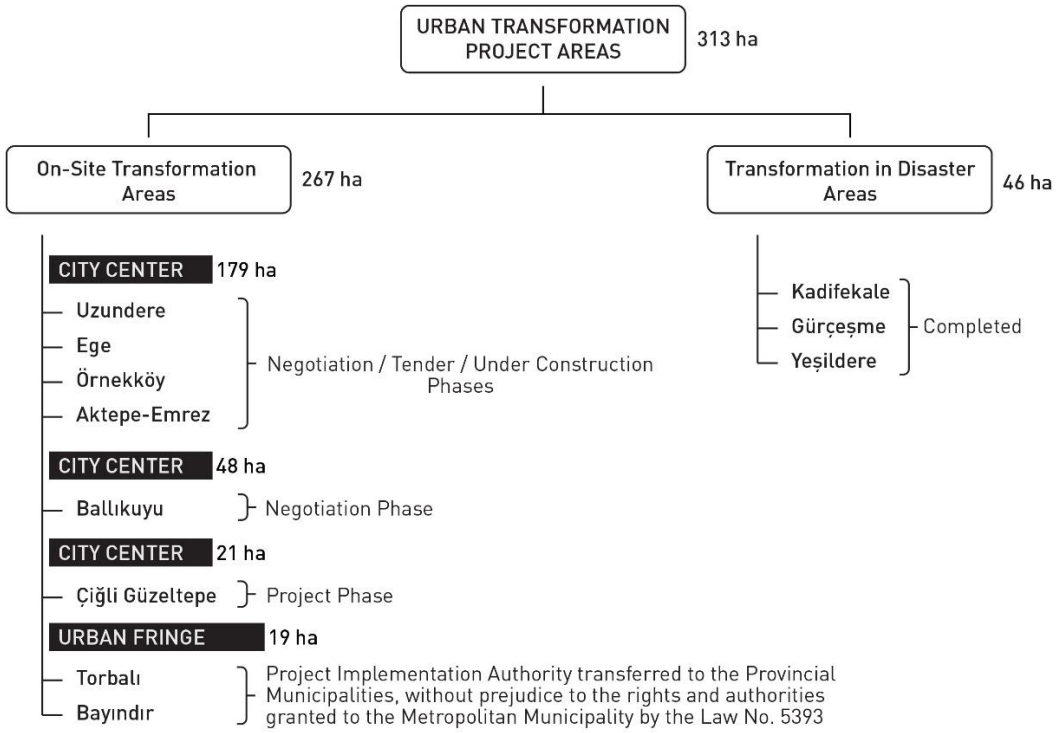


Figure 15. İzmir urban transformation project areas

On the other hand, within the scope of Law numbered 6306, an area of approximately 1000 hectares in Karabağlar, Menemen, Narlıdere, Buca, Karşıyaka, and Kemalpaşa and an area of approximately 305 hectares in Gaziemir, Bayındır, Torbalı, Karabağlar, Konak, Karşıyaka and Bayraklı have been declared as urban transformation project areas (Tezcan & Çelik, 2017). Although the number of urban transformation projects

declared in accordance with Law numbered 5393 is greater than those announced under Law numbered 6306, urban transformation projects areas announced within the scope of Law numbered 6306 cover a greater area (Çelikbilek & Çakır Öztürk, 2017) (Figure 16).

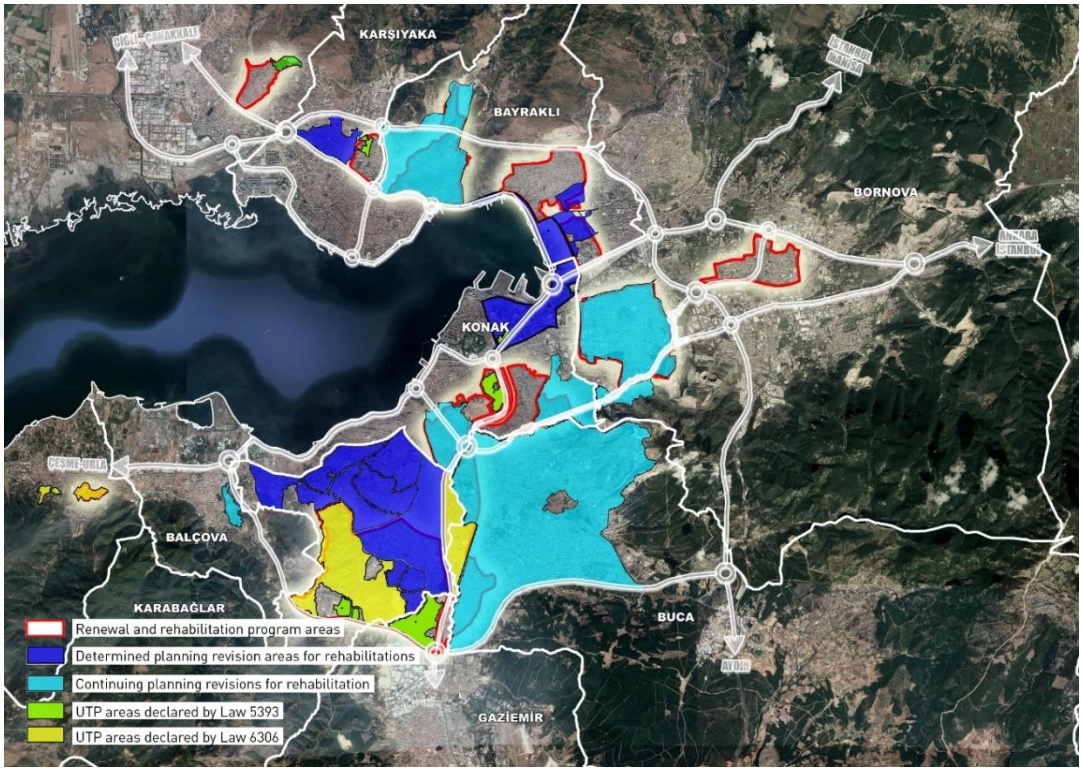


Figure 16. Urban transformation plan and implementation areas (Adapted from IMM, 2018)

Urban transformation projects carried out with two prominent legal frameworks result in different dynamics and emergence. As plot-by-lot transformation also plays a part in the transformation process of the city, urban transformation and development cannot go beyond increasing the quality of the building merely. However, as being located in a first-degree seismic zone and considering the devastating consequences of the Aegean Sea earthquake that took place in October 2020, addressing a transformation process that considers the earthquake risk across the city is avoided (Baran, 2020), these physical interventions result in not being able to meet the requirements of urban transformation (Yetişkul, 2018).

3.4.1.1 Urban Transformation in the İzmir Model

As a democratic local government model, the İzmir Model is designed to guide the practices of the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality through innovative and participatory approaches. Although the model aims to enhance the quality of life, it does not explicitly define specific projects but rather visions. The focus instead is on implementing definite projects in line with the defined vision and principles. The main principles of the model are quality of life, participation and governance, innovation, and sustainability (Tekeli, 2019).

Urban transformation projects, one of the activities carried out within the scope of the İzmir Model, are being implemented with article 73 of Law numbered 5393 via İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Urban Transformation, which was established in 2010. Within the scope of the İzmir model, urban transformation is defined as "a comprehensive project design process that takes into account economic, spatial and social conditions in order to solve the urban problems" (Tezcan & Çelik, 2017, pp. 83-84). As part of the İzmir Model, urban transformation aims to improve the quality of life and create healthy, modern, and safe living spaces (Tezcan & Çelik, 2017; Uysal & Arslan Avar, 2021; Yetişkul, 2018).

Urban transformation is guided by principles such as innovation, sustainability, and participation and governance to improve quality of life in accordance with the principles of the İzmir Model (Figure 17). The Metropolitan Municipality supports a social transformation, which involves improving the built environment and strengthening the social and technical infrastructure instead of merely elaborating on the urban transformation process as a physical problem (İBB, 2022). İzmir Master Plan has determined a total area of 4100 hectares as a renewal and rehabilitation program area, and from those areas, 311 hectares were determined as an urban transformation project area. Different urban transformation projects are progressing at various stages. The first phase of projects was carried out and completed in disaster-prone areas. On-site transformation projects are in negotiation, tender, or construction phases (Yetişkul, 2018).

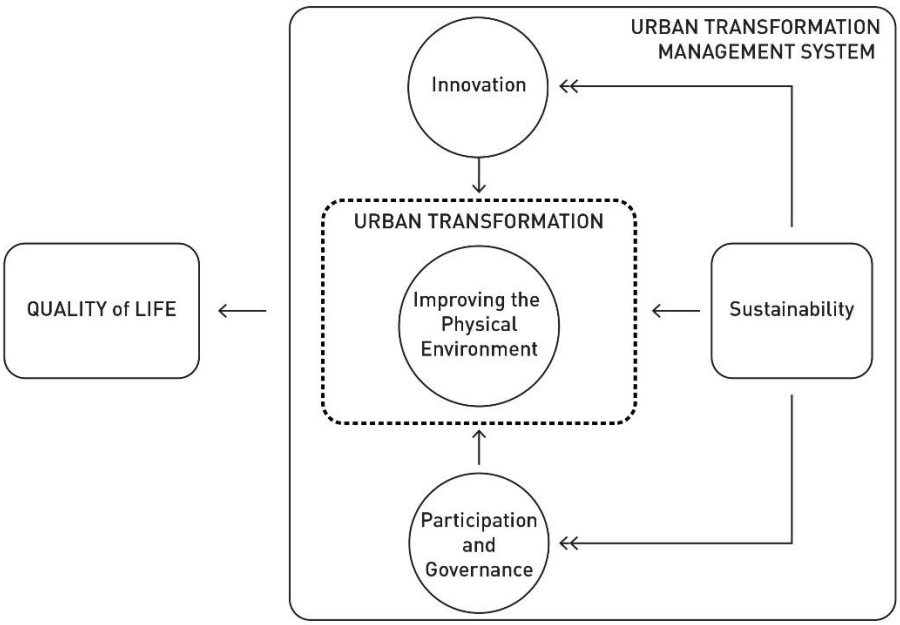


Figure 17. The urban transformation management system according to the İzmir Model (Yetişkul, 2018, p. 61)

The Metropolitan Municipality aims to achieve 100% negotiation and on-site transformation as part of the urban transformation strategy. Within the scope of 100% negotiation, representatives from communication offices develop individual relationships with right holders and inhabitants living in project areas. During on-site transformation, right holders continue to live in newly built houses within the same area's boundaries as long as the ground is geologically convenient (Yetişkul, 2018). In this sense, the municipality adopts the motto of “new house, same neighbor.” In contrast, new housing units built on the peripheries are allocated within urban transformation projects conducted in geologically hazardous areas. This process results in forced displacement from the city center to the peripheries (Uysal & Arslan Avar, 2021).

Although a common example of urban transformation implementation is the preparation of a development plan and transformation project by municipalities and then leaving the process to the market mechanism, within the framework of the İzmir Model, the Metropolitan Municipality is involved during each different phase of the project implementation. In this direction, the Metropolitan Municipality has an active

role in the implementation stages of urban transformation. The municipality, thus, becomes the intermediary party, ensuring the functioning and completion of the project to prevent possible tensions and conflicts between right holders and construction firms (Yetişkul, 2018). Hence, The Metropolitan Municipality, private sector construction companies, and residents are the main actors in urban transformation implementations. In addition, the Municipality does not increase density in urban transformation project areas to prevent urban rent (Tezcan & Çelik, 2017).

Project implementation phases of the Metropolitan Municipality respectively include the declaration of the urban transformation project area, on-site information, appraisement and obtaining the title deed records, preparation of the mathematical distribution model, in other words, "model for construction rights" to determine the shares of the right holders, preparation of the 1/5000 and 1/1000 urban development plans, negotiations in communication offices in the urban transformation project areas and determination of new construction rights in line with the appraisements, provision of land and title deeds, determining the project construction phases, drawing lots for housing units, going out to tender, evacuation, and demolition, handing over the project to the construction firm but being available as an intermediary between citizens and the construction firms, and finally turn-key (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, n.d.; Tezcan & Çelik, 2017).

3.4.1.2 UTPs of İzmir Model

Kadifekale Urban Renewal Project

Kadifekale urban renewal project is the first urban transformation project implemented in İzmir, but also one of the initial urban transformation practices in Turkey as being in a disaster-prone area (Çelikbilek & Çakır Öztürk, 2017). Kadifekale, one of the oldest inner-city neighborhoods in the city, has been a significant destination of rapid and uncontrolled migration after the 1950s. Although it was determined as an afforestation area in the Prost-Danger Plan dated 1925, this decision was not followed (Atay, 1998). Due to the insufficient housing supply in the urban area, squatting intensified over time, and Kadifekale became an inner-city squatter area as being close

to the city center in the early 1960s (Demirtaş-Milz & Saraçoğlu, 2014). Due to the existence of treasury property, its proximity to the city center and its location, and the proximity of railway and highway connections, it has been one of the slum areas where groups migrating from the Eastern and South-eastern Anatolian regions mostly preferred as a result of migration and settled (Yetişkul, 2018). These migrant groups mainly comprise people from the country's Eastern provinces, such as Mardin, Elazığ, Sivas, Tokat, and Kars.

Kadifekale, the destination of dense population movements, is an inconvenient area for settlement due to the risk of landslides (Eranıl Demirli et al., 2015). Kadifekale was determined as a geologically hazardous area in line with eight geological survey reports prepared and approved by the Ministry on different dates between 1962 and 2005. After the landslide took place in 1977 and caused severe damage, four different Ministry decisions declared the area a "disaster exposed zone" in 1978, 1982, 1998, and 2003. Since it was determined as a geologically hazardous area, no new construction right was proposed, and the plan decisions were taken in the form of evacuation and afforestation of the area. However, the squatter settlement in Kadifekale could not be prevented and continued gradually. Especially in the 1990s, "forced migrants" (Demirtaş-Milz & Saraçoğlu, 2014, p.179) who were displaced as a result of the conflicts in the East and Southeast migrated here by choosing a place in an area with relatively cheap housing costs due to its geological inconvenience (Demirtaş-Milz & Saraçoğlu, 2014). Different legal regulations, amnesty laws, and the declaration of a disaster-exposed zone have caused the property structure in the area to be very diverse, resulting in the solution being multi-dimensional. While there are legal deed holders who have title deeds and allocation documents in the area, allocation documents have been deemed invalid with the declaration of the disaster-exposed zone, and there are also those who do not have title deeds, in other words, occupiers (Yetişkul, 2018). In this direction, improvement and planning regulations were adversely affected in the area with a mixed property structure, and Kadifekale gradually started to become a collapsed area.

The urban renewal project was implemented to ensure the safety of the people living in the area declared a disaster-exposed zone with a high risk of landslides. Kadifekale

Urban Renewal Project area is comprised of 9 neighborhoods, namely Kadifekale, Altay, İmariye, Aziziye, I. Kadriye, Hasan Özdemir, 19 Mayıs, Vezirağa, and Kosova, in 42 hectares. Within the context of the conducted protocol between HDA and İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2005, it is envisaged that the squatters will be evacuated, the dwellers will be moved to the residences built in the Uzundere region, and the Kadifekale landslide area will be afforested as a recreation area. Following HDA and the Metropolitan Municipality protocol, the expropriation decision was taken in 2006. In this direction, the Metropolitan Municipality made two proposals to the dwellers in cash or in-kind. In 2006, an urban transformation communication center was established in the area where approximately 20.000 people live, 3300 deed holders reside, and project presentation meetings were held. Then, in 2007, demolition started in the area. During the project process, there were problems with the construction, valuation, and transfer of the houses built by HDA, and a disagreement arose over the protocol signed between the Metropolitan Municipality, Konak Municipality, and HDA. In this direction, with the additional protocol issued in 2008, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality purchased 850 residences from HDA and delivered the residences to the dwellers to prevent the unjust treatment of residents. The delivery of the units in Uzundere was completed in 2010. As of 2011, with the completion of the demolition in Kadifekale, the entire landslide area was afforested (Figure 18).

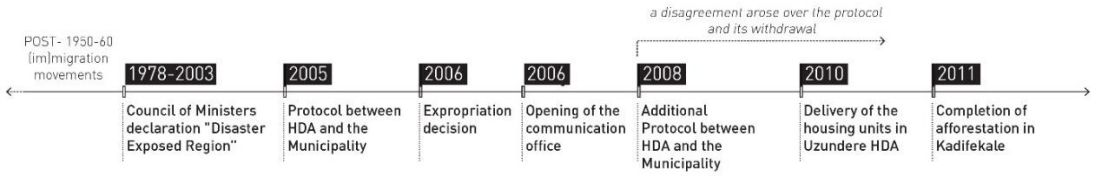


Figure 18. Timeline of the urban renewal declaration process in Kadifekale

As the new housing area in Uzundere is relatively isolated and away from the city center, this has affected old residents to sustain themselves economically. Many felt unable to settle there; the area's location made maintaining access to basic amenities difficult. Also, the project did not consider tenants living in the urban transformation area, and tenants were displaced due to the project. After moving to houses built by

HDA in Uzundere, people's jobs and incomes were adversely affected. In this context, it has been observed that some of the right holders in the area tended to return and settle in the residences located at the periphery of the Kadifekale urban renewal area due to their ongoing work (Şanlı & Demirel, 2021) (Figure 19).

Figure 19. Kadifekale in 2006 and 2011 before and after the implementation of the urban renewal project (IMM, 2018)

Ege Urban Transformation Project

Ege neighborhood is located in Konak district and has a central location within the city. The urbanization process of the neighborhood started with the population exchange between Greece and Turkey after 1923. After the population exchange, the Roma people from Thessaloniki and its surroundings settled in this region. Although it is in an area that is easily accessible to health and education facilities with its central location, the neighborhood has become an area of decay physically and economically (Cin & Eğercioğlu, 2016). Also, it is isolated due to physical thresholds such as large industrial areas in the North, railway in the South and West, and Melez Stream. While squatting development was intense in the neighborhood, during the 1970s, the municipality designed and built social housing blocks to provide a solution to the housing needs of the Roma community living in the area. Unlike the apartment typology, the flexible structure of these houses positively contributed to the Roma people's adoption process (Kılınç, 2017).

Ege was declared a "special planning area" in 1985, 1996, 2005, 2008, and 2012. However, although these plans were approved, they were not implemented. In the

revision of the 1/25.000 İzmir Master Development Plan, the area was defined as the "central business area." In 2013, an urban transformation project area was declared in the neighborhood in line with Article 73 of Municipality Law numbered 5393. The project aims to produce a project that responds to the needs and expectations of those living in the existing area and promotes the integration of the area with the city socially and spatially. As of July 2014, project promotion activities were completed, and negotiations with beneficiaries began. Currently, negotiations are continuing in the communication office. After a congested tender process in the first phase, the tender process was completed after seven different tenders. Accordingly, demolitions were completed in the first phase, where there are rights holders with a larger percentage in the area, but the constructions still continue (Figure 20).

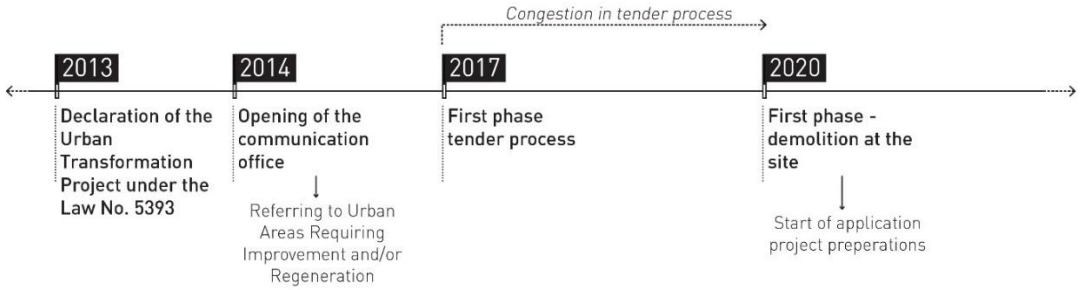


Figure 20. Timeline of the urban transformation declaration process in Ege

Ege has a distinctive neighborhood structure with its ethnic and social patterns. Residents' expectation from the urban transformation project is that all residents continue their lives in the area with their neighbors. The residents question the right ownership of people who do not reside in the area but own property, and they think that the right holders who do not live in the area intend to generate urban rent. In addition, they think that they are the owners of the neighborhood, whether they are tenants or occupiers. Also, residents do not perceive land occupation and illegal construction as a crime. Residents expect the municipality to offer houses to tenants and occupiers with payment methods similar to those offered to right owners residing in the neighborhood, within the scope of the urban transformation project (Şanlı & Demirel, 2021) (Figure 21).

Figure 21. Ege Neighborhood and the urban transformation project (IMM, 2018)

3.4.1.3 UTPs Conducted Independently in İzmir

Karabağlar Urban Transformation Project

Karabağlar District is the second biggest district in İzmir in terms of population. The area was declared risky by the Ministry, within the scope of Law numbered 6306, in 2012. The total project area is 540 hectares, comprised of 16 neighborhoods (Bektaş Ata, 2021). In 2005, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality advanced the planning studies for the region with a 1/25.000 Master Plan. However, in 2012, the Ministry declared the area risky and became authorized for the urban transformation project; hence, the Municipality was excluded from the urban transformation process (Ay, 2016).

A private company was hired to organize negotiations with the neighborhood's residents in 2014. During this process, the residents acted collectively to secure their rights in the area and organized different neighborhood associations. Since then, the plans have been canceled nine times due to lawsuits. In 2022, the urban transformation process is still in the planning stage due to this opposition between neighborhood associations and the Ministry. Regardless of the UTP's justified aim regarding generating healthy living spaces, the initial implementation was carried out in a vacant landslide-risk area rather than in an area where unhealthy and risky constructions are located. This situation later initiated people living in the UTP area to object to the plans and the project. As a result of nine separate lawsuits, the project was canceled with different court decisions concerning the violation of public interest and speculating

urban rent. However, after each lawsuit, the Ministry continued to approve the same plans. As of 2022, the process is still in congestion in the urban transformation project area (Figure 22, 23).

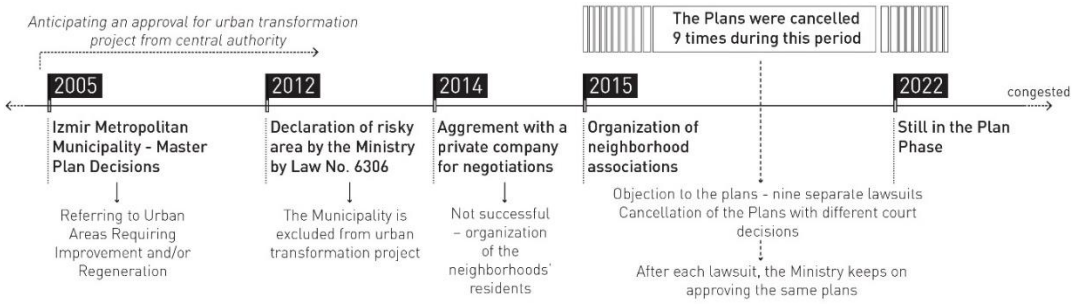


Figure 22. Timeline of the urban transformation declaration process in Karabağlar

Figure 23. Constructions in vacant land and demonstration of the neighborhood associations (Hak Arayanlar Association, 2014)

Bostanlı Parcel-Based Urban Transformation Implementations

The historical development of Karşıyaka, the district in which Bostanlı is located, started after the mid-1800s, and it has developed through railway connections with the city center. The region, which used to be a coastal town and predominantly under the rule of foreigners, started to grow by going through significant changes after the establishment of the Republic. The settlement, which has severe infrastructure and transportation problems due to its rural character, has been included within the borders of İzmir Municipality since 1930 (Serçe, 2005). Until the 1960s, besides producing

affordable housing by housing cooperatives, several-storey detached family apartments were built. The 1960s were experienced as a period in which apartment building gained momentum, and at this stage, where immigration and squatting gradually began to dominate, the low-rise houses located in the coastal part of Karşıyaka turned into eight-storey apartment buildings (Çelik & Çilingir, 2017). Since the 1970s, with an intense migration flow, the settlement has undergone structural changes, and neighborhoods with infrastructure problems have become the main components of the region (Ünverdi, 2002).

Amnesty laws and subsequent improvement plans that emerged in connection with the urban policies implemented throughout the country in the early 1980s left severe traces in the physical transformation of the settlement. With the impact of the industrial zone, established in 1990, and the completion of the first phases of Mavişehir mass housing in 1995, significant activity has been observed in terms of housing investments, especially in the west of the district. The ring road, which started to serve in 2007, moved the accumulation of housing investments in the west of the district to the north, and the regions with unqualified housing areas formed by migration behind have become a potential for transformation.

Within the context of the 1/25.000 İzmir Master Plan decisions, Karşıyaka is considered as renewal and rehabilitation program areas determined by the Municipality (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2009). Scenarios based on transformation have emerged in regions predominantly developed with unhealthy housing stock. Karşıyaka district stands out as the district with the highest number of risky structures, with over ten thousand buildings (Erdin & Aydın, 2016). Hence, the parcel-based urban transformation projects started to be implemented within the scope of Law numbered 6306. Bostanlı neighborhood is one of the regions where parcel-based implementations started to be observed in İzmir (Figure 24).

Figure 24. Demolitions in Bostanlı within the scope of parcel-based urban transformation project (Çelik & Çilingir, 2017, p. 337)

Bostanlı, located in marshlands with the effect of the Gediz delta, developed as a low-density settlement where agricultural production continued. However, although being a disaster-prone area, new housing investments continued due to the growth and expansion of Karşıyaka. The neighborhood, with an advantageous location in the city in terms of open and green spaces and accessibility with different modes of transportation, has offered a legitimization for the emergence of transformation implementations (Zengin, 2012).

According to Çelik and Çilingir's (2017) research, the spatial distribution of transformed “risky buildings” in Bostanlı is not homogeneous; instead, they are dispersed. In the case of Bostanlı, since residents could get higher exchange 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 intervention for their disaster-prone structure. For this reason, in parcel-based transformation approaches, the priority in practice has been the profit returns rather than the renewal of risky structures as structures with better physical conditions.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

After the 1950s, the urbanization process in Turkey accelerated. Especially in the first periods of urbanization, due to urbanization and accelerating rural-to-urban migration, the economic situation of the country, and the global and local dynamics of the period, a housing deficit emerged as an outcome. Until the early 1950s, the failure of the central and local government to respond to the housing problem with housing provisions resulted in the occupation of public land, and illegal constructions began. Even though different legislations emerged to prevent squatting development, it could not be prevented with amnesty laws enacted in 1948, and afterward, on the contrary, it was encouraged. The changing legislation and implementation approaches in each period affected the progressing periods. By the 2000s, legalized illegal structures began to be the subject of urban transformation. Kuyucu (2014) emphasizes that there has been a shift from accepting and encouraging informal settlements as housing supply to low-income residents to a policy of clearing these settlements for profitable investments. Urban transformation projects started to be used as tools of urban planning and urban policies. In fact, during this process, the increasing role of the central government appeared. During the 1980s, while the state authorized the municipalities for housing provision, the centralist approach became more evident and especially after the 2000s, with the election of a new government drastically increased. After 2018, with the presidential system, state power sharply increased. While the central government and HDA predominantly carry out urban transformation projects, the state-led urban transformation implementations do not allow space for discussing the complexities in planning, as they are implemented with a more technical and positivist approach. Unlike urban transformation projects planned and implemented in other cities, the İzmir Model, being implemented with 100% negotiation and participatory approaches, enhances a rich ground for discussing complexities in planning of an urban transformation project. Hence, within the scope of the dissertation, an urban transformation project implemented in Uzundere, İzmir, is chosen as a case study area.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter aims to discuss the research methodology of the study. First, the dissertation's research framework, the advocacy coalition framework, is reviewed. Following the discussion of the research model, the research method is elaborated by examining the data collection and data analysis methods. Moreover, the justifications regarding the research methodology and the selection of the case study area are discussed. The reasons behind discussing urban transformation in urban planning and selecting İzmir and Uzundere as case studies are thus examined.

4.1 Research Framework of the Dissertation

Theoretical perspective using the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) as the main research framework is developed for the study. It is aimed to adapt the advocacy coalition framework as a bridge to examine the collaborative processes in urban transformation projects and plans within the context of complexity theory. In this direction, the framework is used as a model for the dissertation to analyze and seek to understand the changes in planning processes specifically experienced during the urban transformation. The ACF conceptualizes the link between micro-level and macro-level processes and results. Morçöl (2012) also emphasizes that the advocacy coalition framework is a micro-macro-level theoretical approach, elaborating connections and relations between micro and macro levels. The framework provides a basis to discuss complex problems that emerge during planning processes and to combine the complexity theory with the planning discussions while enabling the elaboration of micro and macro-level relations (Figure 25).

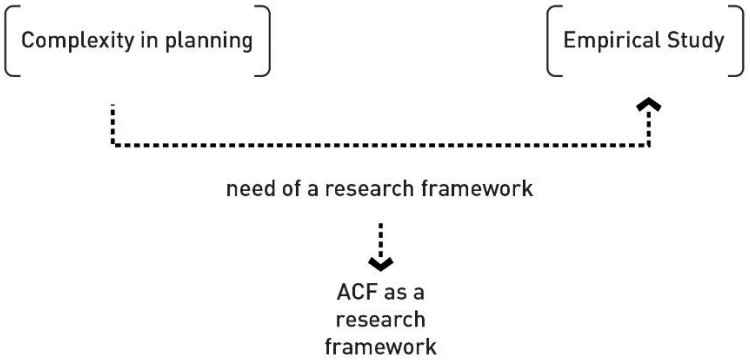


Figure 25. The search for a research framework to discuss complexity in planning

The advocacy coalition framework enables the discussion of planning theories in light of complexity discussions. Planning in complexity has generated major discussion points, including external effects, internal effects on planning processes, and the effects of self-organization and adaptation capacity of diverse actors and coalitions as affecting policy-making and plan-making processes. Similarly, the advocacy coalition framework approach can help understand the planning and policy changes due to diverse coalitions and external and internal effects. Hence, the study develops a theoretical perspective using the ACF as the main research framework.

Within the framework context, basic attributes of the problem area, basic distribution of natural resources, fundamental socio-cultural values and social structure, and basic constitutional structure are discussed as stable parameters from a public administration viewpoint. However, within the context of the dissertation, stable parameters are evaluated as the internally given parameters, which are socio-spatial and local qualities and legal framework. On the other hand, according to the framework, external events are discussed as changes in socio-economic conditions, changes in systemic governing coalitions, and policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems. On the other hand, in the dissertation, these external emergencies will be elaborated in terms of their effects on the adaptation capacity of the planning system. Finally, coalitions are shaped between the actors with shared beliefs, strategies, and interests (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). By forming advocacy coalitions, these actors collaborate and act together to

initiate a policy change. Also, collaborative planning discussions highlight the importance of the active inclusion of diverse actors (Innes & Booher, 2010). They can affect one another, and a change in an initial condition will result in a new trajectory, which means a new policy subsystem. Hence, these subsystems are continuous and non-linear in complex adaptive systems.

Additionally, in light of the discussions of planning theories, coalitions and authorities should not be elaborated as separate actors in the planning and policy-making processes from the viewpoint of collaborative planning. For participatory practices to work effectively, diverse actors and authorities need to be involved in planning and decision-making processes. Hence, unlike the approach of the advocacy coalition framework, it is crucial to consider that all actors are involved in the policy process collaboratively, including the authority itself (Figure 26).

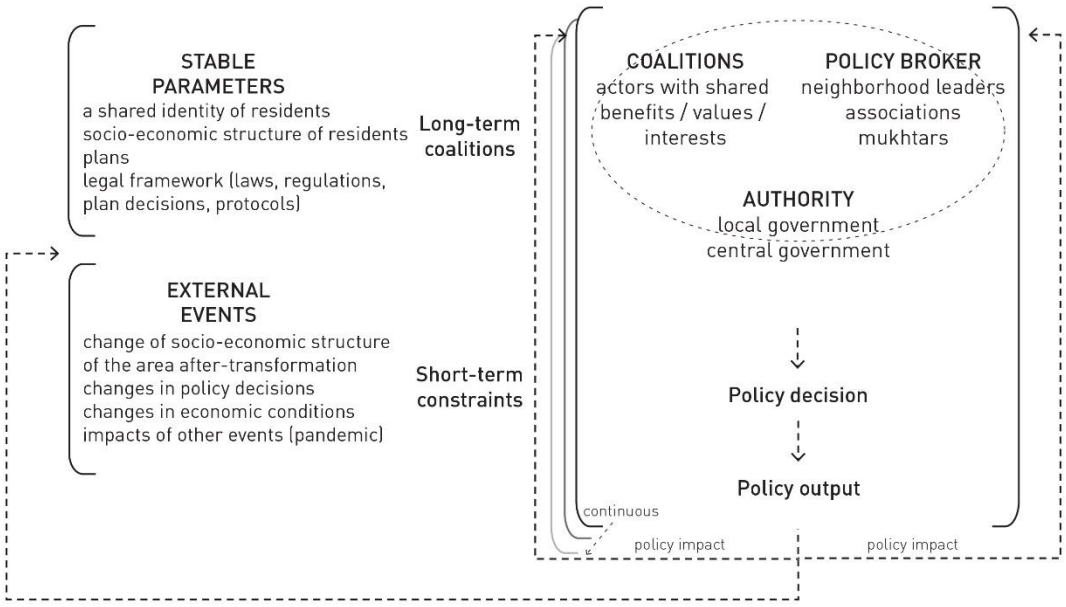


Figure 26. The research framework combining the discussion of planning with complexity and the advocacy coalition framework

In this sense, while discussing the case study, the background regarding the project area will be first elaborated. Then, the process will be discussed via three stages until the declaration of the urban transformation project, the project negotiations, and the

construction and resettlement phase (Figure 27). With these different stages, it is aimed to reveal that the policymaker and authority cannot foresee the anticipated and unanticipated emergences during the policy-making and planning and that repositioning and adaptation take place in each process due to the influence of different external and internal effects and coalitions. Although the process is examined via three stages, it should be noted that the process does not end at some point after these three stages. Contrary, the urban transformation project will continue to evolve and adapt even after the completion of the project in the future because other non-linear internal and external factors will continue to emerge.

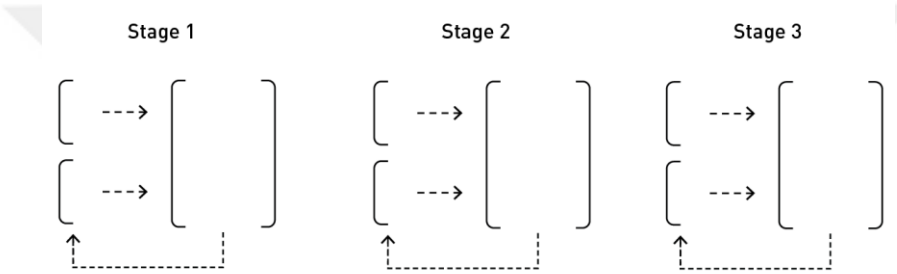


Figure 27. Stages of the research formed via advocacy coalition framework

4.2 Research Model

For the dissertation, process analysis is adopted as a discussion development method. Process analysis is a method that helps to understand how a process works (Aaron & Repetto, 2018). The research comprises three levels of analysis: the research project, the urban transformation project, and the dissertation research. These overlapping processes all together allow observing diverse collaboration models and coalitions that emerged before, during, and after the transformation project.

First of all, the research project, "Interpretation of Settlement Pattern Changes in Turkey: The Case of İzmir" was developed to interpret and redefine the changes observed in the settlement pattern of Turkey and was carried out between April 2018 and October 2021 (Yetişkul, 2022). The project's objectives were defined as understanding and reinterpreting the settlement system in Turkey, applying a micro-

macro level conceptualization of complexity theory, and discussing spatial policy development and urban planning. İzmir city region and metropolitan area were exemplified at various spatial and temporal scales by the project via different research themes (Yetişkul, 2022). One of the themes studied within the project's scope was urban transformation. Within the urban transformation project theme, research was conducted for four urban transformation project areas in İzmir: Kadifekale, Örnekköy, Ege, and Uzundere. Accordingly, field visits were conducted in these project areas, and in-depth interviews, surveys, and meetings were implemented in each project area. Accordingly, findings gathered from the urban transformation theme were used and analyzed as a first level of process analysis in the dissertation.

Secondly, the urban transformation project in İzmir, Uzundere, was declared in 2012, and as of 2022, the project implementation is still ongoing. Hence, the continuing project phase also provided inputs for the dissertation, as new dynamics and nonlinearities are constantly emerging. The project acted as an analysis level both during the field visits and with secondary data. As a final point, process analysis was also included in the dissertation through both theoretical and practical research in the field.

The three-level process analysis is adopted to observe coalition formations, internal and external influences, the unintended and anticipated results, and whether adaptations and self-organizations have appeared with the planning processes' nonlinearity and open nature. The reason for utilizing all three processes is that it is not possible to investigate the coalitions and the effects of internal and external events and the co-evolutions in planning processes merely via field visits and interviews. Instead, different processes at different levels feed each other and positively affect the interpretation capacity.

For instance, the surveys implemented within the scope of the research project initially attempted to discover the residents' perceptions regarding the project's completed phase in Uzundere. The survey results alone would not be meaningful and effective in unfolding the nonlinearities emerged in the urban transformation planning process. Similarly, via media analysis, whether the authority acted in co-evolution would not

be investigated. By overlapping different process analyses, it became possible to discover incidents that emerged in the process and relate them to each other. In fact, each level provided a direction to discover and gather different snapshots from the transformation process, which implicitly supported tracing the new emergences and adaptations throughout the process. Interpretations are searched out for different phases of each process. The emergences and coalitions were traced through this three-level process analysis, and each process analysis had the capacity to provide a clue of a coalition or internal or external events.

4.3 Research Method of the Dissertation

Although both quantitative and qualitative methods are necessary to understand complex systems better (Morçöl, 2012), complex systems have the potential for qualitative transformation due to their dynamic and open nature (Buijs et al., 2009). Within the context of the study, due to the lack of adequate data sets, there is no sufficient basis for quantitative research, and analysis with quantitative micro-macro level research methods is not feasible. However, quantitative data will also be utilized while employing the qualitative research methods.

4.3.1 Qualitative Case Studies

It is essential to contextualize the knowledge of a complex social system, as indicated by Morçöl (2012). While quantitative analysis methods such as SNA or ABS allow for limited generalizations, there is a need to understand the system's specific context, which requires qualitative understanding and descriptions. Buijs et al. (2009) also argue that in-depth case studies and qualitative methods should be utilized while investigating social systems.

Accordingly, the analytical framework for the empirical study is grounded on a qualitative case study following the advocacy coalition framework. By doing that, qualitative methods will be used to understand the macro structures and micro-macro-level relations in planning policies and processes in the reality of complexity theory.

4.3.2 Research Questions and Sub-Questions

In order to elaborate the case study, research sub-question are defined. Each sub-question is aimed at searching for the pillars of complexity: nonlinearity, co-evolution, and self-organization (Figure 28).

Research Question 1: What might be the internal and external factors and actors affect planning processes?

Research Sub-Questions: Which external and/or internal events are observed? What are the effects of anticipated and unforeseen external and internal events? Who are the actors, and which coalitions did emerge? How do actors within coalitions collaborate in terms of which interests and beliefs? Do different coalitions negotiate or conflict?

Research Question 2: Considering the current discussions of planning, do planners, decision-makers, and authorities consider the complex nature of planning?

Research Sub-Questions: Which role does the authority have? Is there any policy broker affecting the coalitions and implicitly impacting the planning and policy-making?

Research Question 3: How can urban transformation projects be implemented by considering the complexities in urban planning?

Research Sub-Questions: What are the anticipated and unforeseen external and internal effects? Are any effects on policies and plans observed?

Research Question 4: Can the advocacy coalition framework provide an appropriate discussion framework for examining the complex nature of planning?

3 Stages of the Uzundere UTP	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS
	RQ1: What might be the internal and external factors and actors affect planning processes?	- Which external and/or internal events are observed?
		- What are the effects of anticipated and unforeseen external and internal events?
		- Who are the actors, and which coalitions did emerge?
		- How do actors within coalitions collaborate in terms of which interests and beliefs?
		- Do different coalitions negotiate or conflict?
	RQ2: Considering the current discussions of planning, do planners, decision-makers, and authorities consider the complex nature of planning?	- Which role does the authority have? (views of actors and views of the autority)
		- Is there any policy broker affecting the coalitions and implicitly impacting the planning and policy-making?
	RQ3: How can urban transformation projects be implemented by considering the complexities in urban planning?	- What are the anticipated and unforeseen external and internal effects?
		- Are any effects on policies and plans observed?
	RQ4: Can the advocacy coalition framework provide an appropriate discussion framework for examining the complex nature of planning?	

Figure 28. Research sub-questions

Data collection and analysis methods are defined along with the research questions (Figure 29).

RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS	3 Pillars of Complexity	Data Collection	Data Analysis
- Which external and/or internal events are observed?	coevolutions	Official documents Using available data (mass media) In-depth interviews Survey Observations	Narrative Analysis Content Analysis Media Analysis Survey Analysis
- What are the effects of anticipated and unforeseen external and internal events?			
- Who are the actors, and which coalitions did emerge?			
- How do actors within coalitions collaborate in terms of which interests and beliefs?			
- Do different coalitions negotiate or conflict?			
- Which role does the authority have? (views of actors and views of the autority)	self-organization		
- Is there any policy broker affecting the coalitions and implicitly impacting the planning and policy-making?			
- What are the anticipated and unforeseen external and internal effects?			
- Are any effects on policies and plans observed?			
	non-linearity		

Figure 29. Data collection and data analysis methods

4.3.3 Data Collection Methods

The case study is conducted based on a mixed methodology utilizing combined data collection methods. The complete fieldwork and data collection process are carried out in three stages. First, preliminary investigations and observations in the field were conducted in July 2018, and information was collected by conducting field visits with the municipality officials. In the second stage, the literature review and the data obtained from the municipalities were examined, and previously conducted scientific

research was studied. Finally, field studies and in-depth interviews were conducted between September 2018 and September 2021. In addition, within the context of the research project, semi-structured surveys were conducted in September 2020 with random sampling in the completed first stage of the project. During the field studies, transcription was performed by note-taking or recording with consent.

One of the studies that promote the theoretical base created as a result of the literature review, the quantitative quality of the work carried out in the first stage has been examining all previous plans and plan decisions for urban transformation areas by obtaining them from the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. It is aimed to make sense of the historical background of the urban transformation areas to reveal the plan history and transformation processes with the plan archive scans. In this sense, official data from previous field works, meetings, and interviews were obtained from the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. The planning documents, plans, and other official documents such as meeting notes, drawing sets, plans, and planning document archives were examined, which were obtained from the Metropolitan Municipality and Karabağlar Municipality.

4.3.3.1 In-Depth Interviews

Within the context of the study, field visits were conducted to the Uzundere urban transformation project area, and on-site observations and in-depth interviews were held with various actors. Field visits were conducted in different periods, between 29-3 July 2018 and between 10-14 September 2018. The following year, field visits were conducted on 24 July 2019 and 5-7 September 2019, and the developments in the past period were observed on site. The final site visit was held between 13-17 September 2021 due to the intervening covid-19 pandemic precautions. During this field visit, as well as conducting in-depth interviews in the field with snowball sampling, newcomer information was obtained with a network sampling method. Then, in December 2021, an interview was conducted over the phone.

While Minnery (2007) treats actors as authority, community, and market, different "coalitions" that arise with conflicts and collaborations between actors have an effect that shapes the process. The dissertation includes actors as authorities, locals, and developers. As a result of the in-depth interviews conducted, a total of 39 actors from various roles and occupational groups who witnessed the urban transformation process were interviewed (see Appendix A). Once examining the distribution of the interviewees, 8 actors represent the local government, 25 represent locals, and 6 developers are interviewed. Locals comprised 20 right holders, and 2 of them were newcomers (see Appendix B). On the other hand, 1 of them was an occupier, and one was the president of the urban transformation association of Karabağlar urban transformation project, and one interview was conducted with the representative of the Chamber of Architects (Figure 30).

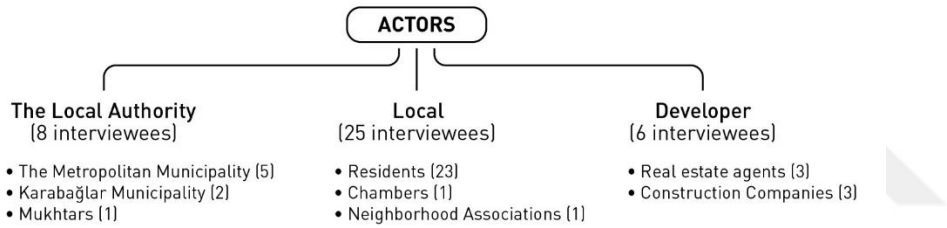


Figure 30. Distribution of the actors interviewed

4.3.3.2 Survey

Within the context of the survey conducted between 3-10 September 2020, it is aimed to learn how the right holders in the urban transformation project area perceive the transformation process and to identify the opinions of right holders on the urban transformation's before and after. Aside from the primary application purpose of the survey, clues supporting the discussion were sought by combining survey results with other outputs. In this direction, semi-structured surveys are conducted with right holders living in the Uzundere Urban Transformation Project area who have ownership in the project's first phase and have already transformed on-site and begun to live in the new transformed houses. The project's first phase was chosen because it was the

only phase where construction were completed, and the turnkey process was completed when the survey was conducted. Since the constructions were completed only in the first phase, this enabled to gather right owners' thoughts regarding the post-transformation period.

First of all, information regarding the right holders of the first phase of the project, where the survey studies will be carried out, was shared by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. It is seen that right holders who have a share in the first phase are placed in 139 houses in total. However, since some of them have more than one property in the shared lists, the right holders are included in the research population individually. As a result, a total of 59 individual right holders are involved in the research population.

As a sampling method, the simple random sampling method is used. The questions are prepared in a semi-structured survey format (see Appendix C). The survey is conducted by the survey company with service procurement due to Covid-19 pandemic constraints. The questionnaire and the lists of right holders are shared with a survey company. Surveys are conducted face-to-face with the right holders and/or their relatives between 3-10 September 2020 over the names and addresses shared by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Department of Urban Transformation. When the limitations of the survey are examined, due to the low number of individual right holders in the first phase of the Uzundere urban transformation area and the limitations caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, a small number of respondents are interviewed in the project area.

The first part of the survey is designed to collect socio-demographic information, which are gender, age, education level, employment work status, and household income. The second part, on the other hand, contained questions probing the opinions regarding urban transformation, both before and after the completion of the project's first phase, as well as the project's physical, social, and economical effects. Hence, it is aimed to observe the trajectories of the process, in order to support the in-depth interview results conducted in the field.

First of all, the surveys are conducted with 25 people out of 59 individual right holders (see Appendix D). Almost four-tenth of respondents (36%) are right holders, while others are first degree relatives. While 18 of the respondents are female, 7 respondents are male. The fact that the respondents are comprised predominantly of females is thought to be related to the fact that the surveys are conducted during daylight hours which is also possibly related with the traditional gender norms. Almost half of the respondents (56%) are between the ages of 45-64. When the educational status of the respondents is examined, it is seen that six-tenth of them are primary school graduates. Also, almost eight-tenth of respondents (84%) are unemployed, and others are retired or workers. When the working status of the family head is asked, it is seen that approximately three-tenth (32%) of the family heads are not working (Figure 31). It is seen that the interviewees started to live in Uzundere as of 1980 and after.

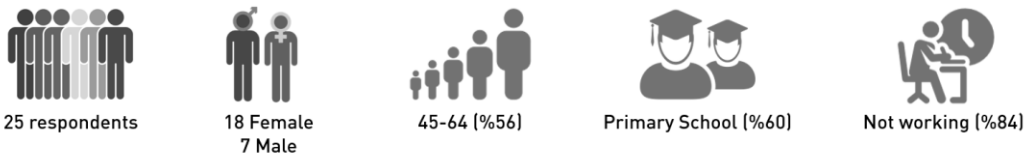


Figure 31. Predominant characteristics of the survey respondents

Nearly eight-tenth (84%) of the respondents stated that their income consists of formal income, while respondents earning from informal work are day laborers. Approximately eighty percent (84%) of the respondents have an income of 5,000 TL or less (as of October 2022, approximately 270 USDs).

4.3.3.3 Secondary Data

Master development plans, urban development plans, plan decisions, negotiation agreement example documents, all printed and written documents, and other sources such as presentations prepared for meetings, meeting notes, and photos of the project

area were obtained from the Metropolitan Municipality. Moreover, national news sources, social media accounts, and blogs about the neighborhood were scanned.

4.3.4 Data Analysis

The findings and interviews are analyzed with content analysis and narrative analysis methods. Moreover, survey results are analyzed and turned into a quantitative data set. After conducting content analysis for the survey results, word clouds are developed via an online word cloud generator (wordart.com). With word cloud visuals, it is possible to explore the tendencies and opinions and identify frequently used words during interviews and surveys. In this sense, word clouds are prepared by visualizing the most frequently used discourses during the surveys by giving more prominence visually in terms of the boldness of the specific texts.

4.4 Justification Regarding the Research Methodology

The advocacy coalition framework represents responsive nature to complexity theory and a collaborative approach. Plan and policy change is non-directional and emergent anytime. There is no single result, instead evolving and adapting in the presence of different actors and their interests and other external factors and challenges caused by increasing complexity and uncertainty. As diverse coalition actors while collaborating negotiate and meet on common ground, other external and internal changes are taken into consideration. Hence, the ACF is adapted for research purposes to suit the current studies of planning discussions better.

4.4.1 Why Urban Transformation in Urban Planning?

According to the modernist view, city planning is seen as determined by sweeping away the complexities of traditional cities (Marshall, 2012) with a reductionist perspective. However, modern planning has become less appealing and functional over time than traditional “unplanned” urbanization. The reduced complexity of

planned urbanism has been connected to this failure of town planning (Jacobs, 1961). Today, planning has progressed to a new level. Looking at the theoretical background, cities, and urban development are currently defined as dynamic, non-linear, open, and complex systems and processes that can adapt to various situations and occurrences and evolve in continuity in this direction. In the literature, two main approaches are discussed; technical and communicative rationales which are perspectives in planning that are positioned at extremes on a spectrum (De Roo, 2010). Planning is concerned with a world that is changing from basic and straightforward entities and interactions to highly complex situations, fuzzy middle between technical rationality and communicative rationality. Current planning practices continue to evolve (De Roo, 2010) and with the emergence of communicative rationality, move from rigid and formulated approaches to more flexible approaches based on communication and interaction. On the other hand, complexity theory takes place in the middle of these two extreme sides. At this point, trying to make sense of the essence of change in cities becomes essential. Planning is no longer about knowing or controlling but is about navigation.

As urban transformation has become a strong political intervention tool regarding space, it is important to elaborate on it within the context of the current planning debates. In other words, the main objectives of urban planning can be elaborated as overlapping with the goals of urban transformation. As existing top-down planning approaches are often a poor fit for analyzing the collaborative planning processes, urban transformation projects implemented via local governments with participatory and collaborative aims provide a basis for the study.

4.4.2 Why İzmir?

İzmir is one of the significant metropolitan areas in terms of the similarity of the migration and squatter development process to the national trends and the place it has in the country's urbanization process. In other urban transformation projects, especially those that progress top-down, the transformation can be completed directly

with urgent expropriation. However, this is the kind of transformation that totally fits the rational planning approach. Therefore, it includes an approach that does not fit into the theoretical discussion at the starting point of the dissertation and prevents analysis in this direction. Also, most of the urban studies literature in Turkey includes studies on Istanbul. In this sense, especially in the last decade, in terms of accelerated urban transformation and urban projects, İzmir has been chosen as the study area, which has the characteristics of an urban region. On the other hand, the authority claims that a different approach is followed with a participatory model in the urban transformation process with the İzmir model. In this sense, it makes more sense to read the process of an urban transformation project with a 100% negotiation and participatory approach within the framework of complexity.

4.4.3 Why Uzundere?

Uzundere is selected as a case study area within the frame of the dissertation. By establishing a relationship with the İzmir Model and emphasizing its different approaches from the current urban transformation projects implemented throughout the country, it is aimed to discuss how the planning progresses and whether there are parties and clues that fit the current planning discussions over this area. The project includes parties that differ from other ongoing urban transformation projects as it currently targets on-site transformation with 100% consensus.

Moreover, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality considers the urban transformation process in Uzundere as the most manageable and fastest progressing urban transformation implementation. However, observing unforeseen effects outside of the targeted and planned process during the field studies is one of the factors for choosing Uzundere. In addition, Uzundere was the most advanced project during the first field studies compared to other UTPs implemented within the context of the İzmir Model. Uzundere also represents an area that has developed in the past but has managed to preserve its rural identity despite all the urban developments in the vicinity. In the context of social relationships, social ties and solidarity in the area are also strong. In this sense, it enables examining the different emergencies that emerged in the process

and understanding the collaborations and conflicts that the transformation brought about and the social and cultural transformations that the transformation brought beyond physical change.

By establishing a relationship with the İzmir Model and emphasizing its different side from the current urban transformation projects, it is aimed to discuss how the process progresses in this direction, and whether there are emergencies and adaptations that fit the current planning discussions. It also presents an example of a project where different stages of transformation are seen. Uzundere urban transformation project starting from the first field visit enabled to observe the phases in which the constructions were completed by reaching a 100% negotiation, the areas where the demolitions were completed and the construction process continued, the phases in which negotiations were completed, and are in the tender process, and the areas where no agreement could not be reached.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY

This chapter aims to discuss the planning process of an urban transformation project and, by unfolding emerging internal and external events, aims to reveal key actors and coalitions that promote changes from the declaration of a project to an implementation process. İzmir Uzundere urban transformation and development project is elaborated in line with this objective. Although Uzundere urban transformation project area is located in Uzundere and Yurdoğlu neighborhoods, as the project is called Uzundere urban transformation project, the case study discussion is elaborated by explaining Uzundere. However, at this point, Uzundere does not specifically represent the administrative boundaries of the neighborhoods but the area where the urban transformation project is continuing instead.

In this sense, this chapter first presents the background of Uzundere from historical development to being an urban transformation project by introducing the urban transformation project to examine the internally given parameters of the urban transformation area. Then, by elaborating the urban transformation process in three stages; in the first stage, the process until the declaration of the urban transformation project area is discussed. In the second stage, the period from the declaration of the urban transformation project area to the beginning of construction in the project area is examined. In the third stage, on the other hand, the period from the beginning of the urban transformation project construction to the ongoing construction processes is investigated. However, these three stages do not mean that the process of the project area will end at some point. On the contrary, as discussed in the literature review, cities are now recognized as dynamic, non-linear, open, and complex systems. Hence, even after the completion of the urban transformation project in the future, other internal

and external factors will appear, which will also reveal the need for certain co-evolutions and adaptations. Thus, finally, the chapter discusses the anticipated and unforeseen changes and possible future emergences, and implications of the case study are argued.

5.1 Setting the Scene: Uzundere, Karabağlar

Karabağlar district, located between the south and west corridors of the İzmir Central area, is surrounded by the provinces of Gaziemir in the south, Buca in the east, Konak in the north, and Balçova in the west (Figure 32). According to the 2021 address-based census (TURKSTAT, 2022), it is the second largest district with a population of 478,788, after Buca, which has a population of 517,963. Karabağlar was declared as a province on 6 March 2008, and 55 neighborhoods of Konak were declared as the province of Karabağlar (Karabağlar District Governorate, n.d.).

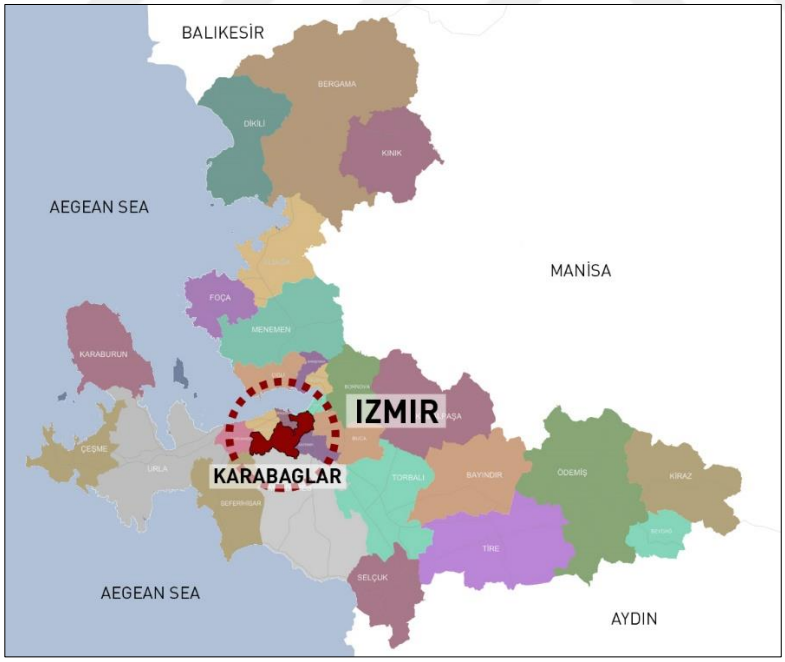


Figure 32. Location of Karabağlar district

Uzundere, located in the Karabağlar district, was founded 300-400 years ago by Khorasanians. The first inhabitants of the village are the Alevi Turkmen community known as Tahtacılar (Çilingir & Kut Görgün, 2018). Similarly, according to the mukhtar of Uzundere (2019), it can be detected from the tombstones that the settlement is more than 300 years old. On the other hand, the locals of Uzundere claim the village is at least 600 years old of whom ancestors lived in, as indicated during the in-depth interviews (2019).

Uzundere is one of the oldest settlements located on the peripheries of İzmir. The development of Uzundere started after the establishment of the Republic and intensified following the population movements, particularly with the rural to urban migrations from the eastern part of the country during the 1950s and 1960s, which also determined the near future layout of the settlement. Similar to the start of squatter development in the district, squatting began with population movements after the 1950s. Between 1980 and 1985, the village status transformed into the neighborhood status in Uzundere; however, the area maintained its rural character for a long time (Şanlı & Demirel, 2021). Until the completion of the İzmir-Çeşme highway connection, the construction of which was started in December 1989 and completed in September 1997, it was a residential area disconnected from the city center. Both İzmir-Çeşme and İzmir-Aydın highways had an impact on the change of the rural characteristic of the area over time. Especially the construction of the İzmir-Çeşme highway increased the spread of settlements on the peninsula and promoted the integration of the area both with the city center and the peninsula (Tekeli, 2015). Hence, the urban development in the region accelerated, and although the area tried to maintain its rural character, it began to disappear due to new urban developments in the vicinity of the area and the pressure of physical developments. Also, the highway construction caused the expropriation of agricultural lands (Çilingir & Kut Görgün, 2018).

With time, urban development and urbanization continued to intensify in the area. Apart from the İzmir-Çeşme highway, which has a triggering effect on developments in the region, an international multi-sport event, "Universiade," was hosted in 2005 in

the vicinity. Its proximity to the airport and high accessibility to the highway were determinative effects of the location of the world university games. In addition, houses to be allocated to athletes within the scope of this event were built in this region and sold to citizens as residences to be delivered after the event. Then, the Uzundere recreation valley project competition was opened in 2006 by the Konak Municipality with the aim of serving as a recreation center for the whole city, and the project was implemented in 2016 (Çilingir & Kut Görgün, 2018). İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (2011) evaluates the recreation valley project, that it will contribute to the development of urban development in the South-North corridor of the city while reducing the pressure in the city center and city development concentrated along the coast. Moreover, due to the Kadifekale urban renewal project, which was implemented because of landslide risks and necessitated the expropriation decision, Uzundere HDA residences were built in this area to be offered to the right holders in 2010. In total, 3080 residences were built on 58 hectares, and right holders in Kadifekale resettled in newly built houses in Uzundere in 2010 (Çilingir & Kut Görgün, 2018).

In addition, the Ministry declared the Karabağlar urban transformation project area of 540 hectares as risky in 2012 within the scope of the Law numbered 6306. Furthermore, in the Gaziemir district, the Aktepe-Emrez urban transformation project area of 122 hectares, declared an urban transformation area in 2012 by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, is also located in the vicinity. FuarİzmirFuarİzmir, which was opened in 2015 and located on an area of 33 hectares, is also located in the region (Çilingir & Kut Görgün, 2018). Moreover, the free trade zone is located within the region. Finally, the İzmir Democracy University campus is planned to be constructed next to the Uzundere HDA project area. However, after the HDA decided to implement a mass housing project in 42 hectares of the 80-hectare campus area, Uzundere residents, the Chamber of City Planners, and the local government filed a lawsuit. Currently, the process is blocked as the plans are canceled in the area where the lawsuits continue (Aktaş, 2022). However, the region is expected to host a university campus in case of the lawsuit process is over. In a nutshell, Uzundere, where the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality declared an urban transformation project area in 2012, has

a location where many urban developments have emerged and triggered other developments in the region during the last decades (Figure 33).

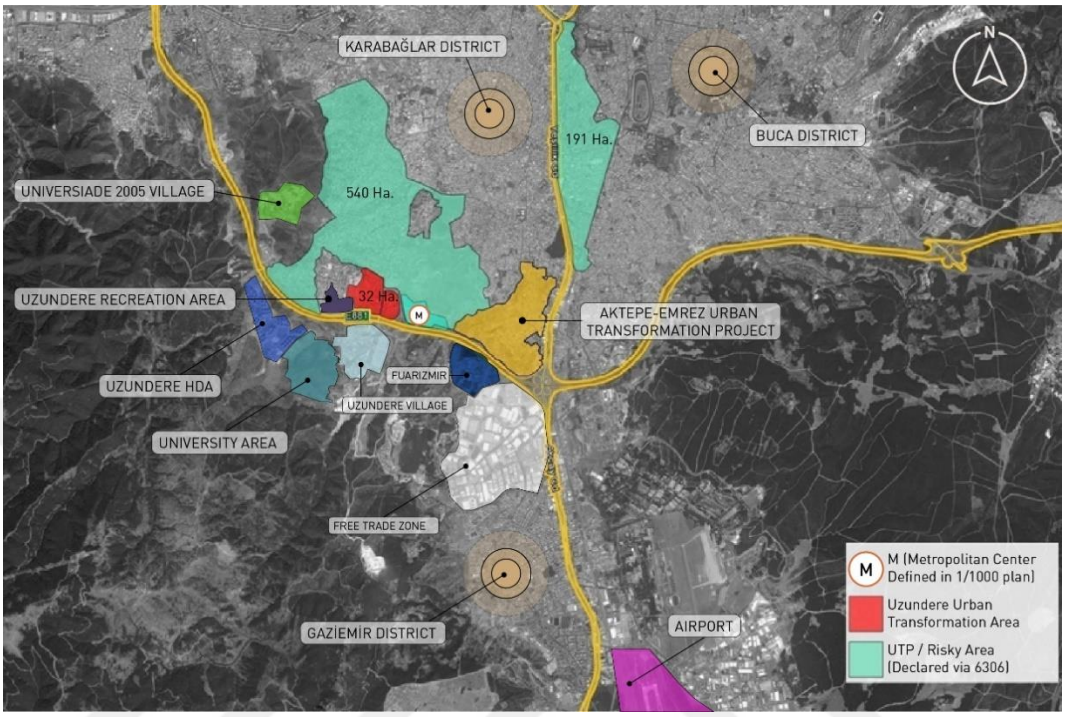


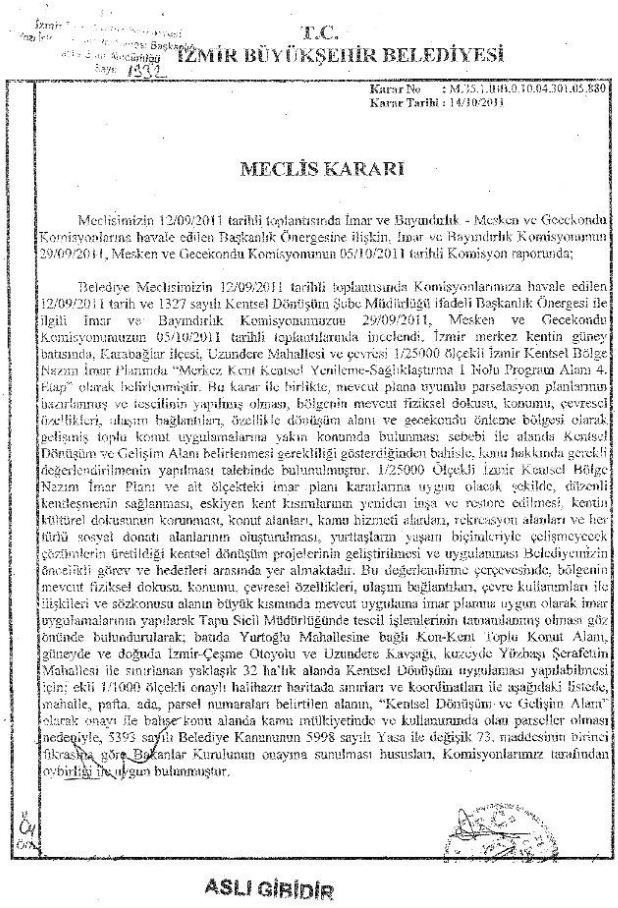
Figure 33. Uzundere and urban developments in the region

5.1.1 Introducing the Uzundere Urban Transformation and Development Project

In Uzundere, located in an urban area with various urban development processes in the vicinity, urban transformation need has been identified due to the physical structure, environmental characteristics, transportation connections, and especially deprived housing stock. Accordingly, the Uzundere Urban Transformation and Development Project was approved by the Metropolitan Municipality Council on 14 October 2011 within the scope of article 73 of Law numbered 5393 (Figure 34), and as required by the Law, the decision was submitted to the former Council of Ministers[3]. Following the decision of the Council of Ministers on 24 July 2012, the Uzundere urban transformation project decision and the project area were published in the official

[3] As of 2018, when Turkey transited into a Presidential System, Council of Ministers has been updated as the "Presidential Cabinet." Since then, the President approves the urban transformation projects.

gazette on 9 September 2012 in an area of 32 hectares (Figure 35), which is located in Uzundere and Yurdoğlu neighborhoods (Tezcan & Çelik, 2017).



T.C.
İZMİR BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ

Karar No : M.35.1.İBB.0.10.04.301.05.880
Karar Tarihi : 14/10/2011

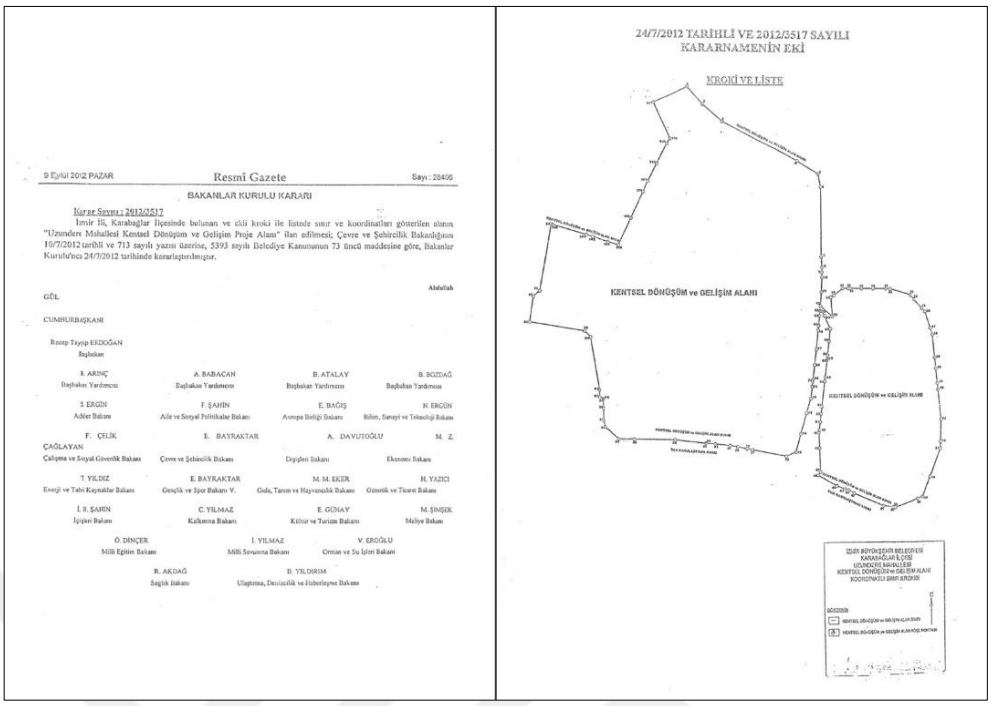
MECLİS KARARI

Meclisimizin 12/09/2011 tarihli toplantısında İmar ve Bayındırlık - Mesken ve Gecekondu Komisyonlarına havale edilen Başkanlık Önergesine ilişkin, İmar ve Bayındırlık Komisyonunun 29/09/2011, Mesken ve Gecekondu Komisyonunun 05/10/2011 tarihli Komisyon raporunda;

Belediye Meclisimizin 12/09/2011 tarihli toplantısında Komisyonlarımıza havale edilen 12/09/2011 tarih ve 1327 sayılı Kentsel Dönüşüm Şube Müdürlüğü ifadeli Başkanlık Önergesi ile ilgili İmar ve Bayındırlık Komisyonumuzun 29/09/2011, Mesken ve Gecekondu Komisyonumuzun 05/10/2011 tarihli toplantılarında incelendi. İzmir merkez kentin güney batısında, Karabağlar ilçesi, Uzundere Mahallesi ve çevresi 1/25000 ölçekli İzmir Kentsel Bölge Nazım İmar Planında "Merkez Kent Kentsel Yenileme-Sağlıklaştırma 1 Nolu Program Alanı 4. Etap" olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu karar ile birlikte, mevcut plana uyumlu parselasyon planlarının hazırlanmış ve tescilinin yapılmış olması, bölgenin mevcut fiziksel dokusu, konumu, çevresel özellikleri, ulaşım bağlantıları, özellikle dönüşüm alanı ve gecekondu önleme bölgesi olarak, gelişmiş toplu konut uygulamalarına yakın konumda bulunması sebebi ile alanda Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Alanı belirlenmesi gerekliliği gösterdiğinden bahisle, konu hakkında gerekli değerlendirilmenin yapılması talebinde bulunulmuştur. 1/25000 Ölçekli İzmir Kentsel Bölge Nazım İmar Planı ve alt ölçekteki imar planı kararlarına uygun olacak şekilde, düzenli kentleşmenin sağlanması, eskiyen kent kısımlarının yeniden inşa ve restore edilmesi, kentin kültürel dokusunun korunması, konut alanları, kamu hizmeti alanları, rekreasyon alanları ve her türlü sosyal donatı alanlarının oluşturulması, yurttaşların yaşam biçimleriyle çelişmeyecek çözümlerin üretildiği kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin geliştirilmesi ve uygulanması Belediyemizin öncelikli görev ve hedefleri arasında yer almaktadır. Bu değerlendirme çerçevesinde, bölgenin mevcut fiziksel dokusu, konumu, çevresel özellikleri, ulaşım bağlantıları, çevre kullanımları ile ilişkileri ve sözkonusu alanın büyük kısmında mevcut uygulama imar planına uygun olarak imar uygulamalarının yapılarak Tapu Sicil Müdürlüğünde tescil işlemlerinin tamamlanmış olması göz önünde bulundurularak; bunda Yurtoğlu Mahallesine bağlı Kon-Kent Toplu Konut Alanı, güneyde ve doğuda İzmir-Çeşme Otoyolu ve Uzundere Kavşağı, kuzeyde Yüzbaşı Şerafettin Mahallesi ile sınırlanan yaklaşık 32 ha'lık alanda Kentsel Dönüşüm uygulaması yapılabilmesi için; ekli 1/1000 ölçekli onaylı halihazır haritada sınırları ve koordinatları ile aşağıdaki listede, mahalle, pafta, ada, parsel numaraları belirtilen alanın, "Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Alanı" olarak onayı ile bahse konu alanda kamu mülkiyetinde ve kullanımında olan parseller olması nedeniyle, 5393 sayılı Belediye Kanununun 5998 sayılı Yasa ile değişik 73. maddesinin birinci fıkrasına göre Bakanlar Kurulunun onayına sunulması hususları, Komisyonlarımız tarafından oybirliği ile uygun bulunmuştur.

ASLI GİBİDİR

Figure 34. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Council decision for an urban transformation project (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2011)


9 Eylül 2012 PAZAR Resmî Gazete Sayı : 28406

BAKANLAR KURULU KARARI

Karar Sayısı : 2012/3517

İzmir İli, Karabağlar İlçesinde bulunan ve ekli kroki ile ilgide sınır ve koordinatları gösterilen alanın "Uzundere Mahallesi Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Proje Alanı" ilan edilmesi; Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının 10/7/2012 tarihli ve 713 sayılı yazısı üzerine, 5393 sayılı Belediye Kanununun 73 üncü maddesine göre, Bakanlar Kurulu'nca 24/7/2012 tarihinde kararlaştırılmıştır.

Abdullah GÜL
CUMHURBAŞKANI

Recep Tayyip ERDOĞAN
Başbakan

B. ARINÇ — Başbakan Yardımcısı
A. BABACAN — Başbakan Yardımcısı
B. ATALAY — Başbakan Yardımcısı
B. BOZDAĞ — Başbakan Yardımcısı
S. ERGİN — Adalet Bakanı
F. ŞAHİN — Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı
E. BAĞIŞ — Avrupa Birliği İşleri Bakanı
N. ERGÜN — Bilim, Sanayi ve Teknoloji Bakanı
F. ÇELİK — Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanı
E. BAYRAKTAR — Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanı
A. DAVUTOĞLU — Dışişleri Bakanı
M. Z. ÇAĞLAYAN — Ekonomi Bakanı
T. YILDIZ — Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanı
E. BAYRAKTAR — Gençlik ve Spor Bakanı V.
M. M. EKER — Gıda, Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanı
H. YAZICI — Gümrük ve Ticaret Bakanı
İ. H. ŞAHİN — İçişleri Bakanı
C. YILMAZ — Kalkınma Bakanı
E. GÜNAY — Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı
M. ŞİMŞEK — Maliye Bakanı
Ö. DİNÇER — Milli Eğitim Bakanı
İ. YILMAZ — Milli Savunma Bakanı
V. ERÖĞLU — Orman ve Su İşleri Bakanı
R. AKDAĞ — Sağlık Bakanı
B. YILDIRIM — Ulaştırma, Denizcilik ve Haberleşme Bakanı

24/7/2012 TARİHLİ VE 2012/3517 SAYILI KARARNAMENİN EKİ

KROKİ VE LİSTE

KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM ve GELİŞİM ALANI

Figure 35. Declaration of the urban transformation project and project area in the Official Gazette (Official Gazette, 2012)

Master plan decisions were influential in determining Uzundere as an urban transformation project area. Uzundere is included in renewal and rehabilitation program areas in the 1/25.000 İzmir Master Plan, specifically in the first program area from fourteen program areas (Figure 36). The 32-hectare project area (Figure 37) comprises 496 buildings and 1172 housing units (Yetişkul, 2018). Following the urban transformation project declaration, identification of the current situation and identification of right holders were conducted, and meetings to learn the residents' expectations were organized. Hence, architectural projects and urban design of the area were prepared. Then, in 2013, with the opening of the communication office, the negotiation process started in the area (Şanlı & Demirel, 2021).

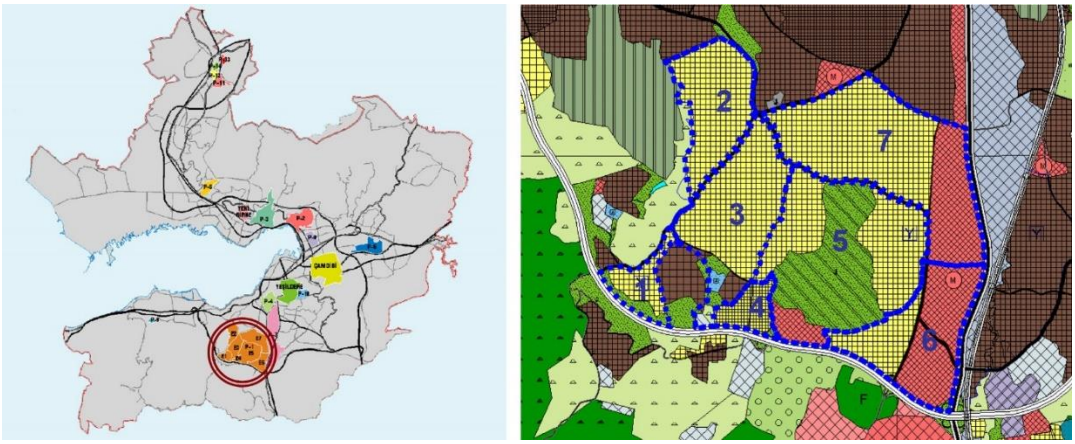


Figure 36. Renewal and rehabilitation program areas planned in 1/25.000 İzmir Master Plan on the left, the first program area of renewal and rehabilitation program areas on the right (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2007)

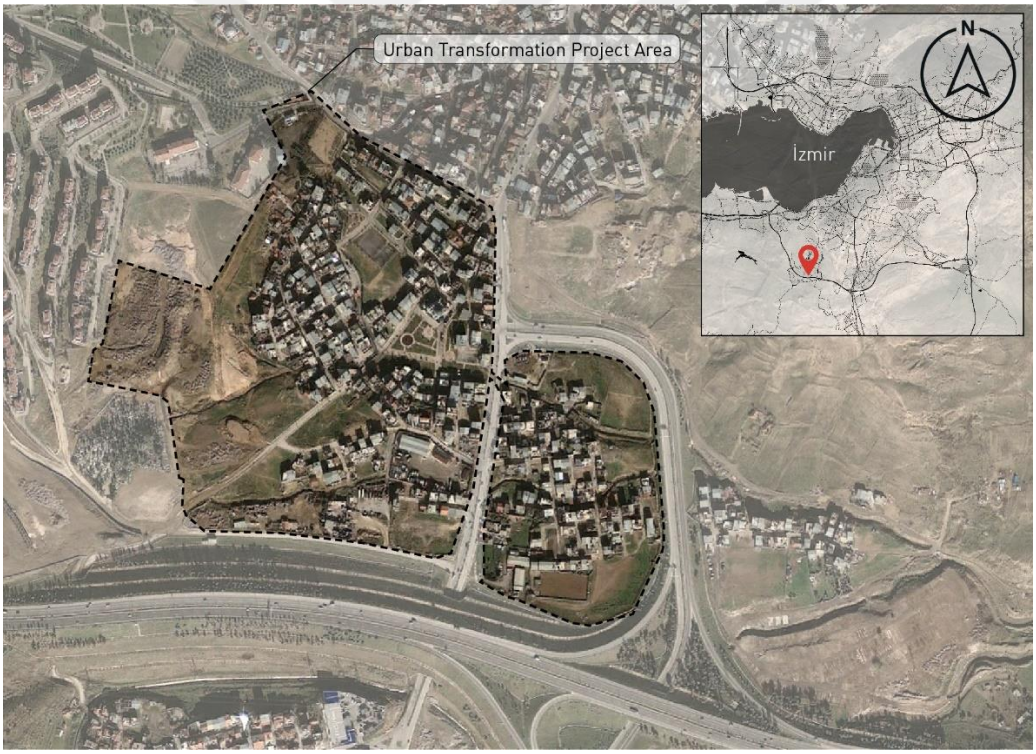


Figure 37. Uzundere urban transformation project area and its location in the city

Kalaycı et al. (2020) analyzed satellite images taken in 2011, which was before the declaration of the urban transformation project, to investigate the land uses in the

project area. It is seen that the residential areas covered 40.044 square meters, and the green areas, parks, and recreational areas covered 70.009 square meters. There were 22.051 square meters of municipal services, open markets, and religious facilities, as well as 33.003 square meters of industrial and warehouse space. Roads and parking areas covered 83.633 square meters, while vacant land covered 78.625 square meters. Moreover, in the area where 131 parcels are located, the total parcel area is 174.500 square meters. The total number of right holders is 760 (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017).

Uzundere urban transformation project (Figure 38) is planned to be completed in 6 phases in the beginning and planned to consist of approximately 3500 housing and commercial units, with a hotel complex, youth and sports center, and social and cultural centers (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Department of Urban Transformation, n.d.) (Figure 39). In the project area, the construction process started at the end of 2016, within the scope of on-site transformation. The most important feature of the urban transformation projects carried out within Law numbered 5393 by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality is being on-site transformation. In this context, right holders are provided with rental assistance during the construction, and temporary housing is allocated from the reserve houses in Uzundere HDA belonging to the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. The turn-key construction tender for the first and second phases of the project was taken by a construction firm, namely Folkart Yapı, and construction was completed in both phases, and the residences were handed over to the right holders (Şanlı & Demirel, 2021). For the third phase, on the other hand, due to the congestion of the tender process in the last years, the Municipality has started to work to complete the process with its own shareholding, İzbeton, by introducing a different model. Following that, the urban transformation project will be completed with the completion of the fourth phase.

Figure 38. The site plan of the Uzundere urban transformation project (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

Figure 39. Aerial view of the urban transformation project (Folkart Line Project Catalog, 2021)

Within the project's scope, the region's infrastructure is also planned to be renewed in addition to the on-site transformation of unhealthy and deprived housing stock in the area. Hence, natural gas, electricity, stream improvement, stormwater, sewage, drinking water, landscaping, and road projects are prepared by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, and approvals are obtained from the relevant institutions. The gallery infrastructure system, which will be built for the first time in a public area, will be used in the project area (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2022).

Depending on the negotiations and agreements in the area, turn-key tender processes have started to be carried out in different phases. As a result of the project implementation in the first phase, after the demolition and evacuation of 43 buildings and 107 housing units, 308 housing units and 33 commercial units were constructed in 9 building blocks approximately with a 45.000 square meters construction area. In the second phase, 68 buildings and 185 housing units were evacuated and demolished, and 436 housing units and 40 commercial units were constructed in approximately 67.000 square meters of construction area (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Department of Urban Transformation, n.d.). In the completed buildings, housing unit types are differentiated between 68 and 141 square meters (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017). Since the tender was made with the preliminary project, application projects are under preparation for the third phase. Hence, the final number of units will be determined with the preparation of the project. For the fourth phase, on the other hand, the tender process still continues (Table 2).

Table 2. The urban transformation project with numbers

	Decision Date of IMM Municipality Council	Decision Date of Council of Minister / Declaration of the Project in the official gazette	Size of the Area	The Numbers of the Area Before the Declaration	Approximate Number of Units to be Constructed	Project Phases
Uzundere Urban Transformation Project	14 October 2011	24 July 2012 / 9 September 2012	32 Hectares	496 Buildings / 1172 Housing Units / 4700 People	3500 Housing and Commercial Units	1st Phase: Completed / 308 housing units, 33 commercial units / 44,247 m2 construction area 2nd Phase: Completed / 436 housing units, 40 commercial units / 67,353 m2 construction area 3rd Phase: Application project continues 4th Phase: Tender process continues

For approximately 3000 square meters (about 1,5% of the total area) shares where negotiation was reached, but the title deed could not be transferred due to foreclosures, annotations, and mortgages, or a negotiation could not be completed, or a negotiation could not take place as the right holder could not be reached, a legal process has been initiated (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Department of Urban Transformation, n.d.). After the completion of construction, approximately 3210 housing and 206 commercial units will be built in 84 blocks, with an approximately 450.000 square meters construction area. On the other hand, in the M2 Conditional Area[4], which is defined in the 1/1000 urban development plan, the total construction area will be approximately 49.000 square meters; hence, approximately total construction area in the project area will be approximately 500.000 square meters (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017).

5.2 Tracing the Trajectory of Urban Transformation Project

Uzundere provides a ground for discussing the formations, adaptations, and co-evolutions that emerged before and during the urban transformation project process. In order to understand the practices of collaboration and conflict that emerged during the project process and the trajectory of the urban transformation project, the process is elaborated in 3 stages while searching for complexities of the process through the methodological framework offered by the advocacy coalition framework (Figure 40). First, the process leading up to the declaration of the urban transformation project area is discussed. As part of the second stage, the period from the declaration of the urban transformation project area to the start of construction is examined. In the third stage, meanwhile, the period from when the construction of the urban transformation project began until the current situation is studied. Then, in line with the data and observations

[4] The M2 Conditional Area is defined as an area where "residence (except on the ground floor), bazaar, office, office building, all kinds of trade, commercial storage, entertainment facilities, multi-storey vehicle park, service station, hotel, motel, workshop, hospital, and clinical area" can be build (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, n.d.).

gathered in the field studies, a discussion is carried out on the further progress of urban transformation.

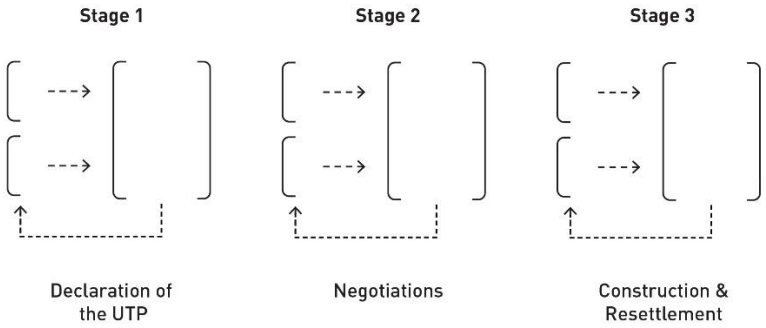


Figure 40. Framework and stages of the urban transformation process

5.2.1 Stage 1: Declaration

In the recent history of the Uzundere urban transformation project area after the 1950s, migration movements from the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions impacted the area's development. As a result of these migration movements and squatting due to insufficient housing stock, the area entered a period of rapid change (The Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change, 2022). Uzundere had become home to diverse social groups, and those born in Tokat and Sivas constituted the majority. Since then, the area sustained its sociocultural and rural characteristics (Figure 41) till the early 2000s, when significant urban developments intensified in the vicinity.

Figure 41. The view of the area before the declaration of the urban transformation project (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

The socio-economic structure of Uzundere is comprised of low- and middle-income groups. Çilingir and Kut Görgün (2018) assert that the area contains a workforce primarily contributing to the service sector. There is a structure in the area where socio-cultural habits and customs continue. Regarding physical aspects, housing stock is physically worn out and completed its economic life. Uzundere mainly consists of low-rise houses reflecting the effects of squatting and rural character (Figure 42). The social and technical infrastructure is inadequate, and the area does not provide healthy living spaces (Figure 43). However, as well as urban development speculation areas in the vicinity, it is in a highly accessible area, located next to the İzmir-Çesme highway and close to the airport.

Figure 42. The housing structure before the UTP declaration (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

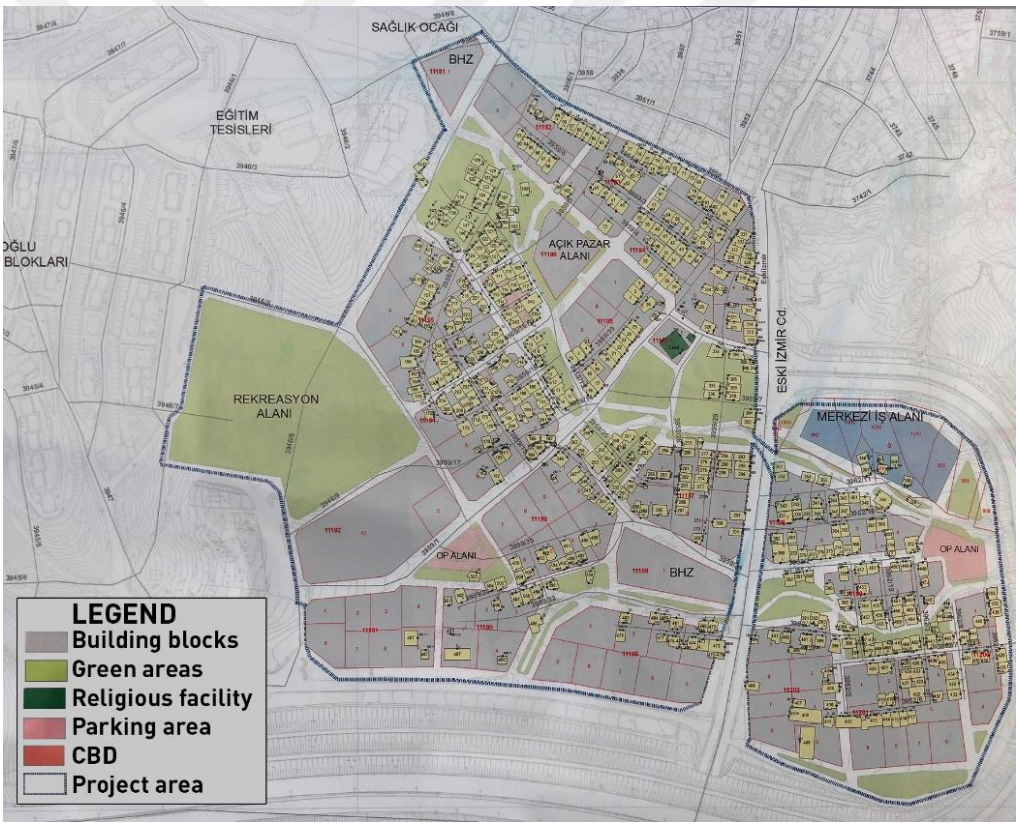


Figure 43. The land-use analysis of the area before the declaration of the UTP (Adapted from İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

The improvement development plan for the area was produced in 1984. Ownership status in the area was primarily created by these improvement development plans, where there were occupiers and squatter houses. On the other hand, 1/1000 urban development plan was approved in October 2000. In the 1/1000 urban development plan dated 2000, while the FAR (Floor Area Ratio) was 2.5 for the residential blocks, the maximum building height was determined as 24,80 meters. In the 1/1000 plan revision approved in March 2015, for the area determined as M2 Conditional Area, the FAR was increased to 3, while the maximum building height was decided as unconstrained. In addition, with the plan revision approved in September 2019, the FAR in the area was preserved as 2.5, while the maximum building height was revised to 13 floors. Again, in May 2020, the maximum building height was revised to 15 floors with a new plan revision, while the construction area was preserved (Figure 44).

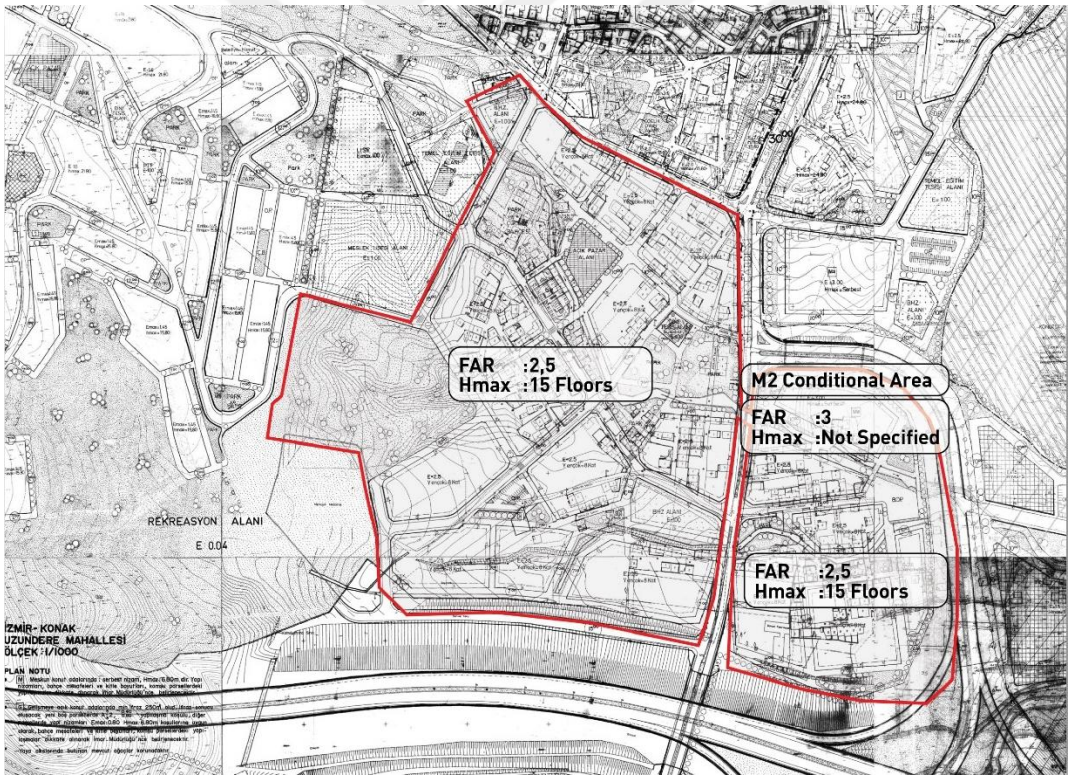


Figure 44. 1/1000 urban development plan and urban transformation project area (Adapted from İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

The need for urban transformation has been determined in Uzundere due to its current physical structure, location, environmental characteristics, transportation connections, and proximity to urban development projects and mass housing areas. This need is based on a decision from the upper scale plans as being in a squatter prevention zone. Uzundere is included in a renewal and rehabilitation program areas in the 1/25.000 İzmir Master Plan, in which deprived squatter areas are specified. In this direction, the Uzundere urban transformation project area was declared in September 2012 in the official gazette, where different urban development processes are ongoing. The Uzundere urban transformation project area in the Karabağlar district is located in two neighborhoods as administrative boundaries, Uzundere and Yurdoğlu neighborhoods in 32 hectares of an urban area. While the population of the Uzundere neighborhood is 3366 people, the population of Yurdoğlu is 10242 people (Figure 45) (İzmir Kent Rehberi, 2022). On the other hand, the affected population in the project area is approximately 4700 (Yetişkul, 2018).

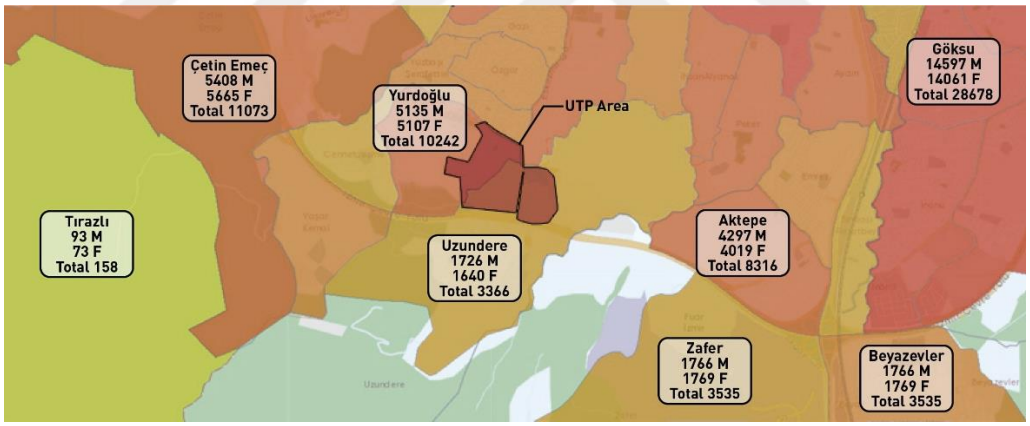


Figure 45. Neighborhood populations in the UTP area and its vicinity (Adapted from İzmir Kent Rehberi, 2022)

Considering the area demonstrating spaces of decay, it can be said that the urban transformation decision taken with upper-scale plan decisions is relevant to increase the life quality, provide adequate social and technical infrastructure, and renew structures prone to earthquake risk. According to the survey results carried out in September 2020, it is found that eight-tenth of the respondents had limited knowledge

(44%) or no knowledge (36%) about urban transformation before the declaration of the urban transformation project in their neighborhood. On the other hand, the meaning of urban transformation for the survey participants is examined before the declaration of the urban transformation project. Before the declaration, urban transformation is evaluated in terms of spatial aspects, such as a healthy and high-quality environment and earthquake resistance buildings. Contrary to the idea of physical improvement, respondents relate urban transformation with debt, displacement, and victimization. Based on the findings obtained from the in-depth interviews, it appears that the absence of concrete outcomes regarding urban transformation projects in İzmir before the project declaration has an impact. Also, the media effect seems to have a share, as they provide information about the urban transformation projects carried out in different provinces, mostly with urgent expropriation decisions without a complete negotiation target. Similarly, a woman interviewee, a homemaker in her 50s and right holder in the first phase, referred her concerns with the project declaration.

> "Sometimes we are watching the news. People were signing, but the construction was not done; my God, my God. God willing, it does not happen to us. God forbids! You see the houses built by TOKİ in Istanbul. The man takes the money and runs away. They leave the construction. Where will you find him?" (Interviewee 15, July 2019)

Families and kinship ties tend to be a common form of contact for residents. As a result of kinship and compatriot relations established in the area, especially with the migrations from similar regions, these relationships have strengthened over time. Having strong social ties keeps people connected to one another and keeps relationships intact. Also, compatriots form neighborhood associations in the area. Within a squatter neighborhood structure, there seems to be offered flexibility in daily routines and ways of socializing. Interactions of the residents on the streets and doorsteps are common. During the interviews, statements describing the area as a village and indicating the strength of their social relations come to the fore.

> "Here has become like our village. Everyone is an acquaintance." (Interviewee 12, July 2019)

The main assets of Uzundere can be discussed in terms of social aspects, such as strong community ties and solidarity among locals. These daily relations and interactions ease the formation of coalitions both before and during the urban transformation project. Regarding cultural aspects, Uzundere represents a similar identity with migrants, mostly from eastern provinces. This characteristic of the area also contributes to the self-organization capacity of the residents, as well as to collaboration during the process. Finally, regarding physical aspects, the neighborhood can be mentioned with physical decay, social and technical infrastructure inadequacy, and squatter houses with ambiguous property rights.

5.2.2 Stage 2: Negotiations

Following the declaration of the urban transformation project in the official gazette in September 2012, the Municipality started to work in the field to determine the right ownership and land use within the area. As indicated by an interviewee, a topographical engineer working in İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Urban Transformation, as the 2nd Directorate, after the declaration, meetings were held in the project area, and residents' expectations and demands were discussed (Figure 46). Accordingly, urban design and architectural projects were prepared by considering residents' feedback (Interviewee 1, July 2018). Project information meetings were held in neighborhood associations and coffeehouses at various times, and with the opening of the communication office on 23 March 2013 in the urban transformation project area (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Department of Urban Transformation, n.d.), negotiation meetings with the residents have started as of 29 July 2013, while project information meetings continued to be organized (Figure 47).

Figure 46. Project introduction meetings with residents (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

Figure 47. Opening of the communication Office on the left (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017) and the communication office in 2018 on the right

In order to examine the project information process, respondents were asked how they became aware of the urban transformation project during the surveys. While sixty percent of the participants stated that they learned about the project at the meetings of the Metropolitan Municipality, twenty percent of them stated that they learned it from communication office representatives. Additionally, eight percent of respondents stated that they heard about the project from the mukhtar and neighborhood leaders, and the remaining participants (12%) stated that they learned from their neighbors and relatives. In this sense, it is possible to say that the Municipality could not reach all residents within the neighborhood and partially achieved the project information and promotion process in terms of participatory practices. However, it should also be

emphasized that men primarily attended meetings, but women were rarely present, as indicated in the information meeting notes (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2012).

According to the notes of the urban transformation information meeting carried out on 30 November 2012 by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality at Kars Susuzlular Neighborhood Association, residents wanted to learn the conditions of entitlement, which title deeds would be taken into account during the valuation, possibly with a concern of what would be the situation of the occupiers, whether a flat would be given for each flat, what would be done for those who had a workplace in the project area until the end of the construction. In addition, they asked about the economic aspects of the transformation process, such as the borrowing methods, whether there would be interest on the debts, whether the price would be charged in case of no housing demand, and what other options would be. Regarding the project, issues related to the architectural project and the demolition process were discussed. Whether a model was developed for the tenants living in the area was also one of the issues discussed.

Residents' feelings of insecure and lack of confidence regarding the project can be understood from their inquiries about whether one of the citizens would take part in the committee during the land valuations, whether there was an obligation to give real estates to the Municipality, and whether people could unite among themselves and make an agreement with another contractor. The uncertainty brought by the process at the beginning seems likely to arise from the lack of information about urban transformation, as also supported by the survey findings, and that urban transformation is predominantly associated with displacement, debt, and victimization. Hence, with the effect of the project process that has not yet been finalized, tension emerges between the municipality representatives and residents during project information meetings, which also triggers being untrustful about the urban transformation project. In fact, it is possible to claim that from the declaration of the project until the beginning of the negotiations, residents collectively formed a coalition due to the uncertainty of the project from their side. It is also evident from the residents' expressions at project information meetings that they are still distrustful of the Municipality and the project until negotiations begin.

"I would not have come if I had known the meeting was like this."

"We came for nothing, the same old same old."

"If it was an illegal construction, you would not open this area for development, you would not bring electricity or water, and you would not collect the garbage collection tax from us!"

"I do not even want a demolition fee from you."

"I do not trust the Municipality, nor should you (*referring to other residents at the meeting*)."

"With which holding are you working?"

"Why does the mayor not come here?"

Similarly, the statements of the Municipality employee during the interviews are noteworthy and explain the situation brought about by the uncertainty of the process.

"They do not know what urban transformation is when the project is declared; it is the first concern of residents. Actually, after the Uzundere project, the urban transformation process became more manageable. In the Uzundere project, we sold dreams, and there was nothing at all. Even we did not know, or we could not think concretely. Nevertheless, we could succeed in reassuring people. We told them excitedly. In order to prevent speculation in the field, we informed them not to sell their estate and to get our opinion. They know the municipality personnel, and we become their official contacts. Trust is established here." (Interviewee 1, July 2019)

In the meeting outputs, it is seen that the Municipality decides to prepare flyers that specifically describe the legal framework and project implementation flow and channels residents can communicate with, while the continuity of the meetings is evaluated as crucial in terms of preventing speculations and supporting the negotiation process by involving residents in the project. Other issues discussed at the meetings

are later evaluated by the Municipality, and decisions are taken with the data obtained from the field (Interviewee 1, September 2018).

Another discussion point raised in the meetings was regarding the occupiers. As a result of the project meetings, in line with the residents' demands, the council decision was taken in 2014 regarding the allocation of residences from reserve houses of the Municipality in Uzundere HDA to occupiers and right holders who cannot be evaluated within the project area. Hence, the right holders with less than a 30 m^2 estate are expected to agree with other holders in the parcel, or reserve houses are provided in return for their rights. In the process, the right holders who did not reach an agreement were allocated residences from Uzundere HDA residences. The Municipality negotiated with the right holders whose rights will be evaluated outside the project area between September 2014 and January 2015. On the other hand, it is deemed sufficient for the occupiers to have applied within the scope of Law numbered 2981 to be evaluated as a right holder. Hence, occupiers who did not have a title deed allocation document or title deed and whose applications to the amnesty Law numbered 2981 did not result, were also considered as right holders in the project area upon submission of the application receipt.

> "That is what the law describes. The essence of the law is that the beneficiaries of 2981 and the title holders stay in the area; the others either receive the money from the Municipality or are sold from the existing title deeds of the Municipality. We activated it (*connoting the latter*). Apart from that, those who applied to 2981 (*Law numbered 2981*) and whose application was not finalized were deemed to be entitled as a right holder in a case presenting the application receipt. Some of them benefited from amnesty laws, but they have not received their title deeds. They are still in the area as right holders." (Interviewee 2, September 2018)

In this sense, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality carried out the process by including the occupiers in the project; for those who demand housing from Uzundere HDA, 67 housing units were allocated by drawing lots in 2015. Hence, accordingly, demolition of the evacuated structures in February 2015 was initiated. The borrowing cost for

occupiers is calculated by deducting the demolition cost from the cost of the housing allocated with a twenty-year payment plan. Despite the decision taken for occupiers, no solution has been presented for tenants, and they were not included in the project. Even when asked about the informing process of the tenants regarding the project, the Municipality employee stated that the Municipality did not play a role, but the landowners themselves informed their tenants (Interviewee 1, September 2021). The accountability and participatory nature of the transformation process are harmed by leaving the tenants out of the urban transformation project and not informing them in spite of the fact that they are part of the actors affected by the project. Also, this has caused a process resulting in tenants' displacement from the area.

On the other hand, during the project information process, it is seen that the Municipality held meetings not only with residents but also with different actors. In this context, meetings were conducted with local governments, chambers, and NGOs, which are Chambers of Electrical Engineers, Geophysical Engineers, Civil Engineers, Mechanical Engineers, Geological Engineers, Survey and Cadastre Engineers, City Planners, and Architects, as well as with Aegean Region Chamber of Industry, İzmir Development Agency, Karabağlar Municipality Council, İzmir Provincial Economy Coordination Board, The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects İzmir Provincial Coordination Boards with the aim of ensuring the support and participation of the public (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, n.d.).

Along with the information meetings, the Municipality carries other requirements and regulations in the urban transformation process. In this sense, "İzmir Uzundere Urban Transformation and Development Project Implementation Principles" were approved by the decision taken by the Municipality council in June 2013. Then, in July 2013, the "Project Cost and Development Rights Commission," "Negotiation Commission," and "Entitlement Commission" were established with the approval of the mayor. In the same period, the transformation and development index determined by the "Project Cost and Development Rights Commission" was approved by the municipal committee. In August 2013, the urban transformation project negotiation agreement for right holders was approved by the decision of the municipal committee. “İzmir

Uzundere Urban Transformation and Development Project Implementation Principles" were revised in August 2015 with the decision of the municipality council. Then, the negotiation agreement was revised in August 2016 with the decision of the municipal committee (Figure 48).

İZMİR UZUNDERE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM VE GELİŞİM PROJESİ

HAK SAHİBİ UZLAŞMA SÖZLEŞMESİ

İzmir İli Karabağlar İlçesi Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Proje alanında, 5393 sayılı Belediye Kanunun 73. Maddesi ve ilgili diğer yasal düzenleme hükümleri doğrultusunda, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisi'nin **14.06.2013 tarih 05.860** Sayılı Kararı ile onaylanan uygulama esasları kapsamında, iş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesinde belirtilen hükümler çerçevesinde Belediye ve hak sahibi/hak sahipleri arasında mutabakat sağlanmıştır.

1. GENEL SÖZLEŞME ESASLARI

1.1. Proje alanı içerisinde bulunan hak sahipleri, sahip oldukları taşınmazlara (arsa, bina, işyeri, müştemilat, vb.) karşılık, mevcut kullanımları dikkate alınarak ve uygulama esasları ve iş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesi ile belirlenen kriterler çerçevesinde, konut ve/veya işyeri alma talebinde bulunabileceklerdir.

Proje alanında üretilecek konutlar yaklaşık **66 m²** ile **141 m²** arasında değişen büyüklüklerde ve üretilecek işyerleri ise bölgede faaliyet gösteren işyeri hak sahiplerinin talebine istinaden belediyenin uygun gördüğü büyüklüklerde Belediye tarafından projelendirilerek inşa ettirilecektir.

İş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesindeki kriterlere göre hak sahibinin taşınmazları karşılığı belirlenen inşaat hakkı, uygulama esaslarının 3. Maddesinde belirtildiği gibi brüt alan üzerinden hesaplanmıştır.

1.2. Hak ettiği inşaat alanı konutlarda **30 m²**'den **(30 m² dâhil)**, işyerlerinde **15 m²**'den **(15 m² dâhil)** fazla olan hak sahipleri ile uzlaşma sözleşmesi yapılır.

1.3. İnşaat alanları Madde 1.2'de belirtilen sınırların altında kalan hak sahipleri, aralarında anlaşarak haklarını birleştirirler ise uzlaşma sözleşmesi yapılabilir. Eksik kalan kısmı borçlanma şartı ile hissedar sayısına ve hak sahiplerinin mevcutta bulundukları konuma bakılmaksızın Belediye'ce uygun bulunan bölgede 1 adet konut/işyeri sözleşmesi yapılabilir.

1.4. Hak sahibi olan kişiler, fazla olan inşaat alanlarını 3. Şahıslar adına herhangi bir şekilde devir veya feragâda bulunamaz.

1.5. 2981 Sayılı Kanunun uygulaması neticesinde oluşan hissedarlık durumları hariç, Uygulama Esaslarının Belediye Meclisi'nce onaylandığı tarih olan **14.06.2013**'dan sonra, gerek veraseten gerek satış vesair surette oluşan hissedarlık halinde, "hak edilen konut/işyeri inşaat alanı" tüm hissedarların haklarının toplamları üzerinden hesaplanır. Toplamda birden fazla konut ya da işyeri hak edilmesi halinde, toplamda hak edilen konut/işyeri sayısını aşmamak koşulu ile, hissedarlar 1.2. ve 1.3. maddelerindeki koşullar dâhilinde müstakil konut/işyeri sözleşmesi imzalayabilirler. Aksi takdirde, uzlaşan tüm hissedarlar bir arada sözleşme imzalar.

1.6. İş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesi ile hak sahibi; BELEDİYE tarafından tasfiye edilecek yapı/arsa ve işgal ettiği alanı tahliye edeceğini ve arsasını takyidatsız / şerhsiz, Belediye'ye devir edeceğini gayri

Sayfa **1 / 5**

3. HAK SAHİBİ ANLAŞMA DETAYLARI

İşbu uzlaşma sözleşmesine göre hak sahibi **00.00.1900** doğumlu ..... oğlu/kızı ..... adına kayıtlı, İzmir İli Karabağlar İlçesi ..... Mahallesinde, iş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesinde belirtilen **3 no'lu bölgede** bulunan toplam ..... **m²** alanlı ..... ada ..... nolu parselde ..... **m²** hissesine ve toplam ..... **m²** alanlı ..... ada .... nolu parselde .... **m²** hissesine isabet eden ..... **m² konut** inşaat alanı ile üzerindeki ..... **kroki nolu** yapının muhtesat bedeline **(bedelin tamamına)** isabet eden ..... **m² konut** inşaat alanı olmak üzere toplam ..... **m² konut** hakkı vardır.

Hak sahibi, hakları karşılığında **(oda sayısı)** konut tipinden .... **(yazı ile)** Adet yaklaşık brüt ..... **m² konut (3. bölge)** inşaat alanına karşılık gelen toplam yaklaşık brüt ..... **m²** konut aldıktan sonra, ... **m² konut** inşaat alanı eksiktir.

Eksik olan ..... m²'lik konut inşaat alanı karşılığında .....**,00,-TL (yazı ile TÜRKLİRASI)** BELEDİYE'ye borçlanır Bu bedel konut/işyeri tesliminden itibaren 30 gün içinde iş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesinin ve uygulama esaslarının ilgili maddeleri çerçevesinde BELEDİYE'ye ödenecektir.

EKLER
1) Kimlik fotokopisi
2) İkametgah örneği
3) Tapu senedi aslı ve fotokopisi
4) Emlak beyanı veya işyerleri için işyeri ruhsatı

Hak Sahibinin İkametgah Adresi :
Proje Alanındaki Yapının Adresi :
T.C. Kimlik Numarası :
Tel :

Tarihi: ...../...../.....
Haksahibi

Adı / Soyadı :
İmza :

Tarihi: ...../...../.....
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi A.

Adı / Soyadı :
İmza :

Adı / Soyadı :
İmza :

Sayfa **5 / 5**

Figure 48. First and last pages of the project negotiation agreement for right holders (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

In this context, specific clauses in the negotiation agreement (see Appendix E) are defined as follows:

> "A negotiation agreement is made with right holders whose construction area is more than 30 m² (including 30 m²) in residences and more than 15 m² (including 15 m²) in workplaces."
>
> "In case of shareholding, "entitled residential/workplace construction area" is calculated over the sum of all shareholders' rights."

"After signing the agreement, right holders are subjected to resolve all the annotations, encumbrances, and restrictions regarding their structure and other additional structures and the property rights in the title deed and transfer them to the Municipality. Then, within the period to be determined on the date of notification, the right owner cancels all related utilities (electricity, water, natural gas, and property tax debts) and hands over the structure and other additional structures to the Municipality as vacant."

"If the total area of the housing units demanded by the right holder is more than the entitled housing area, the right holder borrows 900, -TL for each 1 m², and 1100, -TL for each 1 m² workplace."

"The right holder pays the calculated total borrowing cost to the Municipality from own resources or by using a bank loan. This fee is paid within 30 days from the delivery of the residence and workplace."

"Total borrowing cost is calculated for 2013. In housing unit or workplace delivery, the cost is updated every year in line with the lowest rate of annual salary increase rate or lowest wholesale price index or consumer price index rates."

"For each independent housing unit and workplace unit the right owner owns, rental assistance is provided for a maximum of 36 months from the date the conditions of the article are met, with a monthly fee of 300 TL (*updated each year*)."

"Housing units and independent sections related to workplaces to be built within the scope of Uzundere Urban Transformation and Development Project will be determined by drawing in the presence of a notary public. Betterment differences regarding the independent units that will be matched as a result of the lottery are calculated within the framework of the criteria specified in the implementation principles."

"The housing and workplace units' sizes are calculated according to the preliminary architectural project. Accordingly, in case of a change in these amounts due to technical requirements during and after the application project phase, it is reflected in the borrowing cost in the (+), (-) direction, considering the betterment differences during the determination phase."

"It is essential for the right holders to purchase a housing unit or workplace close to the area where they are located, in line with the possibilities. Accordingly, six regions were determined in the site plan. The right holders are offered primarily from the housing units or workplaces constructed in their region. In obligatory cases, offers for housing units or workplaces can be made from all other regions."

"The right of the right holder is the sum of the construction area rights in return for the land and the construction area rights in return for the building, construction, and trees."

"Rights holders who do not have workplace can only claim housing rights; they cannot claim workplace rights. Similarly, those who have workplace cannot claim housing rights."

In addition to specific clauses of the negotiation agreement that was developed and shaped in line with the outputs of the introduction meetings, the Municipality has also decided regarding workplaces due to the residents' demands. According to this decision, a workplace offer can be made if there is an old-dated document pertaining to the use of the workplace in the past, even if it is vacant at the time. In this sense, determinations of October 2012 were deemed essential for an offer of a workplace.

As the negotiation process of the project started in July 2013, it is examined how the agreement decision was made and what factors were influential for negotiation. The most prominent factor (60% of the survey respondents) that affected the decision-making for an agreement is because a better-quality living environment in terms of physical aspects will be created. In addition, nearly half of the survey respondents

(48%) mention that the project will provide a safer living space. Moreover, approximately four-tenth of all respondents (36%) state that their house will gain value, and twenty percent of them state their agreement reason as reaching a better-quality living environment in terms of social aspects after the transformation. On the other hand, twenty percent of the respondents think that they are actually compelled to an agreement. According to the survey results, it is seen that those who respond positively about the urban transformation project have a higher rate (64%) than those who think negatively. Furthermore, when the views of interviewees on the negotiation process are examined, it is seen that residents are appreciative of the communication office employees for their contribution to the process and for assisting with the problems raised in the project area, whether related to the project or not (Interviewee 11 and Interviewee 12, July 2019). Communication office employees remained the same throughout the process, which increased reliability and enabled trust building.

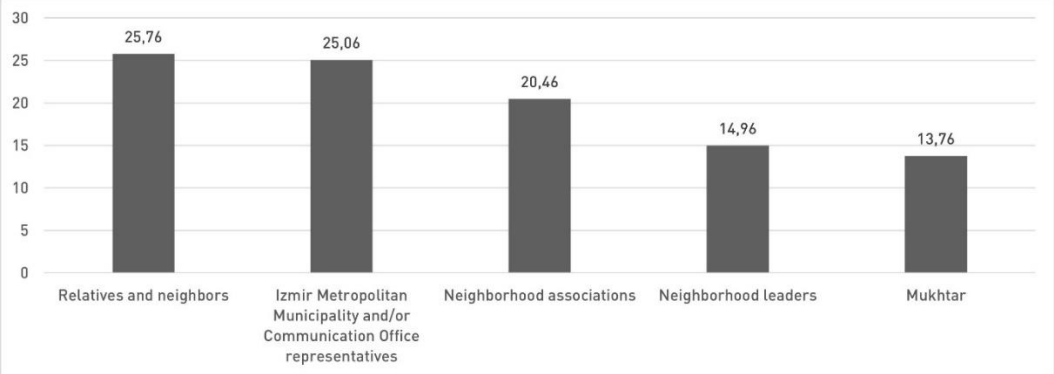
> "I am from Kars. Maybe there is an effect from there. They accepted me. I am saying, we left our work, we took care of their problems. … For instance, we were even taking people to the hospital or helping them enroll their kids in school. … That is why they love us; they accept us. Of course, our manager is also critical. There is also the name Aziz Kocaoğlu. It gives confidence. When we first started in Uzundere, it proceeded very fast. In one month, we found almost 50%. Their presence (*connotes Mayor and directorates*) in the process also made our job more manageable. I have been here from the very beginning of the process. I see the benefit of the meetings held by the District Mayor and the Department of Urban Transformation directorate. Participation and speech of authorized persons are effective." (Interviewee 2, September 2018)

During meetings with municipal representatives, the importance of trust building was stressed, emphasizing that "even if all steps of the project are solved, if the social pillar is not resolved, the project is incomplete." Notably, unlike other urban transformation models, residents have a constant point of contact at all times, enhancing the residents' trust in the Municipality and the project at all times (Interviewee 3, September 2018). As a point of clarification, it is useful to note that valuation and negotiation processes

are primarily conducted in different urban transformation projects involving Law numbered 5393 and 6306 throughout the country by licensed independent real estate valuation companies and other intermediary organizations. Hence, after the withdrawal of public authorities, right holders in the area are confronted by intermediary companies and institutions. In the context of the İzmir Model, it is remarkable that the Municipality takes an active part and serves both as a guarantor and intermediary throughout every stage.

When the survey participants were asked which mediators, actors, and institutions were influential in deciding to negotiate in order of importance, it was seen that the social circle of the respondents was the most influential party (25,76%). On the other hand, it is seen that the representatives of the Metropolitan Municipality and the Communication Office are highly effective (25,06%). Other actors affecting the negotiation are neighborhood associations (20,46%), neighborhood leaders (14,96%), and mukhtar (13,76%), respectively (Table 3).

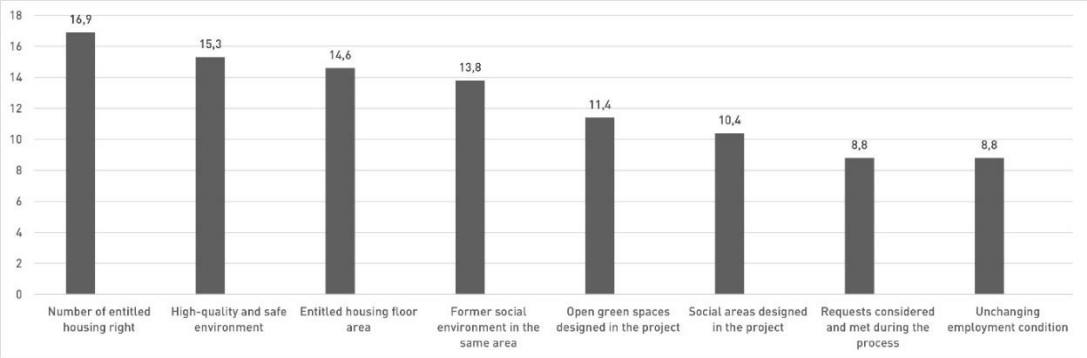
Table 3. Actors and institutions affecting the negotiation process



In addition, when the factors affecting negotiation in order of importance are examined, the number of houses given in return for rights (16,9%) and the opinion that a high-quality and safe environment (15,3%) will be sustained after the project implementation are the most critical factors impacting negotiation decisions. Also, entitled housing floor area (14,6%) and sustaining the former social environment in the same area (13,8%) are prominent factors. Planning decisions regarding open green

spaces (11,4%) and social areas (10,4%), requests considered and met by the Municipality (8,8%), and continuity of employment conditions (8,8%) are the other factors, respectively (Table 4).

Table 4. Factors affecting the negotiation process



In fact, with the start of negotiation meetings, the capacity of residents to act together began to transform. As the project details became apparent and the agreement rates and valuation results were determined, conflicts arose between right holders who agreed and signed contracts and those who did not. During the interviews, one of the right holders in the first phase, a man in his 60s and a former Sivas Yiğidolar Association[5] member, mentioned a protest organized by the residents in 2014.

> "We did not accept the project. Police came. We brought a journalist. We said, "we do not accept urban transformation, and everyone will be victimized and devastated." There is discrimination here. The people of Sivas came together. The people of Erzurum and Tokat stood aside. We, people from Sivas, came together. Someone pulled us aside. The man said, "I work in the municipality," he said. He said he would lose his job. We, just people from Sivas, came together. People from Tokat and Erzurum and people working in the

[5] During the field visits in 2019, the Association was called "Sivas Yiğidolar Karabağlar Eğitim ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Derneği" in Turkish. However, in 2021, the Association was closed, and a new association called "Sivas Yiğidolar Yıldızeliler ve Çakmaklılar Derneği" was opened. During the field visits, a disagreement between members of the association was cited as the reason for the closure of the former association. Also, interviews pointed out that urban transformation-related conflicts may have contributed to the closure of the association.

> Municipality. They did not react to the protest at all. They did not unite because we are from the Municipality, they said. The Provincial Mayor also came, but Kocaoğlu did not come. Their employees arrived. We were closing the highway in the evening … What happened, what happened … It was crowded. We have unity. If you blow a whistle, a thousand people will come here." (Interviewee 28, July 2019)

The demonstration is organized to oppose the urban transformation project since the group organizing the protest argues that the project will lead to the victimization of the residents. On the other hand, the mukhtar of the Uzundere neighborhood, who is also a right holder in the project area, states that the protesters came together and demonstrated only for their own interest. He adds that the protesters are already settled in their new residences since the construction of the 1st phase was completed on the interview date.

> "The head of the Sivas Yiğidolar Association, the apartment manager (*apartment manager of the building in the first phase*) … They are the ones who hurt us the most. At first, they were so-called organized … They blocked the road and said they would not give up their land. Then, they went and signed the agreements as an association. Their places started (*meaning the construction*s) first. Now they are settled. Their debts are over. Ours is still running like clockwork. They won with treachery, not with collaboration." (Interviewee 8, July 2019)

The Municipality employee indicates that after the protest, protestors met with former Mayor Aziz Kocaoğlu and were told that this process is totally related to legislation, and personal requests could not be accepted. Also, he asserts that they understood the process and accepted (Interviewee 1, September 2021). However, the process is unlikely to be as smooth and straightforward as the Municipality employee claims. This is because although certain groups were convinced and preferred to negotiate, some people stated that they agreed because they were forced and compelled to negotiate, as expressed during the interviews and surveys. Also, the former head of

Sivas Yiğidolar mentions the demonstration and the process of voicing their demands and requests.

> “They came to our association as a team and said, "we are undergoing urban transformation here." We thought that they were telling us a story. There was no urban transformation example in İzmir. We did not care at first. Then, they talked about it at coffeehouses and associations. Muhittin Selvitopu (*Former Directorate of the Department of Urban Transformation and the current Mayor of Karabağlar Municipality*) came to our association, and his speech and expressions convinced us. Then, I was one of the first people to agree. I came here, I signed. As the head of the association, I did not consult anyone. Residents did not know everything in detail, so they reacted to me. They said, "you marketed the neighborhood." I said, "this is my own problem." The house was mine. I went and signed. They said, "no, as the head of the association, this is the problem of the association and neighborhood." They pressured me. The road was blocked. There were demonstrations, and fights broke out. Mr. Muhittin heard about it. We called Mr. Muhittin, and he told us to set up a commission among ourselves. We have established a commission here, so … Then, we talked to the mayor (*referring to the former Mayor of Metropolitan Municipality, Aziz Kocaoğlu*). We have forwarded our eleven requests. They did not accept one of the eleven requests we asked them, and we made ten of them be accepted. Now residents think that everything happened at once. They were accomplished with struggle. For example, they did not give reserve houses from Uzundere HDA. They were paying only 350 liras. We conveyed our demands, and reserve houses were opened from Uzundere HDA. We asked for it, and they accepted. Ten of them were accepted. The one that was not accepted is that we owe with interest, and our debt continuously increases. We offered not to let the interest affect our debts but to take debts in advance. We could not achieve it to be accepted. He (*connoting Aziz Kocaoğlu*) said, "we cannot take money for the building we did not start yet." Except for this request, all others were accepted." (Interviewee 12, July 2019)

Hence, the process after the protest did not seem to be solved only with a meeting, as indicated by the municipality employee. Instead, residents came together and collaborated based on their shared interests and expectations. They offered their requests to the Municipality, and the Municipality developed specific solutions to specific demands. In this direction, after the negotiation of the neighborhood association head, members of the neighborhood association followed him and started to negotiate with his pioneering effect. Similarly, the communication office employee stated that sometimes when one person could not be negotiated with, the process was blocked, but after negotiation was succeeded with that specific person, the process was resolved, and negotiations continued (Interviewee 3, September 2018).

Moreover, although the Municipality seems to resolve the conflicts that arise and certain residents seem to collaborate, a critical conflict has also continued to arise between residents who reached an agreement and those who opposed it. Even neighborhood culture and perception that has grown and developed from the past to the present have begun to be destroyed by the process that causes tensions in neighborhood relations. During the interviews, an interviewee, living in the neighborhood since 1992, stated that her neighbors reacted to her because she signed the agreement and negotiated.

> “They even got truly angry with us. "You hastened and signed. Why did you not react?" My close and friendly neighbors. But there is nothing to do. We researched a lot. My brother also researched. But there is nothing to do. You will sign it, and this project will be done. So, there will be the project.” (Interviewee 14, July 2019)

Hence, social ties developed from the past to the present have begun to dissolve in the urban transformation process. Although after the project's announcement and during the project information meetings, the uncertainty ensured the unity of the neighborhood, in the following process, as right holders started to negotiate, different opinions regarding the project became evident. People decide to negotiate personally and participate in the process to avoid being victims and not lose their rights. With the anxiety caused by the unknown and the transformation, they believe that they are

"forced" to accept in which their land and house can be valued at least. As a result of conflicts between residents, solidarity started to get harmed. The capacity to act collectively has also begun to evolve into a struggle for self-interest (Molotch, 1976) (Figure 49).

Figure 49. Negotiation meetings and agreements in the communication office (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

The negotiation agreements were executed according to the results of the real estate determinations made after the project declaration in 2012 (Figure 50). In line with the negotiation agreement clauses, negotiations are executed with right holders whose construction area is more than thirty m^2 in residences and fifteen m^2 in workplaces. Right holders are expected to pay the calculated total borrowing cost to the Municipality within 30 days of the residence and workplace delivery. However, the cost calculated based on 2013 rates is updated every year in line with the lowest rate of annual salary increase rate or lowest wholesale price index or consumer price index rates.

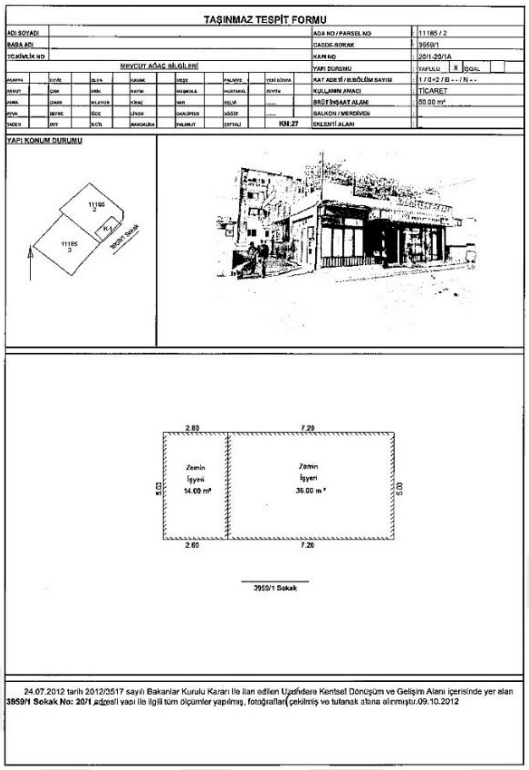


Figure 50. Real estate determination form (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

Moreover, the communication office employee, a construction technician, asserts that in case of having more than three housing units, depending on the construction area, they cannot provide all three housing units on-site. Instead, other units are offered from reserve houses of Municipality in Uzundere HDA (Interviewee 3). Accordingly, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality allocated reserve houses to beneficiaries as of 2015 in exchange for missing construction rights on the parcels where registration was completed and for right holders whose construction right remained after making a housing unit or workplace unit agreement within the area. In this context, it has been determined that there is a need for 244 residences for 172 beneficiaries in total. The negotiation agreement data of the interviewees who shared their individual negotiation agreements during the interviews also reflect the corresponding agreement clauses in practice (Table 5).

Table 5. Agreement rates of interviewees

Interviewee	Existing Construction Area (m2)	Number of Storey	Number of Units	Existing Land Area (m2)	Determined Construction Area (m2)	Aggrement in the Project Area	Aggrement from Reserve Houses
Interviewee 8	396,88	4	4	209	270,4	92 M² * 2 units 115 M² * 1 workplace	120 M² * 1 unit
Interviewee 9	276,31	3	3	103	148,17	96 M² * 2 units	120 M² * 1 unit
Interviewee 10	380,31	2 & 1	2 & 2	243	262,78	103 M² * 2 units 104 M² * 2 workplaces	-
Interviewee 11	205,36	2	2	166	173,68	111 M² * 2 units	-
Interviewee 12	384,71	3	3	191	239,74	111 M² * 1 unit 96 M² * 1 unit 70 M² * 1 workplace	-
Interviewee 13	322,57	2 & 1	2 & 2	316	312,43	125 M² * 1 unit 111 M² * 1 unit 55 M² * 1 workplace	-
Interviewee 14	289,76	2	2	116	153,28	96 M² * 2 units	-
Interviewee 15	280,44	2	2	84	146,18	111 M² * 1 unit 83 M² * 1 unit	-
Interviewee 28	330,85	3	3	84	162,39	111 M² * 1 unit 96 M² * 1 unit	120 M² * 1 unit

“They informed us. An officer friend came, and measurements were made. I saw that he was handing out a paper. I said, "what is this." "You will get your identity card and title deed and come to the Municipality." Exactly, I got my deed, I took my identity card, I got there. I said, "what do you want from me?" They told me that this place will go to destruction. I said, "right," because my building is not an earthquake-proof building, this is the first thing. Secondly, it would not be two hundred liras if I wanted to sell it. Instead, I bought two ninety-six square meters flats. One is on the fourth floor, one is on the fifth floor. I am very satisfied." (Interviewee 9, September 2018) (Figure 51)

Figure 51. The photo of the house of Interviewee 9 taken during the valuation (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2018)

It was stated by the municipality employee that the negotiation rates reached almost 50% in September 2013. In 2014, negotiations were almost completed at certain building blocks, and tender preparations began (Figure 52) (Interviewee 1, September 2021). While the negotiation process was proceeding, a technical document related to the acquisition of infrastructure and upper structure application projects was prepared and submitted to the construction tender unit within the Municipality in September 2014. The pre-qualification for the tender was received in December 2014. The turn-key tender process was started on the building blocks, where the title deed transfer, amalgamation, and license stages were completed.

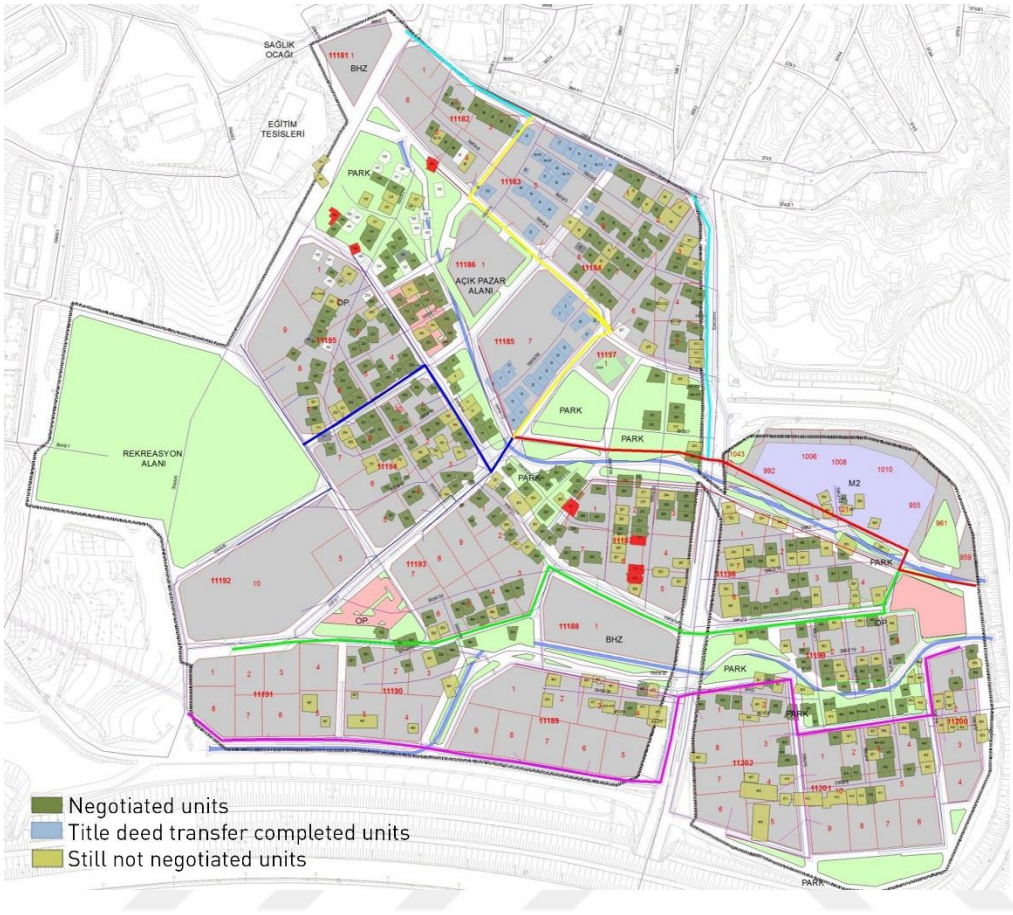


Figure 52. Negotiations in the project area when negotiations in the first phase are completed in 2014 (Adapted from İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

The first tender for the 1st phase was announced on 18 May 2016 in the official gazette for the 1st phase of the project in two building blocks (11183 and 11185), but a contract sale did not happen. In this direction, the second tender was announced on 16 June 2016. Although the contract sale was made to three companies, no bids were submitted. Hence, the tender process continued for the third time on 28 July 2016, and two firms participated. Although one firm submitted a bid, the tender still remained inconclusive. Finally, in the fourth tender carried out on 1 September 2016 for the first phase of the project, with the only company that participated, which is Folkart Yapı, a contract was signed on 3 October 2016, and the site was delivered to the construction company on October 12, 2016, and demolitions in the area started. Then in July 2017, right holders, with whom a negotiation was reached, drew lots in the presence of a

notary public to determine the housing units. Regarding the drawings, interviewee 1 claims that the project area is drawn before being given to the contractor, with the citizens receiving the first right in the area and the contractor receiving the rest (July 2019). (Figure 53). After this process, license pre-approval examinations for other building blocks continued. After the preparation of application projects of the first phase, the Municipality started to work to determine the roadmap for the project's second phase.

Figure 53. Demolitions in the area of the 1st phase on the left (Proje İzmir, 2016) and housing unit drawings for the 2nd phase on the right (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017)

5.2.3 Stage 3: Construction and Resettlement

Following the realization of the turn-key tender for the 1st phase in September 2016, demolitions were carried out, and the construction process in the project area started on two building blocks with 100% negotiation. Right holders received monthly rental assistance per unit during the construction. Also, temporary residences in reserve residences of the Municipality were provided for right holders who requested. Again, monthly rental assistance was provided to the right holders who own workplaces in the area in return for their workplaces. According to the survey results, during the construction in the first phase, approximately three-quarters (%76) of the respondents resided in Uzundere HDA residences allocated by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. On the other hand, monthly rental assistance payments were made to individuals who did not prefer to stay in reserve residences during the construction

period. Respondents who did not request a reserve residence lived in another residence (16%) or with a relative (8%) during construction. Then, in October 2018, turn-key deliveries were made following the completion of the first phase of construction, and right owners resettled in the area.

On the other hand, for the 2nd phase of the project, the first tender was announced on 12 October 2017 in the official gazette in one building block (11182). Although the contract sale was made to five companies, no bids were submitted. Then, the tender process repeated on 9 November 2017 for two building blocks (11182 and 11184), but no contracts were sold this time. On 21 December 2017, six companies participated in the third tender for the same two building blocks. Although one firm submitted a bid, the tender remained inconclusive. On 25 January 2018, only one company participated and submitted a bid for the fourth tender, which is Folkart Yapı. The contract with Folkart Yapı for constructing two building blocks was signed on 28 February 2018, and the site was delivered to the contractor on 9 March 2018. Then, with the completion of the construction, in November 2020, units were delivered to the right holders (Figure 54).

Figure 54. Constructions in the 1st phase about to be completed and constructions starting in the 2nd phase in July 2018

During the construction processes of the first two phases, the Municipality took part in the process as a guarantor and intermediary between the developer and right holders. Even after the turn-key deliveries and resettlement, the Municipality took part in apartment management in the project area. Active involvement in apartment management is explained as a way to support residents in getting used to the new living environment. After the first year, though, the Municipality withdraws from the administration, and residents continue the process among themselves (Interviewee 1, July 2019). Within this period, while constructions and tenders for the negotiated building blocks continued, negotiations with right holders in other building blocks continued. The municipality employee stated that negotiations gained speed, especially with the start of construction in the first phase, and the process became more manageable with concrete outputs in the project area (Interviewee 1, July 2019).

However, even though it is indicated that the negotiation process was realized efficiently and faster than anticipated, the economic crisis conditions in the country and, accordingly, increasing construction costs, as well as the effects of the covid-19 pandemic on the market, undermined the process and caused the constructors to abstain from participating in tenders. Apart from the first two phases, although negotiations were almost completed in the following phases of the project, the Municipality activated a different model due to the congested tender processes. Accordingly, in the 3rd phase, the process continues with an application project preparation. On the other hand, for the 4th phase, the tender process continues (see Appendix F).

First of all, after the completion of the construction in the first phase, the resettlement of right holders entitled in the completed buildings started. The survey results show that urban transformation is evaluated by its spatial aspects, such as a healthy and high-quality environment and earthquake resistance both before and after the transformation. Therefore, it can be said that the perception of urban transformation after the resettlement did not show a radical change for survey respondents, who are right holders in the first phase. However, value increase is the aspect that showed the

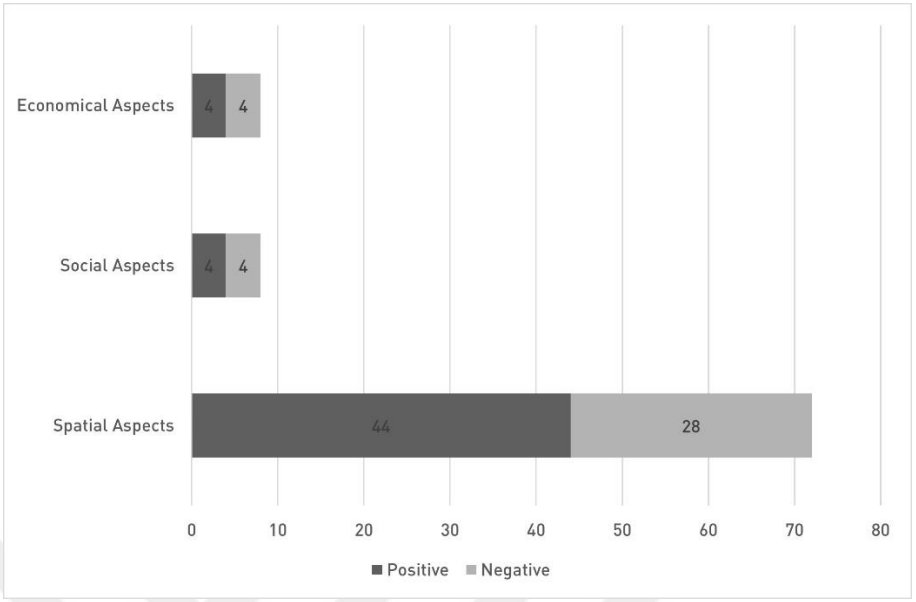
most significant increase in the respondents' expressions after the resettlement in the first phase. On the other hand, expectations regarding healthy and high-quality environments and green spaces have not been met (Table 6).

Table 6. Thoughts of the respondents regarding urban transformation before and after the transformation

	First Thoughts Regarding Urban Transformation	Thoughts after the completion of the first phase constructions
Healthy and high quality environment	64%	40%
Earthquake resistance	64%	64%
Debts	20%	24%
Green spaces	32%	16%
Security	36%	36%
Victimization	4%	4%
Value increase	28%	48%
Strenghened social ties	8%	24%
Clean apartments	4%	
Displacement	4%	
Loss of value		8%

Almost six-tenth of the survey respondents (64%) think the project met their expectations. The most significant factors are on-site transformation with their same neighbors, earthquake resistance buildings, and value increase. Moreover, respondents were asked an open-ended question about what they thought after the project process was completed and they moved to the area, and the answers were analyzed by grouping them according to spatial, social, and economic aspects. As a result, it is seen that expressions about spatial characteristics, specifically positive ones, were dominant (44%). On the other hand, social and economic aspects have an equal distribution of positive and negative opinions. 12% of survey respondents did not give any answer to the question (Table 7).

Table 7. Respondents' opinions according to spatial, social, and economic aspects



"We were happy that the house was clean and big." (Respondent 9)

"I did not like that the apartments were so close to each other." (Respondent 11)

"It felt good to be in a safe place for children." (Respondent 15)

"I thought my freedom was restricted." (Respondent 25)

"It looked like bourgeois for us." (Respondent 3)

"Maintenance cost is too much; everything is costly." (Respondent 20)

Furthermore, survey respondents were asked to rate specific statements with a Likert scale to measure the project's spatial, social, and economic effects in detail, and the results were analyzed via word clouds. First, in terms of the project's social impacts, it is seen that those who feel that living in an apartment is safer (92%) and those who believe the neighborhood is safer due to decreased urban crime (84%) are the most agreed statements. They also agree that the neighborhood's image has changed (80%).

On the contrary, respondents mentioned that they had lost the flexibility of their old residences (76%), and the socialization opportunities had disappeared (60%) (Figure 55).

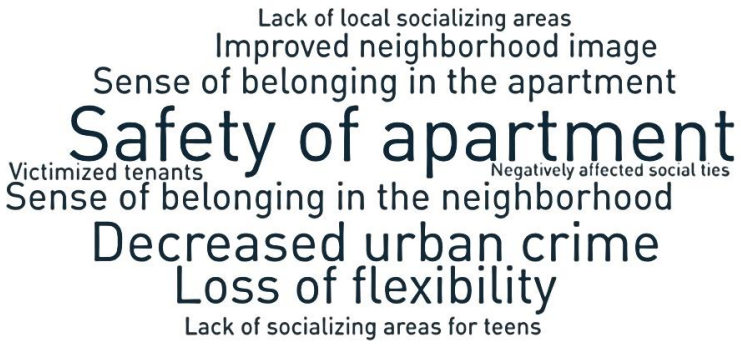


Figure 55. Word cloud analysis of the social impacts of the project

When the project is examined in terms of its economic effects, it is seen that the opinion that the new houses are more valuable economically than the old ones is the most agreed statement (96%), but those who believe that they have been victimized in the borrowing process also comes to the fore (64%). On the other hand, sustaining the previous job (4%), unaffordable maintenance costs (4%), and apartment costs (4%) are rarely indicated by the survey respondents (Figure 56).

Figure 56. Word cloud analysis of the economic impacts of the project

In terms of the spatial effects of the project, satisfaction can be observed with expressions of solving ambiguous property rights (96%) and producing earthquake-

resistant (88%) and comfortable housing (96%). On the other hand, there are concerns regarding unimproved and inadequate commercial areas (28%), social infrastructures (48%), and education and health centers (20%) in the project area (Figure 57).

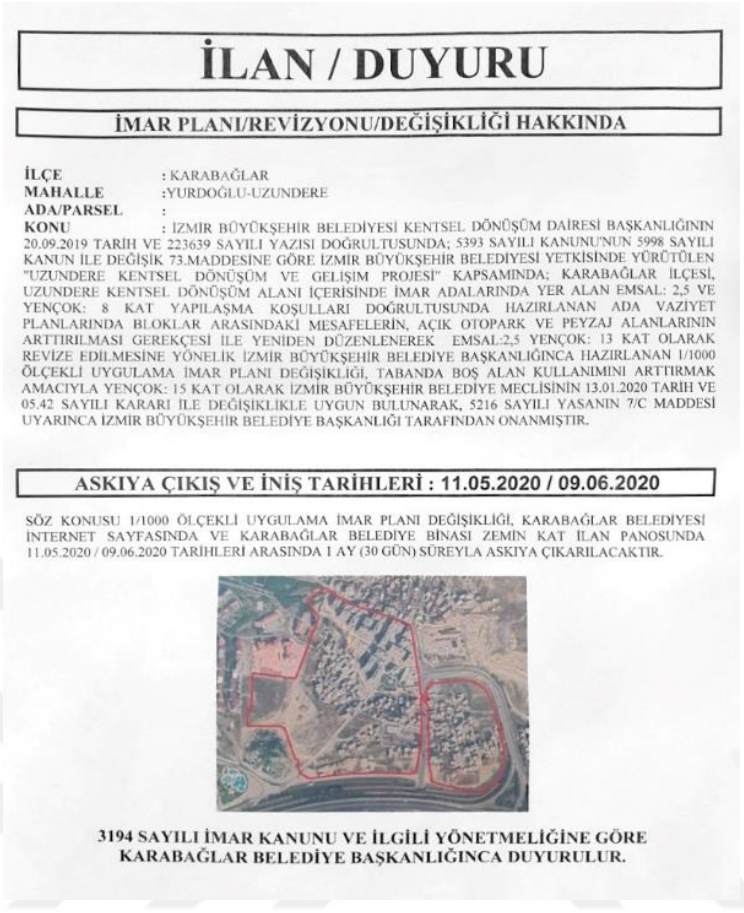
Figure 57. Word cloud analysis of the spatial impacts of the project

Apart from the survey results showing that even after the completion and resettlement, the expectations regarding the physical environment and landscaping were not fully met, during the interviews, residents expressed concerns regarding the proximity of the buildings in the site plan, as well as the lack of open public spaces between the buildings. Moreover, during the interviews with the municipality employee, it was stated that the right holders complained about the proximity of the buildings (Figure 58), yet the project was prepared in line with the floor area ratio and maximum building height decisions of the 1/1000 urban development plan dated 2000 (Interviewee 1, July 2019).

Figure 58. 1st phase after resettlement in July 2019

During the period when the construction of the 1st phase was completed and the construction of the 2nd phase was continuing, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality decided to revise and increase the maximum building height without changing the floor area ratio in the 1/1000 urban development plan on 13 January 2020, by considering the expectations and demands of the residents with the aim of increasing distances between blocks and providing more open spaces. In this respect, the maximum building height was revised to fifteen-storey, and a one-month notification period[6] for the plan revision started on 11 May 2020. In fact, the municipality's revision of the plan, considering the dense and problematized site plan formed with the maximum building height requirements defined in the urban development plan and the feedback from residents, shows the coevolution and adaptation that emerged during the planning process. However, although the municipality developed a new strategy, during the interview with the mukhtar, it was revealed that the notification was declared to residents by printed announcements through the mukhtar (Figure 59). Hence, the municipality representatives did not fully engage in the notification process after the plan revision; instead, the mukhtar ensured communication with residents apart from the printed announcements hung in the project area.

[6] A one-month notification period is the only opportunity for actors and citizens to raise formal objections to the urban development plans under the legislation.



İLAN / DUYURU

İMAR PLANI/REVİZYONU/DEĞİŞİKLİĞİ HAKKINDA

İLÇE : KARABAĞLAR
MAHALLE :YURDOĞLU-UZUNDERE
ADA/PARSEL :
KONU : İZMİR BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM DAİRESİ BAŞKANLIĞININ 20.09.2019 TARİH VE 223639 SAYILI YAZISI DOĞRULTUSUNDA; 5393 SAYILI KANUNU'NUN 5998 SAYILI KANUN İLE DEĞİŞİK 73.MADDESİNE GÖRE İZMİR BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ YETKİSİNDE YÜRÜTÜLEN "UZUNDERE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM VE GELİŞİM PROJESİ" KAPSAMINDA; KARABAĞLAR İLÇESİ, UZUNDERE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM ALANI İÇERİSİNDE İMAR ADALARINDA YER ALAN EMSAL: 2,5 VE YENÇOK: 8 KAT YAPILAŞMA KOŞULLARI DOĞRULTUSUNDA HAZIRLANAN ADA VAZİYET PLANLARINDA BLOKLAR ARASINDAKİ MESAFELERİN, AÇIK OTOPARK VE PEYZAJ ALANLARININ ARTTIRILMASI GEREKÇESİ İLE YENİDEN DÜZENLENEREK EMSAL:2,5 YENÇOK: 13 KAT OLARAK REVİZE EDİLMESİNE YÖNELİK İZMİR BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞINCA HAZIRLANAN 1/1000 ÖLÇEKLİ UYGULAMA İMAR PLANI DEĞİŞİKLİĞİ, TABANDA BOŞ ALAN KULLANIMINI ARTTIRMAK AMACIYLA YENÇOK: 15 KAT OLARAK İZMİR BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE MECLİSİNİN 13.01.2020 TARİH VE 05.42 SAYILI KARARI İLE DEĞİŞİKLİKLE UYGUN BULUNARAK, 5216 SAYILI YASANIN 7/C MADDESİ UYARINCA İZMİR BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI TARAFINDAN ONANMIŞTIR.

ASKIYA ÇIKIŞ VE İNİŞ TARİHLERİ : 11.05.2020 / 09.06.2020

SÖZ KONUSU 1/1000 ÖLÇEKLİ UYGULAMA İMAR PLANI DEĞİŞİKLİĞİ, KARABAĞLAR BELEDİYESİ İNTERNET SAYFASINDA VE KARABAĞLAR BELEDİYE BİNASI ZEMİN KAT İLAN PANOSUNDA 11.05.2020 / 09.06.2020 TARİHLERİ ARASINDA 1 AY (30 GÜN) SÜREYLA ASKIYA ÇIKARILACAKTIR.

3194 SAYILI İMAR KANUNU VE İLGİLİ YÖNETMELİĞİNE GÖRE KARABAĞLAR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞINCA DUYURULUR.

Figure 59. Announcement of the revision of the 1/1000 urban development plan in 2020

> "Two buildings will be diminished. Neither the contractor, the municipality, nor citizen will have any additional rights. The remaining area will be green areas and parking lots. I tell the citizens about current developments, but some say, "do not trust the mukhtar." Announcements stayed for one month in the places where residents would see them—published in different places. Those who object to it will be doing something unnecessary. I do not say multi-storey is good, but I find this revision right. There is a need." (Interviewee 8, September 2021)

During the interviews, residents also complained about the difficulties of living in apartments by comparing them with their low-storey houses with gardens (Figure 60).

In spite of the fact that there is general satisfaction with earthquake-resistant structures and comfort, concerns are raised regarding open public spaces, architectural designs, and construction materials. A woman interviewee who was entitled to the 1st phase and started to live in the area also complained about the site plan and inadequate public spaces.

> "What our problem is … They did it close. We sit in the heat all day. They have built a playground; children are making noise. There were fights. There were throwing glass incidents. These are all troubles. I cannot go down to my door and sit in there. They told us it would be like a building complex, but it does not look like a building complex. I have relatives in Buca, and I visit them regularly. Everyone is sitting in their garden and drinking their tea. Once it is evening, what should we do? We are rural people. We throw a rug and drink tea; newcomers look at us. Otherwise, the houses are nice; there is no problem." (Interviewee 15, July 2019)

Figure 60. The view of completed constructions from old streets where the transformation has not yet begun in September 2021

In addition to the discomfort caused by the dense housing pattern that emerged as a result of the site plan, it is also realized that socializing has become more difficult due to limited physical qualities with the transformation. One of the points emphasized by interviewees and survey respondents is that residents lost their flexibility for informal gatherings and social opportunities their old houses offered (Figure 61). Similarly, a woman interviewee, who negotiated and is a right owner in the 3rd phase, states that although there were outdoor seating areas in the project visuals displayed to them, they did not have any seating area for gathering, and the result is not like the project presented to them (Interviewee 19, September 2021). While the implementation of the urban transformation project continues, it is observed that associations integrated with coffeehouses serve as platforms to come together for men, while women ensure collaboration by gathering together in front of their newly built apartments. In addition, another interviewee who was entitled to two housing units in the first phase but recently moved to Uzundere HDA residences as a tenant explained that he had lived in Uzundere since 1957 but was dissatisfied with the physical conditions of the project led him to sell his new flats.

Figure 61. A street in Uzundere before the urban transformation project declaration in 2012 (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017) and the current situation of the same street in 2021

> "So many buildings side by side! It is like a prison. You are sitting on the balcony, talking to your wife. I am very uncomfortable, what should I do with this kind of house? It is very close. My bad squatter house was better than this.

> People criticize Uzundere TOKİ. None of them like it. I fell in love with TOKİ! There is too much distance between the apartments. It is open and wonderful. Nevertheless, I cannot deny, there is God! It was all mud and a dirty area. However, I did not expect it to be like this until the houses were built. You cannot even go into your own house after midnight; they will think you are a thief (*meaning that there is no privacy referring to the proximity of buildings*). We cannot even get into our own house. There is one park in the middle. 5 or 6 buildings do not have even one gazebo in the completed phases. Look! Do you see any shops? Do you see green spaces?" (Interviewee 11, July 2019)

Apart from the dissatisfaction with the project regarding spatial and social aspects, the economic results are also considered. Even after the resettlement, the economic difficulty continues due to difficulties affording the apartment and house management costs. During the interviews conducted between the period when constructions were still in progress and the tender process in the following phases were blocked, it was observed that right holders complained about debts that increased due to the high-interest rates as a result of the prolonged construction process. During the interviews conducted in 2018, as the construction period in the 1st phase was not completed yet, the interviewee, a right owner in the 1st phase, indicated that he was economically uncomfortable even though he thought the project would have positive results.

> "Construction is still going on; I do not know if I will be satisfied. But it was too late. My debt was 64; now it's 90 (*thousand Turkish liras*). It is increasing, there is still nothing … It will be fine, of course. From a squatter house to a newly built one, it will not be the same. It will be safe; it will be earthquake resistant. It will be very fine, if the urban transformation ends, but if it ends as soon as possible." (Interviewee 10, September 2018)

In 2019, after the completion of construction in the first two phases, another interviewee, who had already resettled in the 1st phase, stated that they were lucky to pay off their debts and got out of debt. During the interview, he stated that the debts of those entitled in the phases where the process has not been completed were increasing significantly. Since debts were not being paid in installments but were being

paid all at once during the turnkey deliveries, he believed that right holders of the following phases would have great difficulty paying their debts (Interviewee 22, September 2021). An interviewee who was resettled in the first phase also complained about the increase in his debt.

> "We resettled with pleasure, but the debts were too much. I owed 51 thousand liras in 2013. They took around 100 thousand liras from me. It was very unfair. The debts were unfair. Now, everyone's debt is continuing to increase." (Interviewee 23, September 2021)

In fact, according to the negotiation agreement, debts are calculated based on 2013 rates and subjected to an update every year in line with the lowest rate of annual salary increase rate or lowest wholesale price index or consumer price index rates. Even though the agreement is conducted after 2013, the amount of debt is still calculated according to the 2013 rates in the agreement. The mukhtar, who is also the right holder in the 3rd phase, mentions the visit he conducted to the Mayor of Karabağlar Municipality to convey residents' complaints about the debts.

> "The mayor says that "no one participated in the tender, and the process is taking a long time." Maybe it was interrupted because of the economic conditions, the İzmir earthquake, or the pandemic. Also, flood disasters happened. But these are not our fault. Let our debts be suspended. Freeze our debts. When will you start construction? At that time, restart our debts. In the beginning, we did not sign a contract with a lawyer. There was no date indicating the start and end dates of the project. We did not add anything about what would happen if it did not start. We did not know. Now, we could give it to a lawyer, but that will lock both parties. We do not want to do that either." (Interviewee 8, September 2021)

Although the constructions are completed in the first two phases, due to the congested tenders of the 3rd phase, in which year the construction will be completed in the following phases cannot be foreseen and raises concerns. On the other hand, the Municipality fails to communicate with the residents due to delayed construction and

interrupted tendering processes; hence, lacking information and maintaining a transparent approach regarding the debts and congested tender processes also contributes to complaints. Likewise, the mukhtar remarks that the flow of information by the municipality is inadequate.

> "When we got together, we talked about establishing an association. They told me to be the head of the association. But I have a different identity. We have to converge at one point. But theirs does not suit me at all. They say, "let us go and fight; let us break it." We could take it to court, but would this court end maybe after ten years? If I knew it would end within a year, I would say, "do not stop." I am both the right holder and the administrator. I have to look at the process from both sides. But the municipality does not inform sufficiently. For example, when the tender is unsuccessful, they do not. That is exactly what we want. If they explain this to us ... If I would tell people, they would not believe me. If I go to the association, then they will even gossip when I leave." (Interviewee 8, September 2021)

Accordingly, this process seems to result in a loss of trust in the municipality. In addition, as being right holders in the urban transformation project area and being included in the project, he claims that although they are not victims, due to the congested process, they feel like they are victimized (Interviewee 8, September 2021). Meanwhile, in the 3rd phase of the project, the first tender was held on 4 October 2018 for three building blocks (11187, 11198, and 1117). Although one firm participated in the tender, no bids were submitted. Hence, the second tender for the same building blocks was held on 9 May 2019, but no contract sale occurred. On 29 July 2021, the third tender was held for seven different building blocks where negotiations were completed (11187, 11198, 11199, 11200, 11201, 11202, and 1117). Even though two companies participated in the tender, again, no bids were submitted (Figure 62).

Figure 62. Completed constructions on the urban transformation project area and the area where the tender process is congested in the lower left corner of the photo (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2021)

Since the announcement of the urban transformation project, it is seen that coalitions between residents can dissolve easily, even if the residents come together from time to time and form different coalitions. The conflict situation, which became evident with the demonstration through a road closure during the negotiation stage, even appeared to contribute to the closure of the associations of compatriots. However, as the process continued, the blocked phases of the process had an effect on residents to collaborate and act together as a new coalition, specifically with the emergence of different problems. For instance, due to the unachieved third tender in July 2021, residents who are right holders in the phases where the process is not started yet decided to protest collectively at a groundbreaking ceremony of the youth and sports center next to the urban transformation project area, as the leader of Republican People's Party would be attending to the event. However, upon hearing that residents were planning a protest, the event was postponed, as indicated by the interviewee 8 (September 2021). Then, in October 2021, with the participation of the party leader, the ceremony was conducted. Residents who are right holders in the congested phases organized a

demonstration as the urban transformation was not completed, and they believed they were victimized (Figure 63) (Milliyet News, 2021).

Figure 63. Protest placards indicating “they said the exemplary project of İzmir, they lied” and “we trusted to the municipality, and we are victimized” (Milliyet News, 2021)

Although any lawyer or planner providing expertise in orienting the right holders has not been identified, there has been the possibility of public involvement in influencing the collaboration of right holders, besides media involvement. After negotiating, those who transferred their title deeds to the municipality state that they want to end the urban transformation process and have their title deeds transferred back to them and that they want to carry out the process with the contractor themselves. During the interviews, an interviewee who is a right holder in the third phase and still waiting for the construction also states that they want their title deeds back due to the protracted processes.

> “We had no title deeds left on us; it was transferred to the municipality. They were saying that it would be completed within two years. Here, they gave a hush-money to people who talk a lot and are the neighborhood leaders. They

> thought, “if we silence them, we will bring the back.” It is neither Folkart nor anything else at the moment. They should return our title deeds and let everyone fix their houses themselves. If we had given it to the contractor, we would have sixteen flats. If we had done so, we would get two more flats. Also, it would be better if we had it done with the contractor.” (Interviewee 21, September 2021)

As right holders transfer their title deeds to the municipality after negotiating, they cannot proceed with different methods due to the blocked transformation process, such as hiring a contractor to transform their houses or investing and renovating their houses because of waiting for the demolition to happen. As a result of a ten-year transformation project that has yet to be completed, distrust and conflict are rising in the project area and creating an insecure feeling. Despite the fact that there was no news about the Uzundere urban transformation project except news about the declaration of the project in the previous period, in conjunction with the congested process, news criticizing the project also draws attention. Especially the unsuccessful tender as a breaking point, which took place in July 2021, escalated into a coalition of rights holders who felt victimized tried to create political pressure and public opinion through the media. Coalitions of residents, developing conflicts against the urban transformation process, also express their demands for the completion of the transformation with the government's intervention. Even a deputy of the ruling party also visited the project area and controversially stated that the project would even take 50-60 years to complete and that action was needed to solve the problem of the victimized citizens. Also, he asserted that in case the Municipality transferred the title deeds back to the right holders, the Ministry and HDA would be present for support (Gerçek İzmir, 2021). The involvement of the ruling party in the process reflects the institutionalized conflict between central and local governments. The central government acts to disable the Municipality in urban transformation process with the aim of diminishing the role of local government.

At the same time, it is identified that residents feel misled, as no clause in the contract stipulates sanctions if the constructions are not completed promptly. In fact, they think

that the terms of the agreements are not understood and carefully read due to a lack of information; therefore, they believe that they are deceived (Interviewee 8, September 2021; Interviewee 11, July 2019; Interviewee 27, September 2021). Moreover, according to a right holder in the 1st phase, there was no compromise rather, they had no choice. As he also claimed, they learned that people they had never met before had a share in their parcels, and because the other party's share was 51%, they were told whether or not to accept by the municipality (Interviewee 22, September 2021). Moreover, a woman interviewee in her 50s, who is a right owner in the 2nd phase and resettled, all right holders in the neighborhood had to negotiate without no other option.

> "I wish the project was not implemented. I am heavily in debt. This house has burnt me out. I was forced to negotiate. If I did not accept, they would say "take this money." We had to sign. Everyone is the same." (Interviewee 25, September 2021)

In fact, it is observed both from the surveys and interviews that the concern of displacement had involuntarily pushed certain right holders to negotiate. Hence, negotiations seem to take place under pressure, albeit indirectly, for a particular group. In addition, during the negotiation process, some right holders negotiate with the thought that otherwise, they would never have an opportunity to improve their houses and also with the hope that they would become right holders in the renovated buildings (Figure 64).

Figure 64. A tarpaulin with the inscription "İzmir model in transformation" displayed on the balcony of the old house, which is still waiting for the transformation in September 2021

As a result of congested tender processes, the Municipality developed an alternative model. For urban transformation projects declared and implemented within the scope of article 73 of Law numbered 5393, legislation stipulates flat for land-based tender to be made within the scope of Law numbered 2886. However, due to the congested tenders, the Municipality started to declare a risky building within the scope of Law numbered 6306 within each negotiated building block in the planned phase. The reason for developing this method by utilizing the “legal gap” in the legislation is to exempt from tenders in the urban transformation process utilizing Law numbered 6306. In this direction, after a risky structure is detected on each building block, the Municipality would be exempt from the tender process and complete the process with its own subsidiary, İzbeton. Moreover, due to the blocked tender process, the Municipality even cooperated with foreign financing credit institutions, but it was impossible to provide financing for the urban transformation project. In spite of this, it is important to emphasize these quests of the municipality.

In this respect, after the risky structure detection process in the 3rd phase, the municipality submitted risky buildings to the Provincial Directorate of the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change for approval. After completing the risky building detection and approval process, a protocol was signed with İzbeton on 25 January 2022 for seven building blocks (11187, 11198, 11199, 11200, 11201, 11202, and 1117). On 17 February 2022, site delivery was carried out. In the 3rd phase, the process continues with an application project preparation. With this derived method, the municipality seems to succeed in accelerating the transformation process in the area. The Mayor of the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality accordingly indicates that due to the economic conditions in the country, bids could not be received in the tenders; hence, they are overcoming this obstacle through İzbeton (Milliyet News, 2022).

However, despite the municipality's continuing role in the project as an intermediary and guarantor, it appears that the municipality is involved in the process with a slightly disconnected role during the congested tender processes. Besides not informing residents about the process of the project and what is planned for the blocked phases, it is recognized that residents also were not informed about the model that will be deployed in the 3rd phase (Interviewee 8, September 2021; Interviewee 27, September 2021). Therefore, it turns out that the process is not sufficiently transparent and informative for residents and right holders living in the area, and a participative and collective process is not carried out with other actors. Hence, it turns into an attitude and authority that avoids communication with residents. Moreover, during the site visits carried out in September 2021, the Municipality representative suggested that conducting a field visit would not be beneficial due to the field's tension (Interviewee 1, September 2021). Hence, the municipality implicitly states that they are more abstaining due to the disrupted process and do not appear actively in the field due to the delayed process. Moreover, during the interviews in Karabağlar Municipality, a city planner emphasized the failing sides of the urban transformation project process.

> “Uzundere urban transformation project is a terrible example with its slow progress. There is no money in İzmir (*referring to the Metropolitan*

Municipality). This project was proposed deliberately so that this place would not be transformed. A project would not be implemented. There is no need for your knowledge (*meaning as a city planner*). Karabağlar Municipality is a municipality that cannot even realize itself. Will it transform or fix these areas? Even the municipality cannot transform itself. How can it transform the environment?" (Interviewee 7, September 2021)

Attention was also drawn to the difficulty of resolving the process due to the lack of resources and the construction rights defined by the urban development plan. City planners working in the Provincial Municipality represent conflicting parties within the local authority.

> "It is continuing very slowly. They are trying to do it with 100% consensus. For urban transformation, the municipality must have financial means. As the tender process got delayed, right holders' debts increased. They started blaming the municipality. Karabağ is the worst region in terms of construction. 80% of it consists of squatter and building blocks of the improvement development plan. You cannot increase the floor area ratio; there is no infrastructure to increase the density. You cannot do without expropriating the green area. It is challenging to transform. They could not transform it with 6306 (*Law numbered 6306*). It also could not be done with 5393 (*Law numbered 5393*); there is no progress at all. There are no resources and no demands in institutions." (Interviewee 6, September 2021)

On the other hand, the tender for the five building blocks (11189, 11190, 11193, 11194, and 11195) in the 4th phase, where negotiations were reached, was conducted on 30 June 2022. Although one company participated in the tender, no bids were submitted. Furthermore, the negotiations are still ambiguous in another two building blocks (11191 and 11192). Right holders demand to organize and form a coalition to get their title deeds back and carry out the process by agreeing with a contractor. As a result of the long waiting period and halted tender processes, different small developers may even have an influence on the project area.

Furthermore, while urban transformation project master plan decisions remained valid for the first two phases, with the subsequent revision of the urban development plan, site plan decisions will change in the following stages. Although the 3rd phase was tendered with the preliminary project decisions, the application projects are still in preparation. Although no decision has been taken for the parts for which negotiations have not yet been reached, it might continue between the right holders and the contractor company. Ultimately, the transformation project, planned to be implemented in six phases, might be completed in four phases (Figure 65).

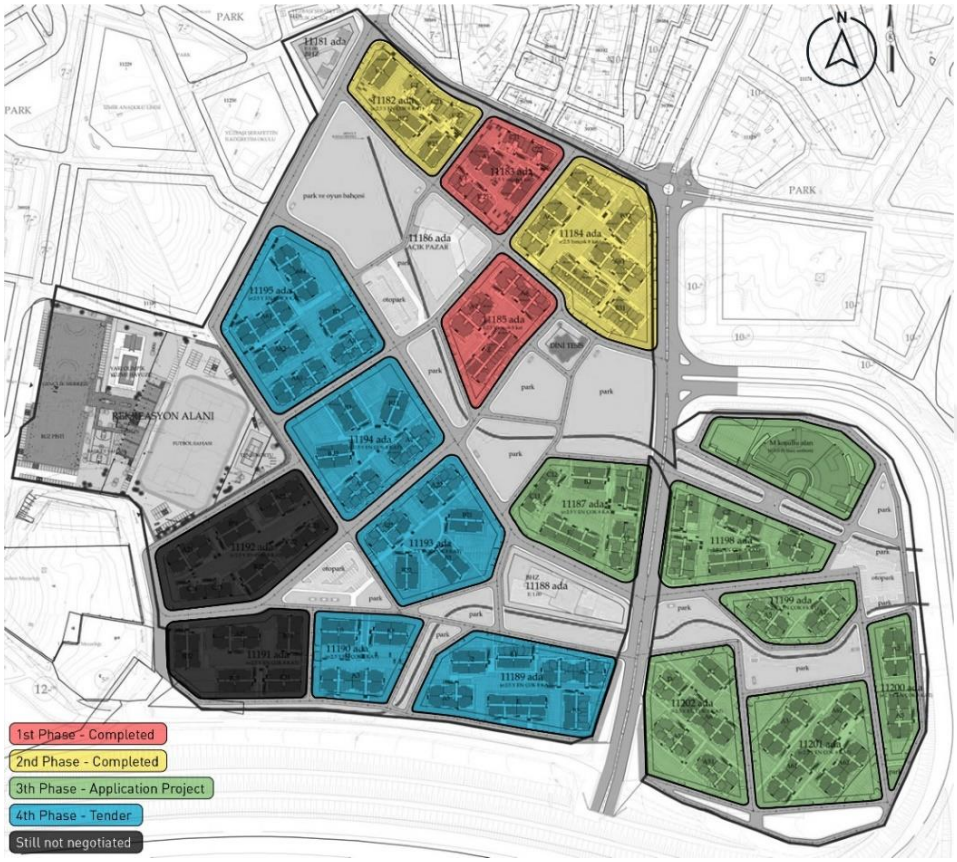


Figure 65. The status of urban transformation project phases as of mid-2022

During the surveys conducted with the right holders of the first phase when constructions were completed to understand residents' perceptions regarding the before and after of urban transformation project, it was found that there is a positive attitude towards project management. Despite the challenges of the process, the opinions regarding the communication office staff in the process management are evaluated

positively (92%). Respondents perceive the process as transparent and accountable (88%) and think the municipality is implementing and managing the process well (76%). However, these results would obviously change if the survey were conducted by excluding the aim of examining the after-transformation effects for other phases where the construction stage was blocked since participatory understanding did not progress as anticipated, especially with the congestion of tender and construction processes.

Additionally, positive and negative opinions regarding the project are gathered with open-ended questions, and responses are examined regarding the spatial, social, and economic aspects with content analysis. As a result of the content analysis, spatial features come to the forefront. While housing comfort comprises almost a quarter of all mentions (26,2%) (frequency of mention is 16), high-quality environment (16,4% of all mentions with a frequency of mention 10) and earthquake resistance are also evaluated as strengths (9,8% of all mentions with a frequency of mention 6). On the other hand, inadequacies in social infrastructure areas (11% of all mentions with a frequency of mention 18), site plan and environmental arrangement (4,9% of all mentions with a frequency of mention 3), and material quality of housing units (8,2% of all mentions with a frequency of mention 5) are elaborated negatively. In terms of social aspects, positive views are more dominant, and it is seen that especially the expressions of security and being together in the same social environment with the same neighbors are indicated, while loss of flexibility comes to the forefront as a negative view (8,2% of all mentions with a frequency of mention 5). Moreover, in terms of economic aspects, the value increase of houses is asserted at most (6,6% of all mentions with a frequency of mention 4), whereas debts are only mentioned once (1,6% of all mentions) (Figure 66).

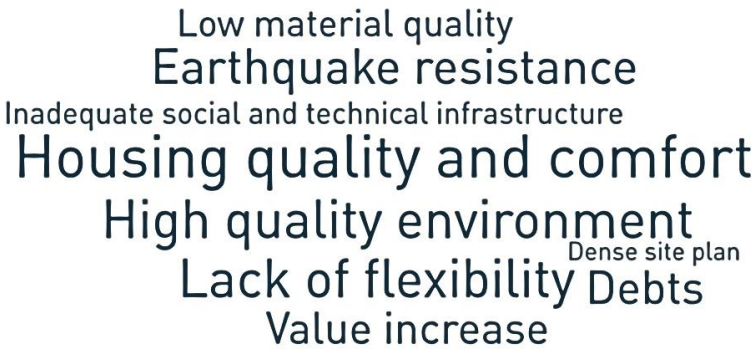


Figure 66. Word cloud analysis of opinions regarding the project

Another dynamic during the urban transformation process was created with the sale of the contractor's units and the settlement of newcomers in the project area. As the resettlement process began, segregation between the newcomers and old residents was observed. During interviews with a sales specialist, it was noted that the area's identity and social composition had begun to change.

> "We make most of our sales to qualified white collars such as architects and teachers from Gaziemir. Since house rents are very high there, they prefer to live in this area. Ten minutes from the highway. Some customers are buying for investment, even from Germany and Belgium. The area has started to comprise a nice profile, the outside and inside are quite different (*connoting the vicinity of the project area in terms of socio-cultural composition*). Right holders and newcomers settled in the same buildings, but not every building has a right holder. Social problems appeared, but no one complained about the rights holders among the customers. The mindset of the customers who come to us is very different and changing. Some people even use this place as a summer house just because the highway is close. They can go to Çeşme in half an hour, come, stay, and go again. Ten minutes away from the airport. People are tired of heavy traffic. We have convinced people just because the highway is close. However, there is a negative perception regarding the squatter houses,

but I think this place will change after they (*connoting right holders*) leave." (Interviewee 38, September 2021)

The newcomers are middle-income working individuals or couples with no children, and the reasons for choosing this space are mainly for its location and high accessibility (Interviewee 39, September 2021). On the other hand, old residents expect to be able to maintain their traditional lifestyle and social relations that they have been accustomed to for a long time. They expect to sustain the same flexibility they had in their rural dwellings. Although they have their own collective life practices, it seems to begin to disappear with the urban transformation. Hence, segregation emerges between the two groups because of different lifestyles. During in-depth interviews with residents, it was observed that they defined the arrival of newcomers as the arrival of "foreign" people (Interviewee 13, July 2019; Interviewee 28, July 2019). On the other hand, it seems that newcomers have started to invest and settle in Uzundere with the thought that the socio-demographic composition of the area will change, and old residents will leave the area with the completion of the urban transformation and along with other urban developments.

An interviewee, who bought a house in the project area for her industrial designer daughter working in Gaziemir, stated that he ignored the socio-cultural structure of the area when purchasing the house, even indicating that it was essential to be empathetic about different lifestyles. Accessibility, location advantages, security, the technical infrastructure of the area, earthquake resistance, and other projected urban developments in the vicinity, such as urban transformation areas and the university campus project, have all been influential factors for his purchase. However, he shows a contradiction by stating that the new texture will not suit right holders with other urban developments that will emerge in the area. He even claims the old residents do not want to adapt to the new fabric.

"That is their defense. They do not want to adapt to collective life and conform to a new structure. Because they like to live comfortably, the realm of freedom of others is not suitable for them. They are not concerned about the concerns

of others. It is something that comes from within." (Interviewee 30, December 2021)

Another newcomer and workplace owner points out that even though they do not have a problem with rights holders, the new and old generations must adapt to one another (Interviewee 29, September 2021). During the period when the process is still in progress, in line with the information and observations gained in the in-depth interviews, it is seen that newcomers having a segregation tendency are anticipated to bring a different dynamic and effect to the project area, as these groups do not interact and there is no collective power between two groups.

> "I bought this place by choosing; conversely, they already lived here and owned it. I think the problem is here. They only look at what they own in their houses, but I look at what I will own, not what I own. Hence, after a while, they will not want to live here. This is the way it is. It is always filling and displacing. Over time, in any urban transformation project, occupiers and right holders cannot hold on to the area. That texture does not fit. The area needs to improve in terms of the social environment. I think it will change a lot in 5-10 years." (Interviewee 30, December 2021)

It is seen that people who come here to buy a house come for reasons such as the advantageous location of the place. With the ongoing urban developments in the vicinity, the project area seems to affect old and new residents differently.

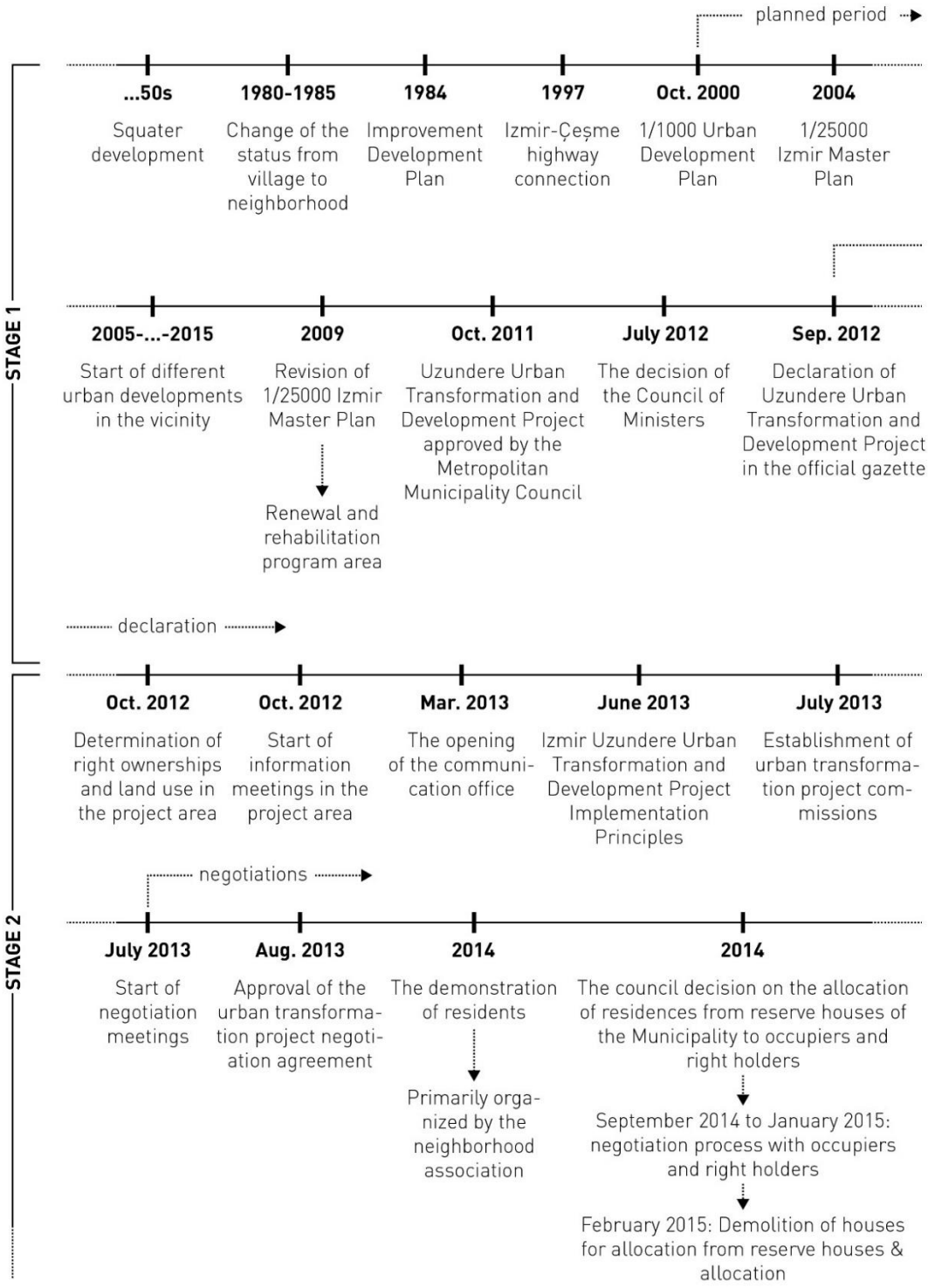


Figure 67. The trajectory of the Uzundere urban transformation project

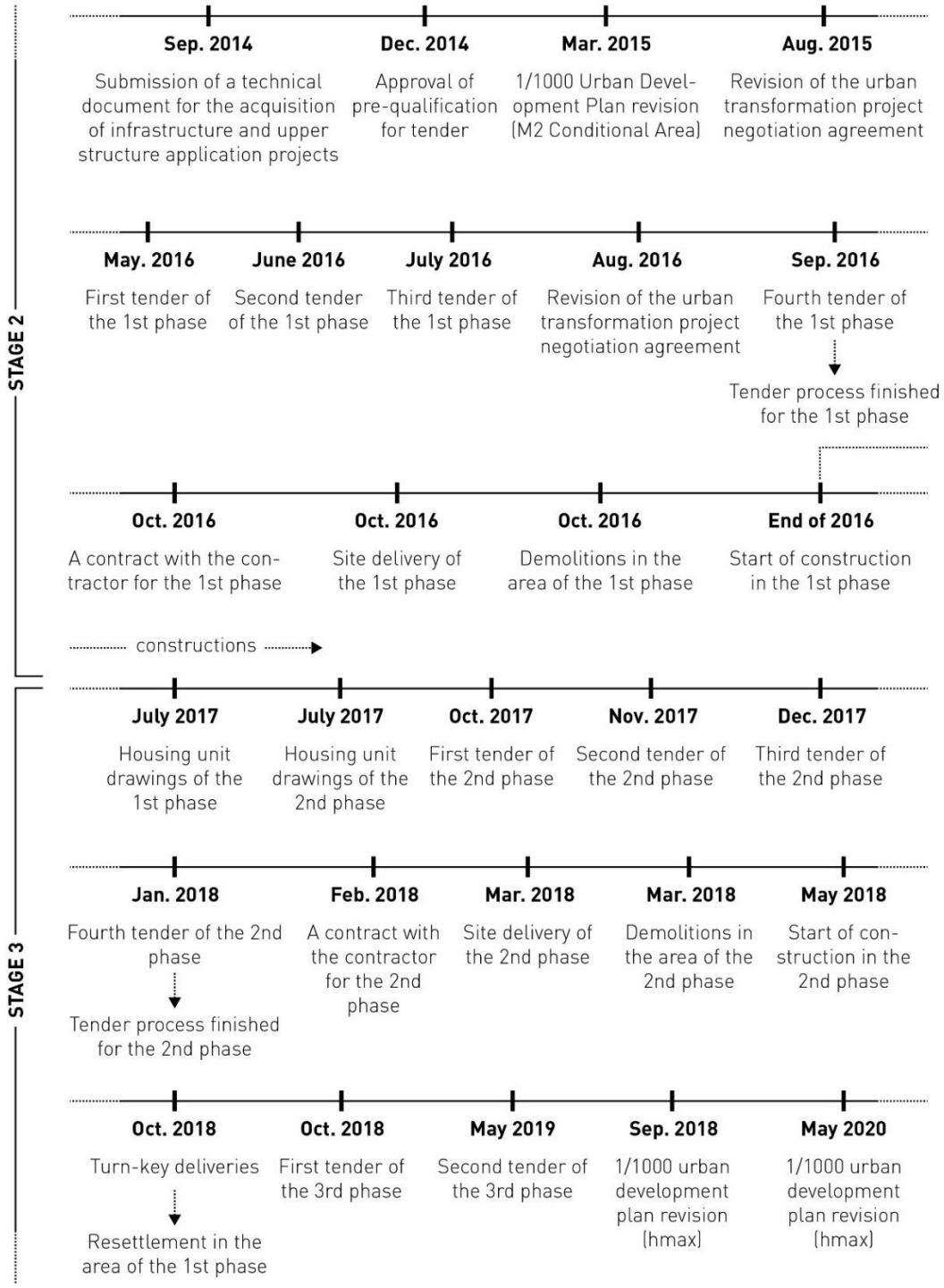


Figure 68. (Cont'd) The trajectory of the Uzundere urban transformation project

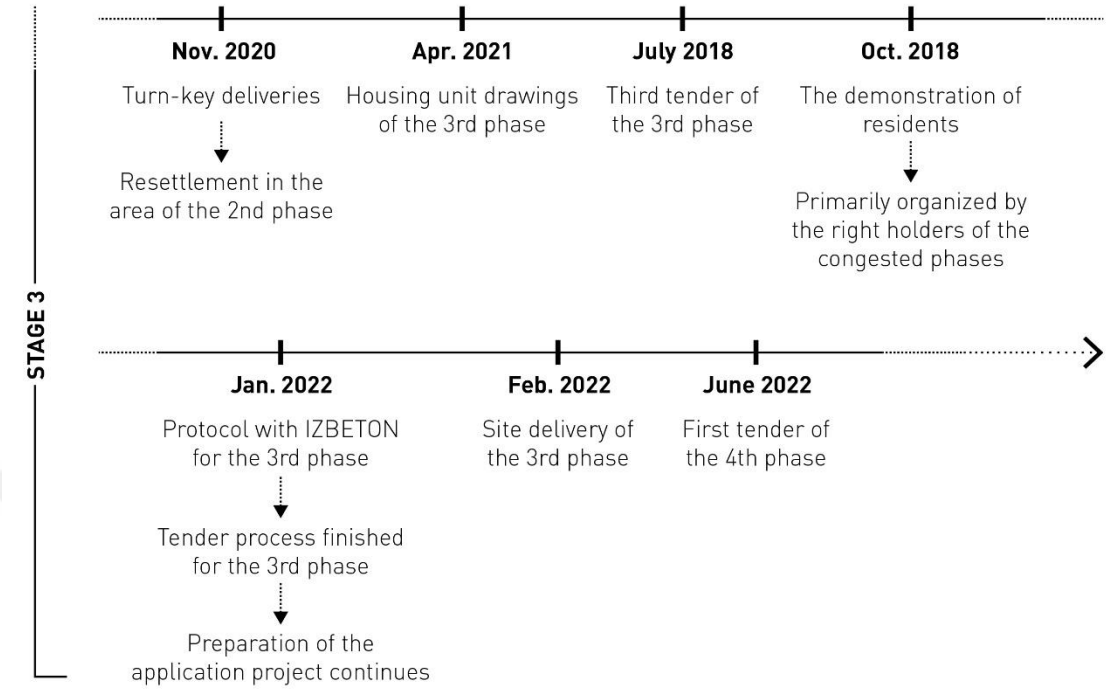


Figure 69. (Cont'd) The trajectory of the Uzundere urban transformation project

5.3 Assessment of the Uzundere Urban Transformation Project

Altogether, as discussed in the literature review, cities are recognized as dynamic, non-linear, open, and complex systems (De Roo, 2010). In a dynamic and non-linear world, planning includes both anticipated and unforeseen changes resulting from internal and external influences. According to De Roo and Rauws (2012), being a complex system, cities are self-organizing in response to internal influences and have an adaptive capacity to respond to external factors. As a result, these three stages do not imply that the planning of the transformation process will be completed at some point. On the contrary, it will continue to evolve and adapt in response to new internal and external factors and with the effects of emerging collaborations and conflicts between multiple actors and coalitions. As a result, both anticipated and unforeseen changes are inevitable in the future.

5.3.1 Moving Forward: Contingencies

İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, within the scope of the İzmir model, carries out an urban transformation process with the aim of on-site transformation and 100% negotiation. The municipality introduces the transformation approach with the motto of “new house, same neighbor.” In this sense, residents living in project areas can transform in the same place without being displaced as a result of the urban transformation process. The model aims for 100% negotiation through getting in touch with each right holder. The municipality also aims to reflect the demands of residents by including them in the project promotion and negotiation phases. Within the scope of the model, the urban rent increase method is rejected by progressing with the existing construction rights offered by the urban development plan. Also, the municipality implements the project as a guarantor and intermediary at every stage, from the declaration process to the resettlement, and it is constantly involved as an actor in the process.

However, when the urban transformation project being implemented with the same goals in Uzundere is examined, findings reveal that effects that differ from those anticipated at the beginning of the process have emerged. First, the urban transformation process, which the municipality calls participative, did not go beyond a practice where requests were collected and listened to most of the time, and participatory processes were not carried out with active participation. However, a distinctive aspect still differs the municipality's approach from other urban transformation projects implemented throughout the country. In fact, it is in the realm of possibility that while developing an urban transformation approach within the framework of the İzmir model, the municipality specified the principles via lessons learned from previous urban transformation projects implemented in İzmir, for instance, specifically, from Kadifekale urban renewal project. Although the Kadifekale urban renewal project was implemented because the area was a landslide-prone zone, it has been a renewal project with intense discussions, especially in the context of its after-transformation effects. Due to the displacement of Kadifekale residents due to the urban renewal project, the identity and sense of belonging to the place are lost (Saraçoğlu & Demirtaş-Milz, 2014). Within the context of on-site

transformation, the process of reconstructing the identity might proceed much more smoothly than the residents of Kadifekale have experienced.

Through the urban transformation with the İzmir model, the municipality aims to achieve on-site transformation with the intent of "social transformation," as indicated by the former mayor (Şenbil & Özelçi Eceral, 2018). Although there is no direct displacement or violation of existing residents' rights in the urban transformation project, possible gentrification and displacement may be observed for a significant part of the old residents. Although gentrification is expected to increase the social mix, Lees (2008) questions the movements of middle-income people to the neighborhoods where low-income people are settled. As indicated by Lees (2008), the influx of middle-income people to the disadvantaged neighborhoods does not promote social cohesion, and gentrification is assessed as ineffective in providing social mixing. Even in places where economic, social, and cultural characteristics are highly differentiated, this may end up with tensions between residents. Also, even the rhetoric of social mixing causes economic and social inequalities to intensify (Lees, 2008).

Although the municipality aims to succeed on-site transformation, different social groups do not seem to collaborate at the time. Also, even though it is not clearly observed yet as the transformation is in progress, the completion of the entire project and the completion of other urban developments in the vicinity of Uzundere may result in social pressures and stigmatization that will arise between old and new residents. Hence, the project seems unable to fulfill its promises due to possible gentrification and displacements due to increasing rent in the area and old residents being stigmatized by the new social environment. Thus, expected integration possibly seems to end up with social exclusion, and in the long term, maintenance costs far beyond the financial capacities of residents and changing socio-cultural texture may result in voluntary and involuntary displacement and gentrification. In parallel, as of 2022, while the urban transformation process continues, residents have sold their estates from the area, and the rights holders explained the reasons as dissatisfaction related to spatial aspects. Basically, the idea of moving towards places with rural characteristics to maintain the same living culture was shared. However, over time, an involuntary displacement may occur in the area due to reasons such as increased prices, management costs, and social

segregation. Therefore, it is not certain whether the area will preserve its sociocultural structure as a result of the transformation; on the contrary, the possible gentrification process may emerge in the long run (Figure 70).

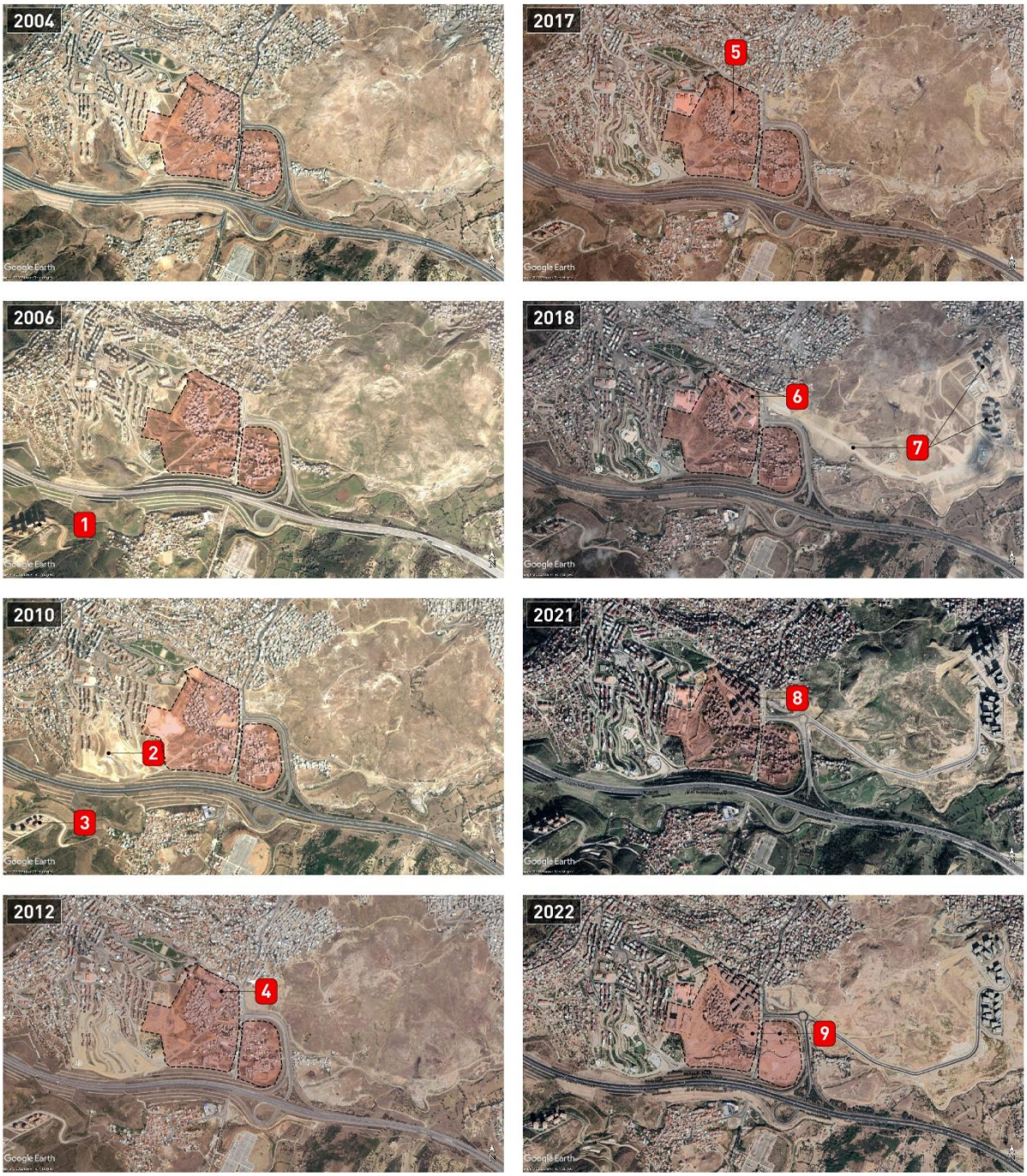


Figure 70. Development and transformation of the project area and its vicinity over time (Adapted from Google Earth)

5.3.2 Implications

In Uzundere, during the 1950s, squatter development started to appear, representing a self-organization practice. In the area, social relations were strengthened over time, with the effect of similar stories coming from similar regions. Social ties, strengthened and developed with a shared identity from the past, ensured the emergence of solidarity and collaboration after the declaration of the urban transformation project. Because of limited knowledge regarding UTPs and the media effect, residents associated urban transformation with debt, displacement, and victimization and acted on the opposite side of the urban transformation project. A coalition was formed as a result of their distrust of the authority and the project. Nevertheless, the municipality played an essential role in facilitating the negotiations by adopting a trust-building approach, easing the negotiation process. Even, in the face of impasses, the authority developed adapted policy decisions and solutions; eventually, the process could continue. Over time, residents' capacity to act together disappeared in favor of their interests. Thus, solidarity and strong social ties developed from the past to the present began to dissolve. Specifically, during the second stage, coalitions' capacity to collaborate has evolved into a struggle for self-interest.

However, when the economic crisis and the pandemic interrupted the transformation process, residents who thought they were victimized could unite again and act together as a new coalition in response to victimization and loss of rights. Even this process escalated into a coalition of rights holders who felt victimized and tried to create political pressure and public opinion through the media and central government. There is rising distrust and conflict in the project area as a result of a ten-year transformation project that has not been completed. The municipality, on the other hand, started to lose its representation capacity in the project area due to the disruption of the process. However, it still continues to implement coevolutionary practices and develop different adaptation forms to ensure the process's continuity.

As of 2022, negotiations were almost completed in the area, except for two building blocks, and the municipality expects that the construction and tender processes will be completed. Despite the anticipated result of the process is the completion of the urban

transformation throughout the area and the municipality continuing the process with the model developed with the congested tender process, it is not yet certain how the project will be completed. Following the completion of certain phases of the transformation and the continuation of other urban developments in the surrounding areas, newcomers also bring a different dynamic to the area and have a different impact capacity. On the other hand, it is impossible to predict whether segregation or displacement will occur upon completion of the transformation project. All these ambiguities will navigate with the effect of internal and external impacts that emerge during the process. In fact, the nonlinear planning and transformation process will bring both anticipated and unforeseen consequences (Figure 71).

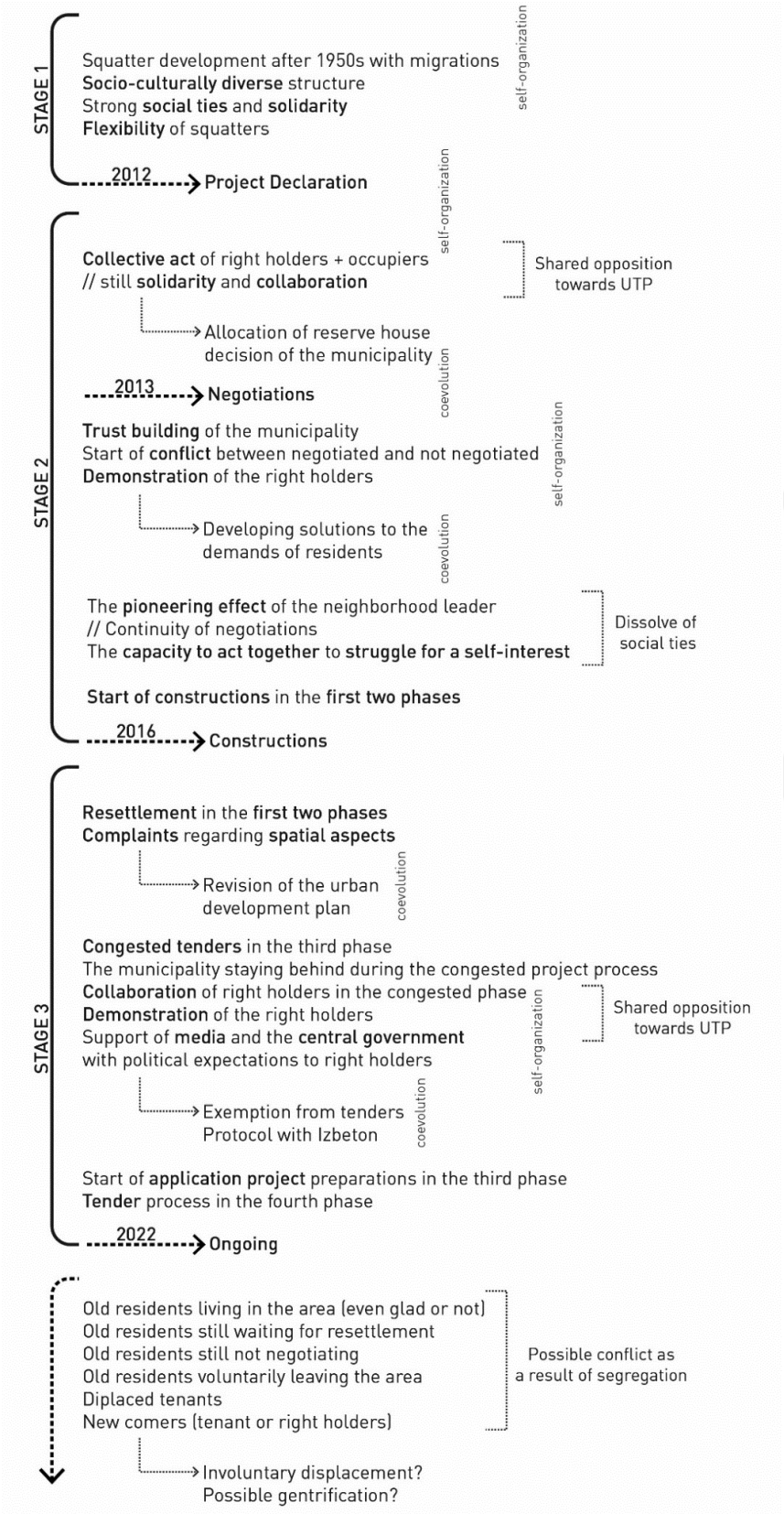


Figure 71. The complexities of the urban transformation project

To sum up, through the trajectory of the urban transformation project in Uzundere, the clues of co-evolutions and adaptations as new circumstances emerge during the transformation process are discovered. While discussing the planning process of the urban transformation project, key actors and coalitions having a role in the co-evolutions and adaptations by self-organizing are discussed. It is seen that the open and dynamic structures of settlement systems necessitate a nonlinear planning process that requires a continuous re-adaptation of the planning process. Also, the key findings emphasize the necessity for adaptation and self-organization capabilities to cope with internal and external influences. In order to plan an urban transformation project, it is necessary to understand these dynamics and the complexity of urban areas that are nonlinear, dynamic, and open systems. Lastly, it is inevitable that anticipated and unforeseen changes will continue to emerge in the advancing process of the Uzundere urban transformation project, which has not yet been completed as of 2022, and that different adaptations and co-evolutions will emerge in line with internal and external influences.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This dissertation discusses the planning process of urban transformation projects in the context of complexity. Key actors and coalitions that promote changes and the effects of internal and external events in planning processes are analyzed by elaborating on the urban transformation project in İzmir Uzundere. Accordingly, this chapter first discusses the findings of the research. Then, interpretations of the Uzundere urban transformation project, interpretations regarding urban transformation, and planning are elaborated. Finally, contributions to planning, possibilities for future studies, and research limitations are discussed.

6.1 Findings of the Research

In order to understand the emergencies, anticipated and unforeseen changes that emerged in an urban transformation project area, Uzundere, which was declared as an urban transformation and development area within the context of Law numbered 5393 in 2012, by considering the self-organization capacity of different actors in the planning process on the one hand, the administration's adaptation capacity on the other hand, the process is discussed over three stages. In this context, the main findings of each research question are discussed (Figure 72).

	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS
3 Stages of the Uzundere UTP	RQ1: What might be the internal and external factors and actors affect planning processes?	- Which external and/or internal events are observed? - What are the effects of anticipated and unforeseen external and internal events? - Who are the actors, and which coalitions did emerge? - How do actors within coalitions collaborate in terms of which interests and beliefs? - Do different coalitions negotiate or conflict?
	RQ2: Considering the current discussions of planning, do planners, decision-makers, and authorities consider the complex nature of planning?	- Which role does the authority have? (views of actors and views of the autority) - Is there any policy broker affecting the coalitions and implicitly impacting the planning and policy-making?
	RQ3: How can urban transformation projects be implemented by considering the complexities in urban planning?	- What are the anticipated and unforeseen external and internal effects? - Are any effects on policies and plans observed?
	RQ4: Can the advocacy coalition framework provide an appropriate discussion framework for examining the complex nature of planning?	

Figure 72. Research questions of the dissertation

Research Question 1: What might be the internal and external factors and actors affect planning processes?

Research Sub-Questions: Which external and/or internal events are observed? What are the effects of anticipated and unforeseen external and internal events? Who are the actors, and which coalitions did emerge? How do actors within coalitions collaborate in terms of which interests and beliefs? Do different coalitions negotiate or conflict?

Starting from the urban transformation project declaration to the ongoing implementation process, both internal and external effects influencing the project implementation and the formation of different coalitions are observed in Uzundere. The non-linear and dynamic characteristics of the plan and policy-making created several emergent configurations; however, it is also observed that the local government repositioned against unforeseen changes and continued to develop new models and strategies with its adaptive capacity, which accordingly affected the planning process.

The main external factors that affected the process of urban transformation project planning identified in Uzundere are the intensifying economic crisis conditions in the country, increased construction costs preventing developers from participating in tenders, the negative effects of the covid-19 pandemic as of 2020, the stagnation of the construction industry caused by the pandemic and economic conditions, and the İzmir

earthquake triggering the settlement of newcomers to Uzundere. During the post-2019 period, due to external shocks, disrupted processes were experienced primarily in tendering phases. The external factors interrupted the process, and tenders remained inconclusive. However, as unforeseen external events emerged, they became a guiding force for the implementation and policy decisions of the authority, even sometimes without recognition.

On the other hand, strengthened social ties with migrations from similar regions, mostly from eastern provinces strengthening the solidarity and socio-cultural characteristics of the neighborhood and squatting process, and the legislation's limitations regarding specific requirements, such as tendering, are internal factors identified and affected the urban transformation planning process, in Uzundere. Varying actors have an impact before and during the urban transformation project implementation, which are mainly residents comprised of right holders and occupiers, neighborhood associations, the media, and the local and central government and their representatives. Diverse actors collaborated and formed coalitions with shared interests and beliefs throughout the transformation project process.

First, one of the findings is that different coalitions and internal influences have an impact on the policy and planning decisions of the Municipality. According to Rauws (2016), self-organization includes local actors' spontaneous formation of patterns or structures. In this sense, one actor may have the capacity to influence the actions of a few others, either as an individual or a group. In the presence of this potential for self-organization processes, there is a need for adaptation capacity. In Uzundere, residents have strong social ties and solidarity established from the past. With the declaration of the urban transformation project, residents' solidarity resulted in forming a coalition due to the uncertainty of the project, with feelings of insecurity and lack of confidence towards the authority and the project. Before the negotiations, they objected to the project and collectively conveyed their demands to the authority. Even a particular group collaborating via a neighborhood association interaction organized a demonstration to declare that they did not accept urban transformation as it would victimize residents. Following that, residents expressed their pre-negotiation demands

to the Municipality with the pioneering effect of a neighborhood leader, in this example, with the pioneering effect of the head of the neighborhood association. The Municipality took certain decisions in line with the residents' demands, such as allocating reserve houses to occupiers and right holders entitled to an inadequate construction area and exemption from subscription fees for infrastructure. However, in spite of the policy decision of the authority regarding the occupiers, not producing any concrete solution for the tenants resulted in further effects (Figure 73).

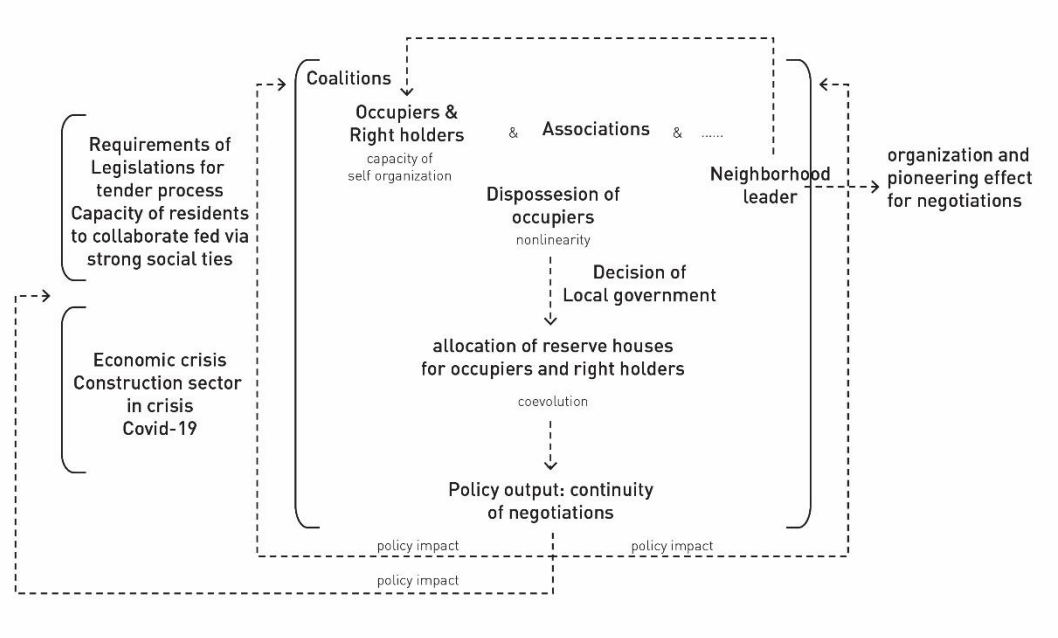


Figure 73. An example of policy decision affected by internal influences and coalitions

Similarly, as construction in the two phases was completed and resettlement started, complaints regarding the apartment's proximity in the site plan increased. By considering the complaints and demands of residents, the Municipality revised the urban development plan by increasing the maximum building height. Although this process has not progressed in the form of organized collaboration and coalitions, it has the capacity to influence the policy and planning decisions of the authority. This also represents the coevolution that emerged during the planning process with the impact of internal influences (Figure 74).

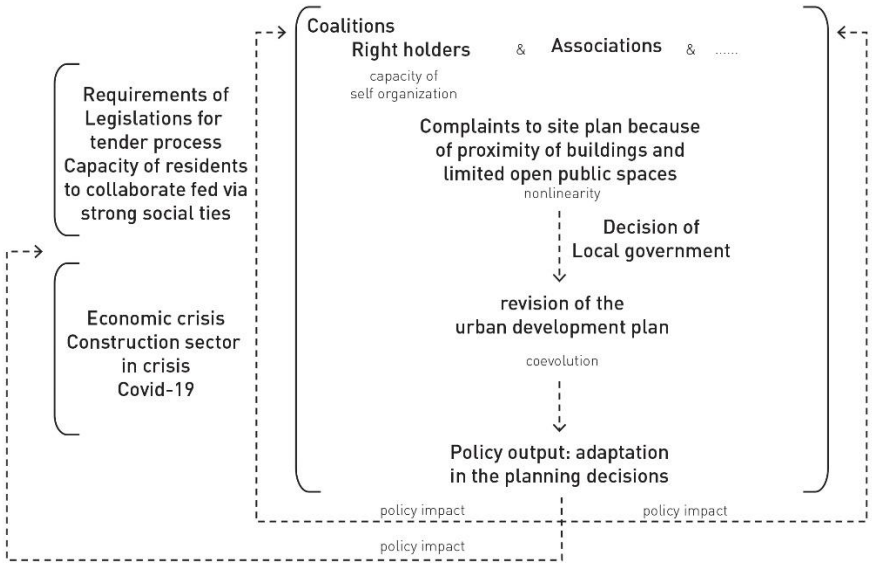


Figure 74. An example of policy decision affected by internal influences

Ultimately, the process is understood to be accomplished through several negotiations between locals and authorities. In fact, alternative approaches by going beyond certainties and uncertainties and incorporating self-organizational and adaptive capacities are developed through the process. Accordingly, the process carries traces of continuous adaptations. However, it is significant to remark that these non-linearities emerging with internal effects do not always result in an adaptation. For instance, the Municipality does not develop a solution for the tenants in the project area; however, requests are made for marginalized tenants and not included in the transformation project. However, the after-effects are even observed in another urban transformation project being implemented with the aim of on-site transformation and 100% negotiation in the Ege neighborhood. The Municipality includes tenants in the transformation project by renting reserve houses to be owned by the Municipality in the same area for tenants considering the socio-cultural characteristic of the neighborhood.

Moreover, another finding is that while different actors in the neighborhood come together occasionally and conflict occasionally, social ties developed from the past

begin to unravel. During the urban transformation implementation, conflicts and collaborations have emerged between actors varying from central government to local government, from right holders to occupiers. Due to the uncertainty of the project and the lack of trust, all residents acted together during the project promotion and collaborated because of the concern of being victimized. However, as trust building was achieved in the project, a group of residents started to negotiate. Hence, social ties started to dissolve after the negotiation of certain groups, and a conflict emerged between residents who negotiated and those who did not. In other words, the capacity of residents to act together began to transform, and social ties began dissolving, even contributing to the closure of associations. However, whenever a loss or victimization is thought to occur with the rising distrust towards the authority, collaboration emerges again, and a new coalition is formed.

Correspondingly, in the continuing process of the project, the congestion of the tender process contributed to the collaboration of residents. Hence, a coalition of rights holders who felt victimized tried to create political pressure and public opinion through the media and the support of the political party in power. Accordingly, certain implementations guided by public opinions and media exposure affected the plan and policy-making process. According to Molotch (1976), a desire for growth motivates actors to reach a consensus. Individuals in a particular area tend to share a common interest in growth, regardless of their differences on other issues, which implicitly supports the capacity for self-organization. Therefore, residents' motivation for collaboration also seems related chiefly to the thought that their self-interests will be harmed and they will be victimized.

Furthermore, it is found that residents expect physical and social improvement, but their motivation for urban transformation still seems to reinforce by the urban rent. During the urban transformation project implementation, it is observed that the capacity to collaborate sometimes has evolved into a struggle for self-interest among individuals, always with an expectation of self-interest and individual well-being in the background. Even if they evaluate the transformation with a high-quality, earthquake-resistant environment, the agreement rates and the number of residences

entitled to them mostly become a priority factor. Similarly, city planners working in the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality draw attention to the rent expectations of right holders during the negotiations.

> "While we are all happy making it very humane, another issue prevents us from moving forward during the negotiation phase. As we try to tell citizens about housing, we have been explaining that urban transformation is not a magic wand, so their house will not double or triple." (Interviewee 5, September 2021)

> "You offer a lot of different things, a beautiful environment, and healthy housing. Then, it turns into a story like "how many housing units will I get? I can get this for myself, my son, and my daughter, but I have nothing left to earn a rental income." Now there is a situation that loses its innocence." (Interviewee 4, September 2021)

The process, fostered by using the urban space encouraged by political concerns in the squatter process and amnesty processes from the past, also continues to affect today. In spite of the fact that residents view urban transformation as social and physical improvement, it seems as though they are also trying to maximize their economic gain and benefit from the exchange value. However, with the idea of self-interest in the background, their capacity to act alone is not economically and politically sufficient. Hence, different urban actors collaborate because they cannot act independently, so their growth targets help them overcome their differences and act together (Logan & Molotch, 1987). On the other hand, Molotch (1976, p. 311) indicates that the "we feeling" that stems from being tied to a larger area reflects the community. The concept of community results from competition between land-interest groups to improve the land. This may be formal or informal. The level of action should be at least one level beyond where activism first emerged. In each locality, only a limited amount of growth can occur, so they compete with each other to grow. Also, the media even supports specific collaborations to accomplish the growth objective. In many cases, community members are also members of several others; thus, communities exist nested, with the importance of their roles varying over time and in different situations. In communities

with nesting characteristics, subunits competing at a lower level might form coalitions at a higher level as a result of the nesting nature of communities (Molotch, 1976). Hence, in the case of Uzundere, this may also explain the dissolution of the community that comes together in various circumstances.

Lastly, as discussed by Sabatier and Weible (2007), external events and shocks have the capacity to affect the existing coalitions. It is seen that during the urban transformation project implementation in Uzundere, diverse coalitions are formed and held together by the same or shared interests, beliefs, and values. Four different coalition types can be defined in parallel to the dissertation's findings.

- Local coalitions: These coalitions are primarily looking for collaboration for the well-being and interest of the local and neighborhood. They act collectively for the neighborhood culture and perception and quality of life. Local coalitions may be included in growth coalitions from time to time. However, the expectation of protecting the neighborhood can be futile, and in the long run, voluntary or involuntary displacement can emerge.
- Dissident/opposing coalitions: Dissident coalitions are triggered by other factors such as the central government, the media, or sometimes a neighborhood association. These coalitions are comprised of opposing parties and sometimes expect growth.
- Growth/rent coalitions: These coalitions are not always dissidents; contrary, they can even support the status quo and decisions of the authority with the expectation of growth.
- Administrative coalitions: While these coalitions act as an authority, they also act for and with locals. In İzmir Uzundere, communication office representatives can act as a bridge between the Municipality and locals and perform for two different parties.

These coalitions can be formed even in casual conversations. There is no linear process for these coalitions; rather, they are constantly forming and evolving. As a result of conflicts and collaborations, these coalitions can overlap and deviate during the process.

Research Question 2: Considering the current discussions of planning, do planners, decision-makers, and authorities consider the complex nature of planning?

Research Sub-Questions: Which role does the authority have? Is there any policy broker affecting the coalitions and implicitly impacting the planning and policy-making?

Despite initial expectations, the urban transformation process in Uzundere has not progressed as foreseen and planned. The local government failed to anticipate the complexity of the process. Even so, the Municipality continued progressing according to the principles established initially. It is seen that the process from the beginning of negotiations to the start of the construction and resettlement in the first two phases, even if the 3-year time period stipulated by the Municipality at the beginning of the project is out of date, the process with the goal of 100% negotiation is achieved and well managed until the third phase of the tender processes had been blocked. The Municipality has adopted an approach to acting together and carrying out the process with transparent and participatory practices by addressing the demands of the residents from the beginning. However, the authority discovered this indirectly during the planning process and had to develop innovative solutions and produce new strategies.

In the early period of the urban transformation project declaration, because the residents had acquired information about urban transformation, predominantly resulting in dispossession and displacement through the media, there was uncertainty and mistrust of the Municipality and the project. The Municipality acting as an intermediary and guarantor throughout all phases of the urban transformation enabled reliability and trust building, which implicitly affected the project implementation process. Moreover, even the fact that the former mayor established residents' trust supported the project's progress, it is seen that another influential actor at the point of establishing trust is the communication office representatives, who are actively present in the project area and develop formal and informal interactions with residents. Communication office representatives seem to represent during the process both with their authority identity and as a mediator between residents and the Municipality.

Hence, despite being part of the authority, their role in the process also sometimes advances as policy brokers.

Similarly, mukhtars also serve as representatives at specific points, such as during planning revisions and project promotion meetings. Mukhtars play a role in communication with the metropolitan and provincial municipalities to convey the residents' demands. In addition, neighborhood leaders, with the role of a policy broker, played an essential role in trust building for negotiations as well as conveying demands from citizens to the Municipality, which accordingly impacted the project's progress. In fact, during the negotiation phases, with a pioneering effect, neighborhood leaders impact the decision-making of the rights holders for negotiation. With all these non-linear and complex characteristics during the planning process, the authority develops coevolution and continuously navigates the process, even unintentionally, with the effect of different emergences, events, and coalitions.

Research Question 3: How can urban transformation projects be implemented by considering the complexities in urban planning?

Research Sub-Questions: What are the anticipated and unforeseen external and internal effects? Are any effects on policies and plans observed?

Uzundere is witnessing both internal and external effects on the implementation of the urban transformation project and the formation of different coalitions in the neighborhood. Local governments evolved in response to unforeseen emergencies, resulting in new coevolutions. Even though there appeared non-linear and dynamic instances, the Municipality continued to develop new strategies with its adaptive capacity. These strategies enabled municipalities to respond to unanticipated changes and challenges.

The Municipality's most notable adaptation capacity is seen during the intensified discontent due to blocked tender processes in the face of problems stemming mainly from external factors. Apart from external factors, residents who are right holders in

the congested phases also generate a self-organization capacity in response to internal influences of the emergences of the process, which also affects the adaptation of the authority. Hence, the Municipality acts in coevolution by developing a pioneering strategy with its shareholding. The developed model enables the restart of the transformation process being stuck with the tender requirements and accelerates the process. Moreover, the Municipality further performs coevolution and adaptations to other urban transformation projects in the city acquired through emergencies in Uzundere. This example of coevolution illustrates the continuous reconfiguration of a planning and policy-making system that results from diverse external effects in addition to internal ones (Figure 75).

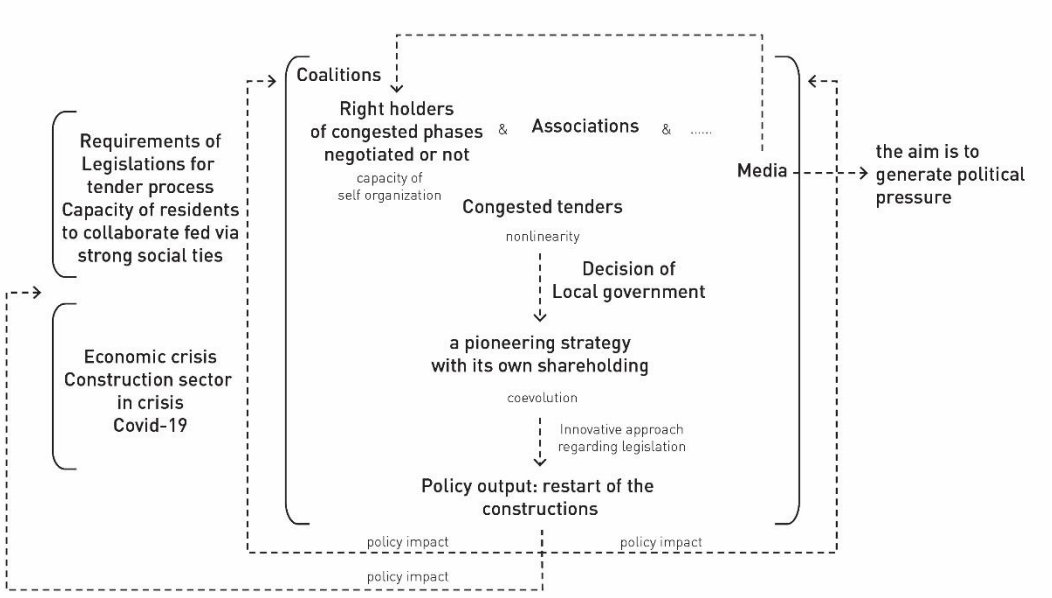


Figure 75. An example of coevolution formed by internal and external factors and coalitions

In order to ensure the success of a policy decision and planning, it is critical to assess the current situation and anticipate potential changes in urban dynamics, which can inform the strategic decision-making process. Also, it is vital to understand internal and external influences and dynamics and the complexity of urban areas that are non-linear, dynamic, and open systems. In the Uzundere case, even without considering the

complexities in planning, it is observed that the Municipality displayed an adaptive capacity to respond to external and internal factors and emergences during the urban transformation implementation process.

Research Question 4: Can the advocacy coalition framework provide an appropriate discussion framework for examining the complex nature of planning?

Cities are complex, dynamic, and non-linear, influenced by external and internal factors and diverse actors. Authorities and policymakers need to consider the dynamic, non-linear nature of the city as well as external and internal influences and key actors and the coalitions. The advocacy coalition framework, providing a theoretical framework for explaining and predicting phenomena both within and across different contexts, can be used as a model to analyze and seek to understand the changes in planning processes. By favoring both the micro-level behaviors of diverse actors and collaboration and macro-level structures that affect the planning of the urban transformation project implementation, the advocacy coalition framework can offer an approach and perspective to policymakers and administrations. Based on public policy, the framework can also offer a suitable discussion framework for planning, which should be seen as process management. In sum, the advocacy coalition framework can be utilized to understand the changes in planning processes better, providing a frame to investigate and evaluate the non-linear dynamics of cities while considering the impact of internal and external events and coalitions.

Through the trajectory of the urban transformation project in Uzundere, the clues of coevolutions and adaptations as new circumstances emerge during the transformation process are discovered. It is seen that the open and dynamic structures of settlement systems necessitate a non-linear planning process that requires a continuous re-adaptation in the planning process. Also, the findings emphasize the necessity for adaptation capabilities to address internal and external influences. It is certain that other anticipated and unforeseen changes will continue to emerge in the advancing

process of the Uzundere urban transformation project, which has not yet been completed as of 2022, and that different adaptations and coevolutions will emerge in line with different internal and external influences.

6.2 Interpretations and Discussions

6.2.1 Uzundere Urban Transformation Project

In İzmir, areas in need of transformation and improvement are identified as renewal and rehabilitation program areas within the 1/25.000 İzmir Master Plan. These areas consisted of predominantly squatter development areas with insufficient social and technical infrastructure and areas formed with amnesty laws. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality developed an urban transformation approach by going beyond traditional planning practices through innovative and participatory methods. Although urban transformation projects implemented in different cities are performed within a positivist and modernist framework, within the context of the İzmir Model, in Uzundere, there is an on-site urban transformation goal in the same area with 100% negotiation by sustaining the same social environment. Uzundere, one of the urban transformation project areas declared within the frame of Law numbered 5393, represents an example where the urban transformation process progressed the most after the project was declared in 2012, and the post-transformation effects could be partially examined.

In Uzundere, where urban development has progressed with migrations during the 1950s and has had rural characteristics and squatter housing texture since the past, the deprived housing texture revealed as a result of this urban development process as well as other urban development speculation areas in the vicinity, especially in the last few decades, have been influential in the determination of an urban transformation project. Although the strong social ties and common identity developed over time united the neighborhood residents, as the transformation progressed, different coalitions were formed among the residents, and collaborations and conflicts emerged. In fact, despite a desire to maintain their old flexibilities offered by their squatters and facing spatial challenges after moving from squatter houses to apartments, residents had expectations

regarding the exchange value they would gain. Basically, these coalitions concerned about being victimized are motivated by this exchange value. Hence, once gained rent during the process, the already weak solidarity dissolved immediately.

During the project implementation, several external factors contributed to the project's delay, including the economic crisis in the country, the stagnation of the construction industry caused by the pandemic, and increased construction costs, which prevented developers from participating in tenders. Due to these external factors, the congested tender process has become more challenging, and a reaction against the project started to rise. Living through the same experience connected residents and enabled them to form a coalition throughout the process. Residents collaborating and conflicting occasionally formed different coalitions and revealed different self-organization practices. The effects of these coalitions had the capacity to affect the policy-making and planning decisions of the local authority. Through the process, the ways in which different actors have been involved have also evolved, and the actors have taken part in different coalitions based on their interests. Although the blocked tender process negatively affected the Municipality's representation capacity, the Municipality continued to develop different adaptations to ensure the project's continuity. Hence, the project is ongoing and maintained within the principles outlined in the beginning.

Although the principles of 100% negotiation and participation are aimed, the Municipality goes through certain stages to maintain those principles, from the declaration of the urban transformation project to the implementation process and the after-transformation effects. Actors and coalitions had a decisive role in the process either conflict or negotiation emerged. On the other hand, local government was repositioned against unforeseen emergencies; in each different phase, external and internal effects resulted in coevolutions. While several emergences caused by the non-linear and dynamic structure of the city appeared, the Municipality continued the process by developing new models and strategies with its adaptation capacity. Although the transformation seems to be progressing slowly, it is because the transformation project is integrated with a holistic, on-site transformation approach and 100% negotiation. While aiming to transform every actor on-site with negotiation,

methods like urgent expropriation are not activated in the project area, even in the face of congestion in negotiations.

Regarding the social aspects of the project, it is not yet possible to claim that socially more balanced living spaces have emerged with the project, and it is still too early to discuss the after-effects of the urban transformation project. However, the project aimed to sustain on-site transformation, after-transformation effects may result in the displacement of a certain number of residents who cannot afford the new conditions due to their financial capacities and cause a voluntary or involuntary displacement to other areas of the city. In the long-term, possible gentrification is likely to be observed in the area as the city continues to expand towards the outer periphery and together with other potential urban development processes in the vicinity of the project area. Hence, although in the near future, displacements may also occur voluntarily, in the long-term, they may occur involuntarily due to increased land prices, change of place identity, and place attachment.

In sum, the framework discussed through the Uzundere Urban transformation implementation example provides clues as to how the planning of an urban transformation project should be managed. As a result, it shows that the authority should be aware of the complexities of cities.

6.2.2 Urban Transformation Planning

As a process for transferring and regaining squatting areas to the market, urban transformation in Turkey is primarily used for capital accumulation and as a planning tool. Hence, the vast majority of implemented urban transformation projects ignore existing residents' local structure and expectations, mainly resulting in disintegration, displacement, and dispossession. Therefore, the problems in the area subjected to the urban transformation are transferred to different parts of the city and continue there.

Currently being implemented with different legal bases, urban transformation projects are mainly arranged within Article 73 of Municipal Law, and Law on Transformation of Disaster Risk Areas numbered 6306 in Turkey. While municipalities are authorized

for urban transformation projects in the first one, the Ministry of Environment, Urbanisation, and Climate Change implements the latter, a top-down implementation model. Especially urban transformation projects implemented via central government establish their legitimacy through renewal in disaster-prone areas. As a result of the lack of involvement of the residents of the project area, the process of identity construction in the project area becomes incomplete. An approach that carries the characteristics of neoliberal urban policies is profoundly applied in Turkey and tries to carry out urban land production capital accumulation is adopted. Hence, legitimizing this transformation project is mainly associated with disaster risks. In fact, utilizing disaster-prone areas to justify the transformation seems unrealistic since urban transformation projects implemented in disaster-prone areas are not sustained most of the time.

Considering the dynamic and non-linear structures of cities, it does not seem possible to explain urban transformation only with the activities of the state and market actors. Unlike other urban transformation projects, the urban transformation approach realized with the İzmir model differs in many aspects. The model developed and implemented in İzmir by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality has a distinctive and innovative approach compared to other urban transformation projects applied throughout Turkey. The Municipality, with the aim of on-site transformation and 100% negotiation, carries out the process with a participative approach. The residents are not bypassed and can be partially included in the process. Also, the Municipality actively participates in each project implementation phase as a mediator.

In Turkey's context, implementing urban transformation projects does not function effectively and creates conflicts because of overlapping legislations and authorities. Hence, a process that is integrated against the problems caused by different authorities and regulations in urban transformation and where the authorities are gathered will facilitate the implementation of transformation projects. It is also essential to determine what is aimed with the transformation and by which methods it will be implemented. Urban transformation should not be elaborated as a physical phenomenon but as a process in which the changes that will occur in the social

structure as a result of transformation are also considered. Planning practices and as the primary tool of planning, urban transformation projects should be carried out in a participative and collaborative manner. In addition, different actors should be included in the urban transformation process. Hence, participative and locally informed urban transformation and planning projects should be managed. Apart from these, the authority should be aware of its adaptive capacity to be repositioned against non-linear and complex situations that may arise in the process.

6.2.3 Planning

Planning has changed its trajectory in time. There appeared two dominant paradigms of planning theories. One of them grasped the city as a problem area and tried to produce a solution in line with the modern approach. The second approach viewed planning as the result of the multiple, interrelated actions of actors as well as their interactions and expectations. While the first paradigm was associated with positivist thinking, the second was associated with qualitative thinking. Planning theory and practice in the light of non-linearity, adaptability, and complexity have evolved. Hence, assuming planning as an administrative task with rational approaches seems insufficient, and different planning approaches have come to the fore in response to the complexities of cities.

Consequently, planning has started to be elaborated as having fuzzy notions, concepts, doctrines, goals, and visions, which are the sources of uncertainty (Porter & De Roo, 2007, p. 1). Planning in a fuzzy, dynamic world that includes anticipated and unforeseen changes need to be elaborated, and complexity sciences seem to support urban planning in developing understandings and strategies. With the effect of complexity theory, while current debates are arising, the non-linear and dynamic structure of planning is being discussed. Planning as an open system is seen as adaptable to changing circumstances and continues evolving with collaborative approaches.

In Turkey, a traditional comprehensive planning approach is adopted primarily. Considering the planning history of Turkey, there is an increasingly centralized approach. Planning decisions are mostly made with a positivist approach using traditional methods, which means that they are mostly considered only as blueprint documents. Participatory planning practice is limited to a one-month period of objection duration when all citizens and actors can make formal objections. However, the legislation does not include any different participative practice apart from this. Most implementations reflect the top-down approach of the highly authoritarian state. This process also manifests itself in urban transformation projects. It is seen that urban transformation projects are mainly carried out with market control over the exchange value and urban rent expectation of the built environment.

However, the city does not have a definite beginning and end, and planning is a process that requires a constant re-understanding and navigating in this direction. As there may appear anticipated and unforeseen effects, even after the planning and policy-making, there is a need for a transparent, accountable planning approach integrated with participatory processes by considering the complexities of planning. Policies can be developed to encourage adaptiveness and self-organization. Planning and decision-making actors need to consider their distance from each other, their attitudes in the decision-making process, and their capacity to influence and carry out the process by considering these coalitions and carrying out the necessary participation processes. At this point, the challenging issue is to create an appropriate platform to provide a stage to hear all voices and conduct a collaborative dialogue so that this knowledge will contribute to policy-making, and the collaborative process will create policy changes as a result of policy learning. Different actors have different effect capacities on the process, with conflicts and collaborations emerging between themselves. In addition, internal and external effects affect the process. However, this approach does not mean that nothing is entirely unpredictable. Although some processes may proceed in a linear manner, the need for constant repositioning and adaptation occurs during the process due to non-linear and dynamic formations. Hence, during the policy-making and planning process, it should be aimed to develop policies by foreseeing these complexities in the short, medium, and long term (Figure 76).

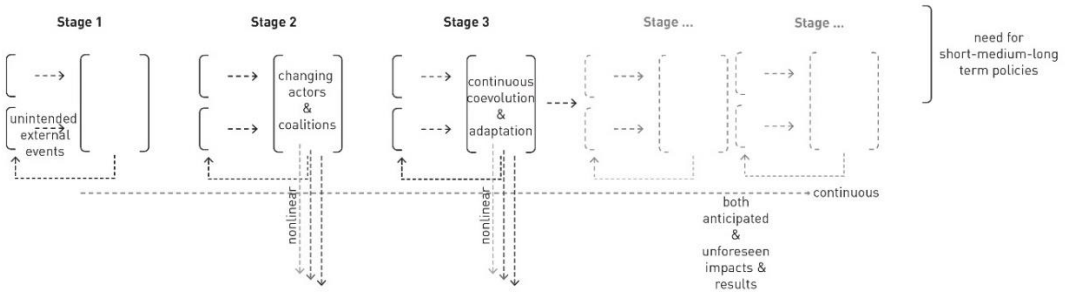


Figure 76. Planning and policy-making with complexity

With the urban transformation via the İzmir Model, the Municipality indirectly discovered this during the planning process of the urban transformation project and had to develop innovative solutions and produce new strategies at different phases of the project implementation. The Municipality develops a new method in every blockage and in line with the coalition's demands. From time to time, it continues to advance the process by using the ground it offers, even when this is impossible with the legislation framework it has advanced. In addition, the process may change direction with key actors, such as the continuity of the negotiation process triggered by the pioneering effect of a neighborhood leader. Hence, the process may halt or proceed with the effect of one key actor.

Moreover, the Municipality takes part in the process as an actor at all stages. While playing a role as a guarantor in each valuation, negotiation, and tender phase, it continues to act as an intermediary between developers and residents. It even plays a role in apartment management to facilitate people's adaptation even after the resettlement. Various coalitions emerge in the process, but individual effects can be observed in certain circumstances instead of collaborations. The process proceeds nonlinearly with external effects and internal impacts, apart from the Municipality's anticipations.

The process started with a target of completion in three years but has not been completed at the end of the ten years. Most problems encountered during implementation were not anticipated, and the path was not directly linked to the initial

decisions. Attempts to overcome or control them beforehand were not possible. However, despite the prolonged period due to the congested tenders caused by the influence of external factors in the process, the Municipality continues to advance the process through the principles it has set at the beginning, without going beyond its 100% negotiation and on-site transformation target. Therefore, the process does not initially progress as quickly as planned and envisaged. It turned out that the local government could not foresee the external factors that occurred during the project processes. However, different adaptation examples were developed by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality within this dynamic and non-linear transformation and planning process, which is also expressed by the complexity theory, pointing to constantly transforming and shaping process management. Project implementation was affected by both internal and external events. Because of the non-linear dynamics of the processes, the planned implementation path had to be adjusted and changed, and planning and policy decisions were revised at certain times (Figure 77).

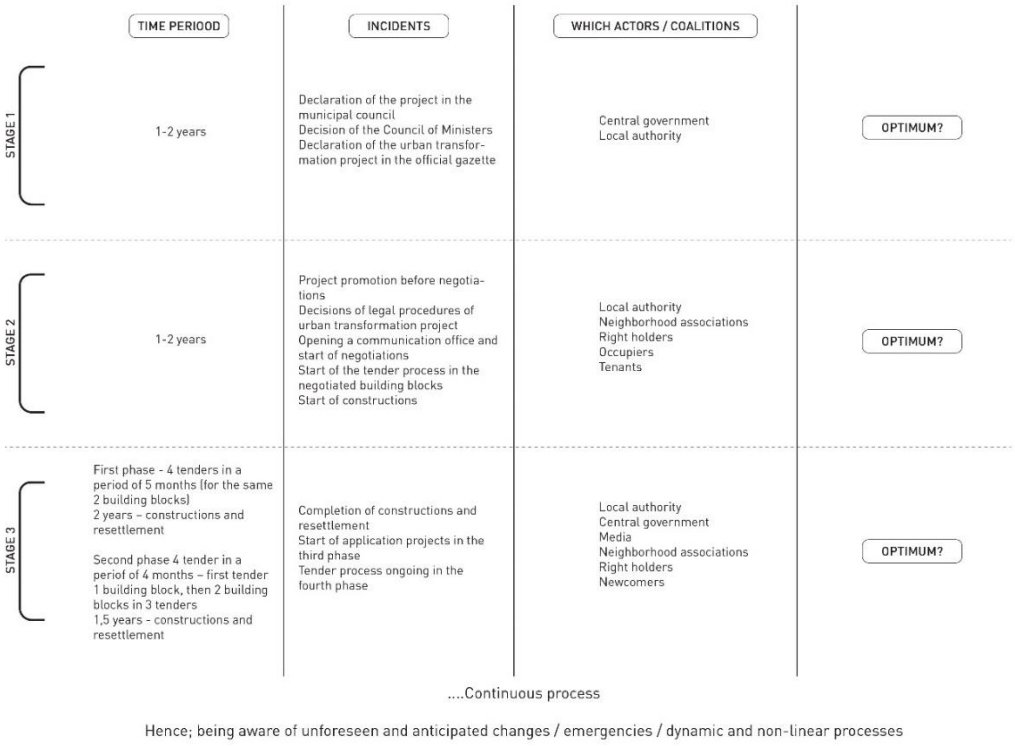


Figure 77. The urban transformation project planning process

In this direction, it is essential to produce policies by considering this dynamic, non-linear, complex structure and external factors in planning processes. In order to understand the complex structure of the city, the new planning approach focuses on the process rather than the result, evaluates this focus for different time periods, and develops an adaptation capacity for possible results. The dynamic and non-linear nature of the system, as well as the effect of coalitions formed by the key actor in the process, have the capacity to change the process.

While this planning process of an urban transformation project is observed in İzmir Uzundere, the planning and project process will be changing with different dynamics in different transformation areas. In fact, different subsystems in different policy and planning processes also can affect others. Processes seem to unfold in unique ways, depending on time and place. It is also essential to recognize that it is inevitable that planning cultures will differ significantly depending on the place, according to Sanyal's (2005) understanding of planning. Developing policies and strategies for the planning of urban transformation projects can be possible by developing foresight against the dynamic and non-linear processes that will arise during the planning and implementation process (Figure 78).

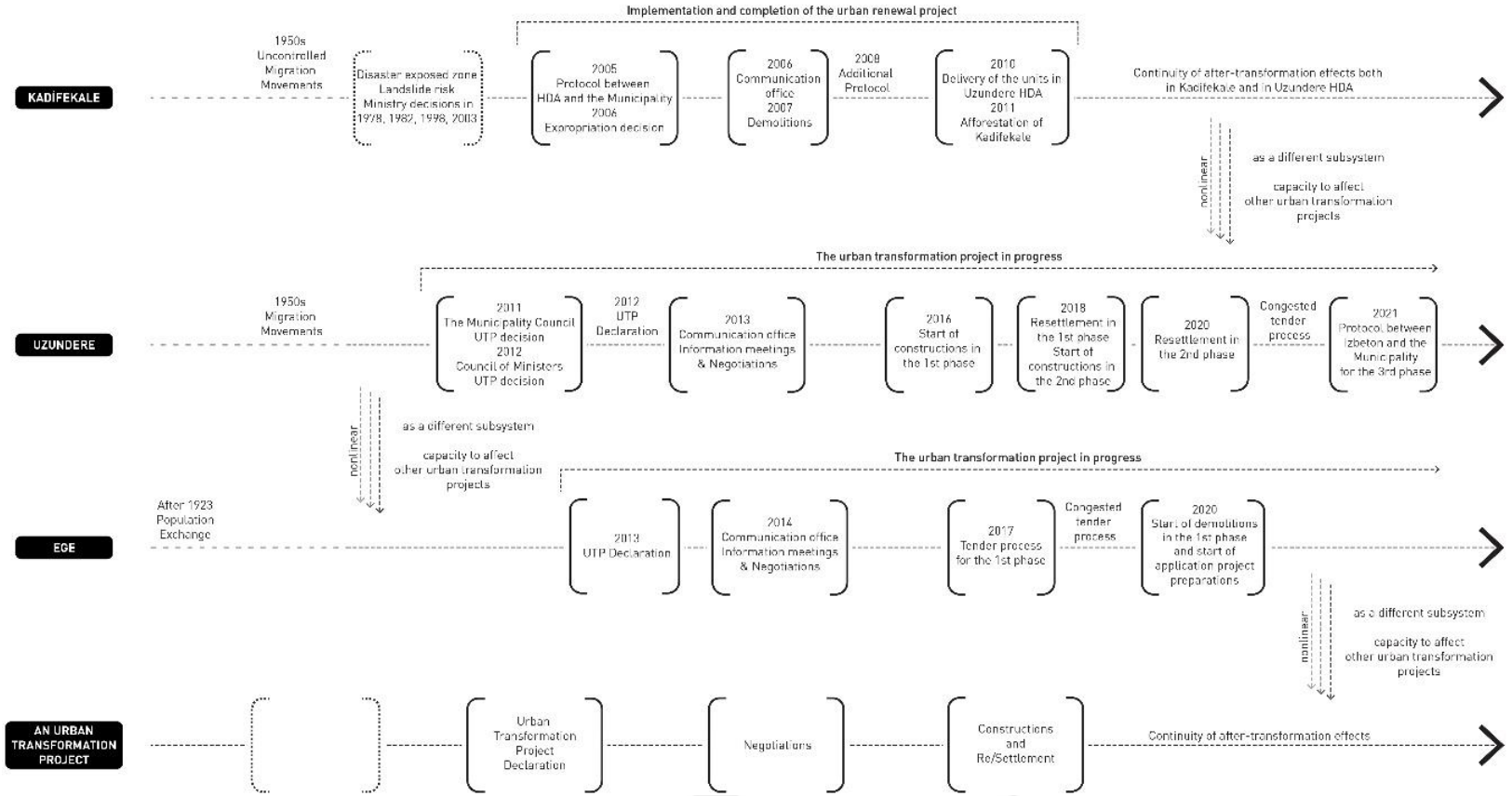


Figure 78. Stages and incidents of different urban transformation projects

In this context, policymakers and planners should seek answers to particular questions in urban transformation projects' planning and policy-making process.

- What skills and abilities do planners need in co-evolutionary processes and while working with complexities in planning urban transformation projects?
- What role does the approach considering complexity theory play for the authority and policy maker?
- How can a participatory urban transformation project be planned with the collaborations emerging in the process?
- Which instruments defined by the legislation does the authority have available?
- What methods should be activated in the urban transformation process?
- How should a collaborative process with diverse coalitions be managed?
- How do different actors try to influence the negotiations? Which actors?
- What is the optimum time for the completion of an urban transformation project?
- What is the optimum number of phases for implementing the urban transformation project in the project area, and what is the optimum number of building blocks in each phase?
- What is the optimum negotiation time period?
- What is the optimum number of actors?
- Which actors will be and should be involved in the process?
- What expectations do local actors (specifically residents) involved in the process have about the transformation?
- Which methods can be developed for the occupiers and tenants as well as the right holders living in the urban transformation project area?

In conclusion, cities are constantly evolving and adjusting as new circumstances arise. Development in a fuzzy and dynamic world involves both anticipated and unforeseen changes. Hence, a planning theory and practice considering non-linearity, resilience, adaptability, and complexity is needed; accordingly, complexity-sensitive approaches and decision-making tools are necessary for the planning of urban transformation projects. The use of complexity thinking may facilitate the development of advanced understandings and effective strategies for urban planning. The use of complexity

enables planners to act in co-evolution with this ever-changing world. It is essential for decision-makers, policymakers, and planners to strengthen communication processes, identify innovative and experimental planning strategies, as well as analyze non-linear urban transformations and emerging socio-spatial configurations.

As a result, it can be discussed that the planning and policy-making process should be managed by considering the collective vision of the actors, defining shared problems and goals, and strengthening the communicative process. With the collaboration and conflict of different actors in the process, continuous non-linearities emerge, which makes the planning process fuzzy. Authorities and policymakers need to consider the dynamic, non-linear nature of the city as well as external and internal influences and key actors and the coalitions. Hence, there is a need for continuous repositioning and adaptation with the effect of different impacts and coalitions; in other words, strategic navigation. For the authority to produce policies and strategies, being aware of complexities in planning and managing the process with strategic navigation in this direction is significant. In this sense, the advocacy coalition framework can offer an approach to policymakers and administrations by taking into account the effects of internal and external effects and actors and bridging the planning theories with complexity theories.

6.3 Research Limitations and Future Studies

In conducting the research, a number of limitations were encountered. First of all, due to financial and time constraints, field visits could only be conducted within the scope of the research project, “Interpretation of Settlement Pattern Changes in Turkey: The Case of İzmir.” In the pre-pandemic period, field visits were conducted in July 2018, September 2018, July 2019, and September 2019. However, after September 2019, due to the covid-19 pandemic, no field visits could be held until September 2021. In addition, during the pandemic, access to data was challenging, and communication with the officers was also interrupted. In September 2020, surveys were conducted by a survey company with a service procurement; however, because of the pandemic

precautions, it was not possible to be involved during the implementation of the surveys.

Moreover, the Uzundere urban transformation project offers a section at the point of understanding the research problem. Hence, as the study allows observation of certain snapshots at different points, there is a risk of missing other emergences. Although the research was conducted with a three-level process analysis, each level containing different inputs, this still was not entirely eliminated. As the process is non-linear and continuously dynamic, new collaborations and conflicts may appear at different times and places, as well as unanticipated external shocks. Therefore, it is not possible to completely eliminate these risks even through a longitudinal study. Uzundere urban transformation project offered a section at the point of understanding the research problem. Planning urban transformation projects in the context of complexity needs to be handled with different empirical studies in different areas.

Although complexities in planning are intensely discussed, discussions lack a definite framework. The dissertation makes an invaluable contribution to helping the advocacy coalition framework gain a more concrete ground by taking advantage of the framework offered. In order to observe the long-term impacts of the transformation and discuss the after-effects of the urban transformation project, further studies can be carried out.

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APPENDIX A

Role of the Actor	Actors Interviewed	Interview Date	Interview Place	Role of the Actor	Occupation
Authority	Interviewee 1	2.07.2018 11.09.2018 11.09.2018 25.07.2019 26.07.2019 05.09.2019 06.09.2019 13.09.2019	Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Urban Transformation Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Urban Transformation Uzundere Urban Transformation Communication Office Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Urban Transformation Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Urban Transformation Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Urban Transformation Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Urban Transformation Izmir Kültürpark, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Development and Planning	Local government Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Urban Transformation, 2nd Directorate of Project Implementation	Topographical engineer
	Interviewee 2	11.09.2018 25.07.2019	Uzundere Urban Transformation Communication Office	Local government Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Uzunkere Communication Office Representative	Construction technician
	Interviewee 3	11.09.2018	Uzundere Urban Transformation Communication Office	Local government Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Uzunkere Communication Office Representative	Construction technician
	Interviewee 4	12.09.2018	Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Development and Planning	Local government Izmir Metropolitan Municipality	City Planner
	Interviewee 5	12.09.2018	Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Development and Planning	Local government Izmir Metropolitan Municipality	City Planner
	Interviewee 6	15.09.2018	Karaçağlar Municipality, Department of Development and Planning	Local government Karabağlar Municipality	City Planner
	Interviewee 7	15.09.2018	Karaçağlar Municipality, Department of Development and Planning	Local government Karabağlar Municipality	City Planner
Authority & Local	Interviewee 8	28.07.2019 17.09.2021	Uzundere, Muhtar Office	Local government - Muhtar Dweller - Right holder	Uzundere Muhtar, Retired from Tekel (Turkish company of tobacco and alcoholic beverages)
	Interviewee 9	11.09.2018	Uzundere Urban Transformation Communication Office	Dweller - Right holder	Retired police officer
	Interviewee 10	11.09.2018	Uzundere Urban Transformation Communication Office	Dweller - Right holder	Retired plumber, working as a house painter
	Interviewee 11	25.07.2019	Uzundere Urban Transformation Communication Office	Dweller - Right holder	Retired (coffee house owner)
	Interviewee 12	25.07.2019	Uzundere Urban Transformation Communication Office	Dweller - Right holder	Apartment manager, Former head of Sivas Yiğidoler Karabatlar Eğitim ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Association
	Interviewee 13	25.07.2019	Uzundere Urban Transformation Communication Office	Dweller - Right holder	Homemaker
	Interviewee 14	25.07.2019	Uzundere Urban Transformation Communication Office	Dweller - Right holder	Homemaker
	Interviewee 15	25.07.2019	Uzundere Urban Transformation Communication Office	Dweller - Right holder	Homemaker
	Interviewee 16	14.09.2021	Uzundere	Dweller - Right holder	Homemaker
	Interviewee 17	14.09.2021	Uzundere	Dweller - Right holder	Homemaker
	Interviewee 18	14.09.2021	Uzundere	Dweller - Right holder	Homemaker
	Interviewee 19	14.09.2021	Uzundere	Dweller - Right holder	Homemaker

Local	Interviewee 19	14.09.2021	Uzundere	Dweller - Right holder	Homemaker
	Interviewee 20	14.09.2021	Uzundere, Sivas Yiğidolar Yıldızeliler ve Çakmaklılar Derneği	Dweller - Right holder Sivas Yiğidolar Association member	Worker
	Interviewee 21	14.09.2021	Uzundere, Sivas Yiğidolar Yıldızeliler ve Çakmaklılar Derneği	Dweller - Right holder Sivas Yiğidolar Association member	Worker
	Interviewee 22	14.09.2021	Uzundere, Sivas Yiğidolar Yıldızeliler ve Çakmaklılar Derneği	Dweller - Right holder Sivas Yiğidolar Association member	Retired (Living abroad)
	Interviewee 23	15.09.2021	Uzundere, cafe	Dweller - Right holder	Retired
	Interviewee 24	15.09.2021	Uzundere	Dweller - Right holder	Homemaker
	Interviewee 25	15.09.2021	Uzundere	Dweller - Right holder	Homemaker
	Interviewee 26	15.09.2021	Uzundere, cafe	Dweller - Right holder & tradesman	Tradesman, bakery
	Interviewee 27	14.09.2021	Uzundere, Sivas Yiğidolar Yıldızeliler ve Çakmaklılar Derneği	Occupier	Worker
	Interviewee 28	28.07.2019	Uzundere, Sivas Yiğidolar Karabağlar Eğitim ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Derneği	Dweller - Right holder Former Sivas Yiğidolar Association member	Construction worker
	Interviewee 29	15.09.2021	Uzundere, market owner	Newcomer	Tradesman, market
	Interviewee 30	1.12.2021	Phone call	Newcomer	Doctor
	Interviewee 31	4.09.2019	Phone call - Karabağlar Kentsel Dönüşüm Hak Arayanlar Derneği	Head of Hak Arayanlar Association	Head of Hak Arayanlar Association
	Interviewee 32	7.09.2019	Uzundere, Folkart Building Management Office	Building management	Building management officer in the 1st Phase
	Interviewee 33	14.09.2021	Izmir Chambers of Architect	Chambers of Architect employee	Architect
Developer	Interviewee 34	7.09.2019	Uzundere, Tea house	Real estate agent	Real Estate Agent
	Interviewee 35	14.09.2021	Uzundere, Real Estate Office	Real estate agent	Real Estate Agent
	Interviewee 36	14.09.2021	Uzundere, Real Estate Office	Real estate agent	Real Estate Agent
	Interviewee 37	7.09.2019	Uzundere, Folkart Office	Sales specialist	Folkart Sales Office Sales Specialist
	Interviewee 38	14.09.2021	Uzundere, Folkart Office	Sales specialist	Folkart Sales Office Sales Specialist
	Interviewee 39	14.09.2021	Uzundere, Folkart Office	Sales specialist	Folkart Sales Office Sales Specialist

APPENDIX B

RESIDENTS	GENDER	AGE	Role of the Actor	Occupation
Interviewee 10	M	55-64	Local government - Mukhtar Right holder	Uzundere Mukhtar, Retired from Tekel (Turkish company of tobacco and alcoholic beverages)
Interviewee 11	M	55-64	Right holder	Retired police officer
Interviewee 12	M	65+	Right holder	Retired
Interviewee 13	M	55-64	Right holder	Retired (coffee house)
Interviewee 14	M	55-64	Right holder	Apartment manager, Former head of Sivas Yiğidolar Karabağlar Eğitim ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Association
Interviewee 15	F	55-64	Right holder	Homemaker
Interviewee 16	F	55-64	Right holder	Homemaker
Interviewee 17	F	55-64	Right holder	Homemaker
Interviewee 18	F	35-44	Right holder	Homemaker
Interviewee 19	F	55-64	Right holder	Homemaker
Interviewee 20	F	55-64	Right holder	Homemaker
Interviewee 21	F	45-54	Right holder	Homemaker
Interviewee 22	M	35-44	Right holder	Worker
Interviewee 23	M	35-44	Right holder	Worker
Interviewee 24	M	55-64	Right holder	Retired (living abroad)
Interviewee 25	M	65+	Right holder	Retired
Interviewee 26	F	55-64	Right holder	Homemaker
Interviewee 27	F	55-64	Right holder	Homemaker
Interviewee 28	F	18-24	Right holder & tradesman	Tradesman, running a bakery
Interviewee 29	M	25-34	Occupier	Worker
Interviewee 30	M	65+	Right holder	Construction worker, Member of Sivas Yiğidolar Karabağlar Eğitim ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Association
Interviewee 31	M	45-54	Newcomer	Tradesman, running a market
Interviewee 32	M	45-54	Newcomer	Doctor

APPENDIX C

integral

ANKET NO

UZUNDERE TOKİ KONUTLARI MEMNUNİYETİ ARAŞTIRMASI FOLKART

İyi günler. İsmim .....İntegral Kamuoyu Araştırma Şirketi olarak yaşadığınız konutlardan memnuniyetinize ilişkin bir araştırma yapıyoruz.. Bize 15 dakikanızı ayırır mısınız? Şimdiden teşekkürler.
Araştırma Ankara Üniversitesi, Gazi Üniversitesi ve ODTÜ'nün ortak projesidir.

Blok No:

Daire No:

S.1. Kentsel dönüşüm projesinde hak sahipliği durumu

1	Hak Sahibi	2	Hak Sahibi Yakını ----------

S.2. Cinsiyeti işaretleyin

KADIN	1	ERKEK	2

S.3. Kaç yılında doğdunuz? (DOĞUM YILINI YAZIN).....

18–24	**(2002-1996)**	1	25–34	**1995-1986)**	2	35–44	**(1985-1976)**	3
45–54	**(1975-1966)**	4	55-64	**(1965-1956)**	5	65 ve üstü	**(1955 VE ÖNCESİ)**	6

S.4. Eğitim durumunuz nedir? En son mezun olduğunuz okul?

OKUR-YAZAR	1	LİSE	3	LİSANS	5
İLKÖĞRETİM	2	ÖN LİSANS	4	LİSANSÜSTÜ	6

S.5. İşiniz- Mesleğiniz?

S.6. Gelir kaynaklarınız nelerdir?

S.7. Hane halkı toplam geliriniz ne kadar?

2500 TL'den az	1	2501-5000	2	5001-10000	3	10001-15000	4	15000 TL'den fazla	5

S.8. Aileniz Uzundere'ye hangi yılda gelmişti?

S.9. FOLKART konutlarına ne zaman yerleştiniz?

S.10. Uzundere FOLKART konutları tamamlana kadar nerede ikamet ettiniz?

Uzundere TOKİ konutlarında oturdum	1
Belediyeden aldığım kira yardımıyla başka bir yerde konut kiraladım	2
Kiraya çıkmadım, başka bir konutta oturdum. Nerede.....	3

S.11. Geçici olarak Uzundere TOKİ konutlarına hangi yılda yerleştiniz? Ne kadar kaldınız? (S.10'da 1 diyene sor)

S.12. TOKİ konutlarından memnun kaldınız mı? (Uzundere TOKİ konutlarında ikamet edildiyse sor)

TOKİ konutlarından memnun kaldım	Neden.....
TOKİ konutlarından memnun kalmadım	Neden.....
Kararsızım	

S.13. Kentsel dönüşüm hakkında bilgi düzeyiniz nedir?

Oldukça bilgiliyim	1
Bilgiliyim	2
Az bilgiliyim	3
Hiç bilgim yok	4
Kararsızım	5

1

S.14. Kentsel dönüşüm süreci ilk başladığında proje sizin için ne ifade ediyordu? (ÇOK CEVAP)

1	Sağlıklı ve kaliteli bir çevre	6	Değer kaybı
2	Güvenlik	7	Değer artışı
3	Yeşil alan	8	Yerinden edilme
4	Depreme dayanıklı konutlar	9	Mağduriyet
5	Güçlenmiş komşuluk ilişkileri	10	Borçlanma
Diğer....			

S.15. Şuan (Uzundere FOLKART konutlarına yerleştikten sonra) kentsel dönüşüm sizin için ne ifade ediyor? (ÇOK CEVAP)

1	Sağlıklı ve kaliteli bir çevre	6	Değer kaybı
2	Güvenlik	7	Değer artışı
3	Yeşil alan	8	Yerinden edilme
4	Depreme dayanıklı konutlar	9	Mağduriyet
5	Güçlenmiş komşuluk ilişkileri	10	Borçlanma
Diğer....			

S.16. İzmir'de sürdürülen farklı kentsel dönüşüm projeleri hakkında görüşleriniz nelerdir?

S.17. Hak sahibinin kendisine yönelik sorular(görüşülen kişi yakını ise hak sahibi adına yanıtlamalıdır)

	FOLKART Konutlarına Taşınmadan Önceki Durum (gecekondu alanında yaşanılan dönem)	**Uzundere FOLKART Konutlarındaki Durum**
Hanede yaşayan birey sayısı		
Aile reisinin çalışma durumu(Çalışıyor/Çalışmıyor)		
Hanede çalışan kişi sayısı		
Hanenin geçim kaynağı		
Arsa büyüklüğü (gecekondu arsası) m^2		
Arsa üzerindeki diğer yapılar, ağaçlar vb. sayısı		
Arsanın bulunduğu alan için verilmiş olan imar hakkı(Emsal –E)		
Konut büyüklüğü (m^2)		Şu an oturduğu konut:..... m^2 Hisse sahibi oldunuz diğer konutlar: 1-..... m^2 2-..... m^2 3-..... m^2 4-..... m^2 5-..... m^2
Konut tipolojisi (Müstakil-Apartman dairesi)		
Konut tipolojisi (oda sayısı) 1+1,2+1, 3+1		Şu an oturduğu konut:..... ..... Hisse sahibi oldunuz diğer konutlar: 1-..... 2-..... 3-..... 4-..... 5-.....

integral

S.18. Hak sahibi olarak:

Arsa+gecekondu+ağaç vb. için tespit edilen değeri ne kadar?	..... TL	
FOLKART konutlarından size verilen konutun tespit edilen değeri?	..... TL	
Toplam borçlanma miktarınız?	..... TL	
Kalan borcunuz?	..... TL	.....Yıl/ay
Borçlanmadım	99	

S.19. Kentsel dönüşüm projesinden ilk nasıl haberdar oldunuz? **(TEK CEVAP)**

Büyükşehir Belediyesi toplantıları ile haberdar oldum	1
Uzundere Kentsel dönüşüm tanıtım ve iletişim bürosu çalışanlarından duydum	2
Komşu-tanıdıklardan duydum	3
Muhtardan duydum	4
Mahalle önder(ler)inden duydum	5
DİĞER.....	

S.20. Projeyi ilk duyduğunuzda nasıl karşıladınız?

Olumlu	1	Olumsuz	2	Kararsız kaldım	3

S.21. Anlaşma kararınızda neler etkili oldu? (ÇOK CEVAP)

Fiziksel anlamda daha kaliteli yaşam çevresi sunacak olması	1
Sosyal ilişkiler anlamında daha kaliteli yaşam çevesi sunacak olması	2
Daha güvenilir bir yaşam alanı sunacak olması	3
Konutumun değer kazanacak olması	4
Diğer.....	

S.22. Sözleşmeyi imzalamaya kiminle gittiniz?

S.23. Sözleşmeyi imzalarken neler düşündünüz?

S.24. Süreç içerisinde projeye karşı bakış açınız olumlu mu -olumsuz mu değişti?

Olumlu yönde değişti	1	Olumsuz yönde değişti	2	Değişmedi	3	Kararsızım	4

S.25. Değişti ise (olumlu- olumsuz) etkenler nelerdir?

S.26. Kura çekiminden sonra neler düşündünüz?

S.27. Proje beklentilerinizi karşıladı mı?

Oldukça karşıladı	1
Karşıladı	2
Kararsızım	3
Karşılamadı	4
Hiç karşılamadı	5

S.28. Proje süreci tamamlandıktan sonra konutunuza taşınınca neler düşündünüz?

S.29. Uzundere kentsel dönüşüm alanında FOLKART konutlar hakkında genel görüşleriniz nedir?

Olumlu	1	Olumsuz	2	Fikrim yok	3

S.30. Büyükşehir Belediyesinin yürüttüğü kentsel dönüşüm projesinde uzlaşma sürecinde kararınıza etki eden kişi/kurumları önem sırasına göre değerlendirir misiniz? (1'den 7'e kadar en önemli 1 olmak üzere)

30.1	Mahalle önderi(mahalleye önderlik eden herkesçe bilinen kişi/ler)	
30.2	Komşularım/yakınlarım	
30.3	Mahalle muhtarı	
30.4	KD derneği	
30.5	İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi	
30.6	FOLKART yetkilileri & satış ofisi	
30.7	FOLKART'ın İzmir'de daha önce yaptığı projeler	

S.31. Proje kapsamında uzlaşma kararınızı etkileyen unsurları önem sırasına göre değerlendiriniz. (1'den 8'e kadar en önemli 1 olmak üzere)

31.1	Hak karşılığı verilen konut sayısı	
31.2	Hak karşılığı verilen konutun büyüklüğü	
31.3	Mahallenin daha kaliteli ve güvenli bir ortama kavuşacak olması	
31.4	Projede tasarlanan park ve yeşil alan düzenlemesi	
31.5	Projede sunulan sosyal alanlar	
31.6	Uzlaşma sürecinde isteklerimizin dikkate alınması	
31.7	Mevcut istihdam koşullarımın değişmeyecek olması	
31.8	Eski komşularımın ve tanıdıklarımın aynı mahallede yaşayacak olması	

S.32. Proje sürecinin yönetimine ilişkin düşünceleriniz nelerdir?

		Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum
32.1	Belediye başkanı veya üst yöneticilerin sürece katkısı ve katılımı yeterliydi.	1	2	3
32.2	Belediyenin düzenlediği bilgilendirme toplantıları yeterliydi.	1	2	3
32.3	Mahalle muhtarının süreçteki katkısı yeterliydi.	1	2	3
32.4	Mahalledeki kanaat önderinin süreçteki katkısı yeterliydi.	1	2	3
32.5	Uzundere Kentsel Dönüşüm Tanıtım ve İletişim Ofisi çalışanlarının ilgisi yeterliydi.	1	2	3
32.6	Mahallede daha önce de var olan derneklerin dönüşüme katkısı yeterliydi.	1	2	3
32.7	Kentsel dönüşüm kapsamında yeni oluşturulan derneklerin katkısı yeterliydi.	1	2	3
32.8	Mahalleliler süreçte ortak hareket edebildi.	1	2	3
32.9	Proje sürecine aktif halk katılımı sağlandı *(mahallelinin projeye yönelik görüşleri dinlendi, uygulandı)*	1	2	3
32.10	Belediye süreci genel olarak iyi yönetti.	1	2	3
32.11	Proje aşamaları çok muhataplıydı.	1	2	3
32.12	Süreç şeffaftı, etkindi, hesap verilebilirdi.	1	2	3

S.33. Proje tamamlandıktan ve konutunuza taşındıktan sonra Belediye sürece dair geri bildirimlerinizi topladı mı?

1	Evet	Ne şekilde.....
2	Hayır	

S.34. Projenin mekânsal etkileri nelerdir?

		Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum
34.1	Mülkiyet problemim çözüldü.	1	2	3
34.2	Konutum depreme dayanıklı oldu.	1	2	3
34.3	Kent merkezinin imkanlarına olan erişimim arttı.	1	2	3
34.4	Konut konforum arttı (*ısınma, mutfak, banyo vb.*).	1	2	3
34.5	Eski konutuma kıyasla açık alan kullanımım arttı (*balkon, teras, bahçe vb.*).	1	2	3
34.6	Apartman dairesinde yaşam mevcut evime göre kolaylaştı.	1	2	3
34.7	FOLKART kaliteli konut üretti.	1	2	3
34.8	FOLKART kaliteli çevre üretti.	1	2	3
34.9	Mahallede yeşil alanlar, çocuk oyun alanları gelişti.	1	2	3
34.10	Mahallede ticari alanlar gelişti.	1	2	3
34.11	Mahallede eğitim ve sağlık alanları gelişti.	1	2	3
34.12	Mahallede toplu taşıma gelişti.	1	2	3
34.13	Mekânsal anlamda olumsuz bir etki olduğunu düşünüyorum	1	2	3

S.35. Projenin sosyal etkileri nelerdir?

		Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum
35.1	Mahalle daha güvenli hale geldi (*kentsel suç azaldı*).	1	2	3
35.2	Apartman dairesinde oturmak daha güvenli.	1	2	3
35.3	Kendimizi mahalleye ait hissetmiyoruz.	1	2	3
35.4	Kendimizi apartmana ait hissetmiyoruz.	1	2	3
35.5	Komşuluk ilişkileri apartman yaşamı dolayısıyla olumsuz etkilendi.	1	2	3
35.6	Komşuluk ilişkileri yabancılar gelince olumsuz etkilendi.	1	2	3
35.7	Mahalledeki kiracılar mağdur edildi.	1	2	3
35.8	Daha önceki konutumda sahip olduğum esnek özgürlük alanını (*çöpü dışarı çıkartma, çamaşır asma, ayakkabıyı kapıda bırakma vb.*) kaybettim.	1	2	3
35.9	Mahallenin imajı iyileşti.	1	2	3
35.10	Dönüşüm öncesi mahallede yer alan sosyalleşme alanları (*kıraathane, lokaller vb.*) ortadan kalktı.	1	2	3
35.11	Dönüşüm öncesi mahallede yer alan gençlerin toplanma alanları ortadan kalktı.	1	2	3

S.36. Kentsel dönüşüm projesinin ekonomik etkileri nelerdir?

		Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum
36.1	Yeni üretilen konutum eski konutuma göre ekonomik olarak daha değerli.	1	2	3
36.2	Borçlanma sisteminden memnunum.	1	2	3
36.3	Borçlanma sürecinde haksızlığa uğradım.	1	2	3
36.4	Daha önceden sahip olduğum işi sürdüremiyorum.	1	2	3
36.5	Bireysel konut giderlerini karşılayamıyorum (*ısınma, su, elektrik vb.*).	1	2	3
36.6	Apartmanın ortak gider aidatlarını karşılayamıyorum.	1	2	3

5

APPENDIX D

SURVEY RESPONDENTS	OWNERSHIP STATUS	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATION	INCOME
Respondent 1	Right owner's wife	Female	65+	High school	5001-10000 TL
Respondent 2	Right owner	Female	35-44	High school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 3	Right owner's wife	Female	45-54	Primary school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 4	Right owner's daughter in law	Female	25-34	High school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 5	Right owner	Male	45-54	Primary school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 6	Right owner	Male	45-54	Primary school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 7	Right owner's son	Male	35-44	Primary school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 8	Right owner	Female	55-64	Primary school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 9	Right owner's wife	Female	25-34	Primary school	0-2500 TL
Respondent 10	Right owner's daughter	Female	25-34	High school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 11	Right owner	Female	45-54	Primary school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 12	Right owner's wife	Female	55-64	Primary school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 13	Right owner's niece	Female	25-34	High school	5001-10000 TL
Respondent 14	Right owner	Female	55-64	Bachelor's degree	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 15	Right owner's wife	Female	25-34	Primary school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 16	Right owner's wife	Female	45-54	Primary school	0-2500 TL
Respondent 17	Right owner's daughter in law	Female	18-24	Primary school	0-2500 TL
Respondent 18	Right owner's wife	Female	55-64	Primary school	0-2500 TL
Respondent 19	Right owner's wife	Female	35-44	Primary school	0-2500 TL
Respondent 20	Right owner	Male	65+	High school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 21	Right owner's wife	Female	55-64	Primary school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 22	Right owner	Male	55-64	Primary school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 23	Right owner	Female	55-64	Literate	5001-10000 TL
Respondent 24	Right owner's son	Male	45-54	High school	2501-5000 TL
Respondent 25	Right owner's son	Male	25-34	Bachelor's degree	10001-15000 TL

APPENDIX E

İZMİR UZUNDERE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM VE GELİŞİM PROJESİ

HAK SAHİBİ UZLAŞMA SÖZLEŞMESİ

İzmir İli Karabağlar İlçesi Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Proje alanında, 5393 sayılı Belediye Kanunun 73. Maddesi ve ilgili diğer yasal düzenleme hükümleri doğrultusunda, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisi'nin **14.06.2013 tarih 05.860** Sayılı Kararı ile onaylanan uygulama esasları kapsamında, iş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesinde belirtilen hükümler çerçevesinde Belediye ve hak sahibi/hak sahipleri arasında mutabakat sağlanmıştır.

1. GENEL SÖZLEŞME ESASLARI

1.1. Proje alanı içerisinde bulunan hak sahipleri, sahip oldukları taşınmazlara (arsa, bina, işyeri, müştemilat, vb.) karşılık, mevcut kullanımları dikkate alınarak ve uyguma esasları ve iş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesi ile belirlenen kriterler çerçevesinde, konut ve/veya işyeri alma talebinde bulunabilecektir.

Proje alanında üretilecek konutlar yaklaşık **66 m²** ile **141 m²** arasında değişen büyüklüklerde ve üretilecek işyerleri ise bölgede faaliyet gösteren işyeri hak sahiplerinin talebine istinaden belediyenin uygun gördüğü büyüklüklerde Belediye tarafından projelendirilerek inşa ettirilecektir.

İş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesindeki kriterlere göre hak sahibinin taşınmazları karşılığı belirlenen inşaat hakkı, uygulama esaslarının 3. Maddesinde belirtildiği gibi brüt alan üzerinden hesaplanmıştır.

1.2. Hak ettiği inşaat alanı konutlarda **30 m²'**den **(30 m² dâhil)**, işyerlerinde **15 m²'**den **(15 m² dâhil)** fazla olan hak sahipleri ile uzlaşma sözleşmesi yapılır.

1.3. İnşaat alanları Madde 1.2'de belirtilen sınırların altında kalan hak sahipleri, aralarında anlaşarak haklarını birleştirirler ise uzlaşma sözleşmesi yapılabilir. Eksik kalan kısmı borçlanma şartı ile hissedar sayısına ve hak sahiplerinin mevcutta bulundukları konuma bakılmaksızın Belediye'ce uygun bulunan bölgede 1 adet konut/işyeri sözleşmesi yapılabilir.

1.4. Hak sahibi olan kişiler, fazla olan inşaat alanlarını 3. Şahıslar adına herhangi bir şekilde devir veya ferağda bulunamaz.

1.5. 2981 Sayılı Kanunun uygulaması neticesinde oluşan hissedarlık durumları hariç, Uygulama Esaslarının Belediye Meclisi'nce onaylandığı tarih olan **14.06.2013**'dan sonra, gerek veraseten gerek satış vesair surette oluşan hissedarlık halinde, "hak edilen konut/işyeri inşaat alanı" tüm hissedarların haklarının toplamları üzerinden hesaplanır. Toplamda birden fazla konut ya da işyeri hak edilmesi halinde, toplamda hak edilen konut/işyeri sayısını aşmamak koşulu ile, hissedarlar 1.2. ve 1.3. maddelerindeki koşullar dâhilinde müstakil konut/işyeri sözleşmesi imzalayabilirler. Aksi takdirde, uzlaşan tüm hissedarlar bir arada sözleşme imzalar.

1.6. İş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesi ile hak sahibi; BELEDİYE tarafından tasfiye edilecek yapı/arsa ve işgal ettiği alanı tahliye edeceğini ve arsasını takyidatsız / şerhsiz, Belediye'ye devir edeceğini gayri

kabili rücu olmak üzere kabul ve taahhüt eder. Tapu devri dolayısıyla oluşacak her türlü vergi, resim, harç Belediye'ce ödenecektir.

1.7. İş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesinin imzalanmasının ardından hak sahipleri kendilerine ait yapı ve eklentileri ile buna ilişkin tapu kaydındaki mülkiyet hakları ile ilgili tüm şerh/takyidat ve kısıtlılık halinden arındırarak Belediye'ye devir edecektir. Daha sonra kendisine tebliğ edildiği tarihte belirlenecek süre içerisinde ilgili tüm ilişiğini (elektrik, su, doğalgaz ve emlak vergi borçlarını vb.) kapatarak yapı ve müştemilatı boş olarak Belediye'ye teslim edecektir.

1.8. **Borçlanma Durumu ve Koşulları**

Uygulama esasları ve işbu uzlaşma sözleşmesi koşulları çerçevesinde,

a. Hak sahibinin talep ettiği konut birimlerinin toplam alanın, hak ettiği toplam konut alanından eksik kalması durumunda hak sahibi eksik her 1 m² konut için **900,-TL.** borçlanması, Hak sahibinin konut altı zemin katlarda talep ettiği işyeri birimlerinin toplam alanın, hak ettiği toplam işyeri alanından eksik kalması durumunda ve/veya Hak sahibinin "M2" koşullu imara sahip, ÖPA Alanında talep ettiği işyeri birimlerinin toplam alanın, hak ettiği toplam işyeri alanından eksik kalması durumunda hak sahibi eksik her 1 m² işyeri için **1.100,-TL.** borçlanması,

b. Hak sahibi, hesaplanan yekûn borçlanma bedelini kendi kaynaklarından veya Banka kredisi kullanma yolu ile BELEDİYE'ye öder. Bu bedel, konut ve işyeri tesliminden itibaren 30 gün içinde ödenir.

c. İş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesinde belirtilen toplam borçlanma bedeli "İzmir Uzundere Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi Uygulama Esasları"nın Belediye Meclisimizce onaylandığı 2013 yılı için hesaplanmış olup; konut/işyeri tesliminde, bu yıldan itibaren her yıl, yıllar itibariyle gerçekleşen yıllık memur maaş artış oranı, TÜFE veya ÜFE oranları arasından en düşük olanı nispetince güncellenir.

d. Kura sonrasında **Hak sahibi tarafından borçlandığı bedelin belediyeye ödenmemesi ve** Gayrimenkul Satış Sözleşmesi'nin **imzalanmaması halinde**; hak sahibinin borçlandığı konut/ işyeri biriminde hak sahibi tarafından sağlanan inşaat alanı, işbu sözleşmede belirtilen borçlanma birim bedelleri üzerinden BELEDİYE'ce hak sahibine ödenmek suretiyle satın alınmış olur.

1.9. **Kira Yardımı**

Tahliyeye ilişkin bildirimin tebliğinden itibaren, tapu devrini yapmış olan ve madde 1.7'de belirtilen koşulları sağlayan hak sahibine; sahip olduğu her bir konut/işyeri bağımsız birimi için, 1.7. madde koşullarının sağlandığı tarihten itibaren en fazla **36 ay boyunca**, aylık **300 TL bedel** ile kira yardımı yapılır.

Aylık kira bedeli, her yıl Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu tarafından yayımlanan Tüketici Fiyatları Endeksi yıllık değişim oranı dikkate alınarak Belediye Encümeni'nce güncellenir.

Konut veya işyerinin kira yardımı süresinden önce teslim edilmesi halinde, teslim tarihinden itibaren kira yardımı yapılmaz.

Taşınma masraflarının desteklenmesi amacı ile kira yardımının ilk 3 aylığı Belediye'ce hak sahiplerine peşin olarak ödenir.

1.10. Konut/İşyeri Kuraları ve Şerefiye Payları

a. Uzundere Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi kapsamında yapılacak olan konutlar ve işyerlerine ilişkin bağımsız bölümler, Noter huzurunda çekilecek kura sonucunda belirlenecektir. Kura sonucu denk gelecek bağımsız bölümlere ilişkin şerefiye farkları, Uygulama Esaslarında belirtilen kriterler çerçevesinde hesaplanır.

b. İş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesinde belirtilen Konut/İşyeri birimlerinin büyüklükleri mimari avan projeye göre hesaplanmıştır. Buna göre, bu büyüklüklerde uygulama projesi aşamasında ve sonrasında teknik zorunluluklardan kaynaklı değişiklik olması halinde, şerefiye farklarının belirlenmesi aşamasında dikkate alınarak borçlanma bedeline (+), (-) yönde yansıtılır.

1.11. Yeni konut/işyeri tapularının hak sahiplerine verilmesi sırasında oluşacak **KDV bedeli** hak sahibinden talep edilmeyecektir.

1.12. Vaziyet Planı ve Mimari Projeler

a. Hak sahiplerinin imkânlar doğrultusunda bulundukları bölgeye yakın konumda konut/işyeri almaları esastır. Buna göre vaziyet planında 6 bölge belirlenmiştir. Hak sahiplerine öncelik olarak bulundukları bölgede üretilen konut/işyerinden teklif edilir. Zorunlu hallerde, tüm bölgelerden konut/işyeri teklifi yapılabilir.

b. BELEDİYE, vaziyet planı ve mimari projelerde konut/işyeri büyüklüklerini korumak şartıyla, gerektiğinde değişiklik yapma hakkına sahiptir. Bu kapsamda yapılacak tüm değişiklikleri hak sahibi gayri kabili rücu kabul eder.

1.13. İş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesi hükümleri kapsamında, taraflar arasında herhangi bir ihtilaf meydana geldiği takdirde İzmir Mahkemeleri ve İcra Daireleri yetkilidir.

2. UZLAŞMA ESASLARI

2.1. Hak sahibinin toplam konut\işyeri inşaat alanı hakkı; arsası karşılığı oluşan inşaat alanı hakkı ile yapı, muhdesat ve ağaçları karşılığı oluşan inşaat alanı haklarının toplamıdır.

2.2. Yeni konut\işyeri inşaat alanı hakkı; öncelikle yapı, muhdesat ve ağaçlara denk gelen inşaat alanı hakkı olmak üzere hak sahibinin toplam yeni konut\işyeri inşaat alanı hakkından verilir. Bu suretle yeni konut\işyeri inşaat alanı hakkı verilemeyecek şekilde artan bir hak kalır ise bu hak, hak sahibinin arsası karşılığı hesap edilen konut\işyeri inşaat alanı hakkından kalmış kabul edilir. Hesaplama sonucunda hak sahibinin artan inşaat alanı hakkı kalır ise; hak sahibinin konutlarda **30 m²'**den, işyerlerinde **15 m²'**ye kadar olan inşaat alanı hakkı arsa değerine dönüştürülerek bu bedel Belediye'ce hak sahibine ödenir.

2.3. Uygulama Esaslarında belirtilen ticaret kullanımına ilişkin tanımlamalar ve koşullar dâhilinde ticaret kullanımı bulunmayan hak sahipleri yalnızca konut hakkı talebinde bulunabilirler, işyeri hakkı talebinde bulunamazlar. Aynı şekilde; yalnızca işyeri hakkı bulunanlar konut hakkı talebinde bulunamazlar. Hak sahibinin hem işyeri hem de konutu bulunuyor ve hak sahibinin hak

ettiği işyeri ve konut inşaat alanları talep ettiği işyeri ve konut birimlerin alanlarından eksik kalıyorsa; hak sahibi tek sözleşme içerisinde talep ettiği konut/işyeri birim(ler)ine sözleşme esasları çerçevesinde ayrı ayrı ödemelerde olacak şekilde borçlanabilir. Bununla birlikte, önce işyerinin hak sahibinin haklarından mahsup edilmesi, ardından kalan haklar ile konut sözleşmesi koşullarının sağlanması da mümkündür. Buna göre, talep edilen işyeri inşaat alanı ile hak edilen işyeri inşaat alanları arasındaki fark, hak edilen konut inşaat alanının işyeri inşaat alanına dönüştürülmesi ile tamamlanır. Hak edilen konut inşaat alanın işyeri inşaat alanına dönüşümü **0,818181** katsayısı ile sağlanır. Hak sahibi talep ettiği konutu kalan konut inşaat alanı ile konut uzlaşma esasları çerçevesinde alabilir.

2.4. <u>Arsanın, yapının ve muhdesadın yeni konut inşaat alanına dönüşümü</u>

Arsanın yeni konut inşaat alanına dönüşüm katsayıları 25.07.2013 tarih ve 96772592.302.03-01.566 sayılı İzmir Büyükşehir Belediye Encümeni Kararı ile onaylanmış olup, imarlı tapulu arsası olan, tapu tahsis belgesi olan veya bu hususta müracaatı bulunan, tapulu arsası üzerinde yapı ruhsatlı binası bulunan hak sahipleri için ayrı ayrı belirlenmiştir.

BÖLGE	ARSA DÖNÜŞÜM KATSAYISI	1 m² YENİ KONUT İÇİN GETİRİLMESİ GEREKEN ARSA m²'si

"M2" imar koşullu Özel Proje Alanı, Kat mülkiyetli ve kat irtifaklı yapılar hariç olmak üzere, yapı ve muhdesadın yeni inşaat alanına dönüşüm katsayısı 25.07.2013 tarih ve 96772592.302.03-01.566 sayılı İzmir Büyükşehir Belediye Encümeni Kararı ile onaylanmış olup, 0,001106'tır.

2.5. <u>Kat irtifakı veya kat mülkiyeti yapıların dönüşümü</u>

2.5.1.1. Kat irtifakı veya kat mülkiyetine geçmiş binalardaki hak sahipleri için yürürlükteki mevzuat hükümlerine göre kat irtifakı veya kat mülkiyetli konut ve işyerlerinin *bağımsız bölüm brüt alanı*m²'lerine karşılık yeni konut/işyeri inşaat alanı hakkı hesaplanır.

Bu hesaplamalar *Emlak Vergisine Matrah Olacak Vergi Değerlerinin Takdirine ilişkin Tüzük 'ün Bazı Maddelerinin Değiştirilmesine ve Bu Tüzük'e Bir Ek Madde Eklenmesine ilişkin Tüzükte* yer alan *"Aşınma Paylarına İlişkin Oranları Gösteren Cetvel"*e göre yapılır.

Ancak, dönüşüm katsayılarının iş bu sözleşmenin 2.4. Maddesine göre hesaplanan hak edilen inşaat alanının, bu cetvelde belirtilen katsayılar çerçevesinde hesaplanarak hak edilen inşaat alanından daha yüksek olması halinde 2.4. Maddesine göre işlem yapılır.

2.5.1.2. Ruhsatlı bina içerisinde ruhsat harici yapılan bağımsız birim/müştemilatlara ait yapı bedeli, iş bu sözleşmenin 2.4. Maddesi kapsamında belirlenecek yapı dönüşüm katsayısı çerçevesinde inşaat alanına dönüştürülerek bulunan miktar toplam konut/işyeri inşaat alanına ilave edilir. Ancak hak sahibi, ruhsat harici bu yapılar karşılığında hak ettiği inşaat alanı ile fazladan bir konut/işyeri daha talep edemez.

3. HAK SAHİBİ ANLAŞMA DETAYLARI

İşbu uzlaşma sözleşmesine göre hak sahibi 00.00.1900 doğumlu ..... oğlu/kızı ..... adına kayıtlı, İzmir İli Karabağlar İlçesi ..... Mahallesinde, iş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesinde belirtilen 3 no'lu bölgede bulunan toplam ..... m² alanlı ..... ada ..... nolu parselde ..... m² hissesine ve toplam ..... m² alanlı ..... ada .... nolu parselde .... m² hissesine isabet eden ..... m² konut inşaat alanı ile üzerindeki ..... kroki nolu yapının muhtesat bedeline (bedelin tamamına) isabet eden ..... m² konut inşaat alanı olmak üzere toplam ..... m² konut hakkı vardır.

Hak sahibi, hakları karşılığında (oda sayısı) konut tipinden .... (yazı ile) Adet yaklaşık brüt ..... m² konut (3. bölge) inşaat alanına karşılık gelen toplam yaklaşık brüt ..... m² konut aldıktan sonra, ... m² konut inşaat alanı eksiktir.

Eksik olan ..... m²'lik konut inşaat alanı karşılığında .....,00,-TL (yazı ile TÜRKLİRASI) BELEDİYE'ye borçlanır Bu bedel konut/işyeri tesliminden itibaren 30 gün içinde iş bu uzlaşma sözleşmesinin ve uygulama esaslarının ilgili maddeleri çerçevesinde BELEDİYE'ye ödenecektir.

EKLER
1) Kimlik fotokopisi
2) İkametgah örneği
3) Tapu senedi aslı ve fotokopisi
4) Emlak beyanı veya işyerleri için işyeri ruhsatı

Hak Sahibinin İkametgah Adresi :
Proje Alanındaki Yapının Adresi :
T.C. Kimlik Numarası :
Tel :

Tarihi: ...../...../.....
Haksahibi

Adı / Soyadı :
İmza :

Tarihi: ...../...../.....
İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi A.

Adı / Soyadı :
İmza :

Adı / Soyadı :
İmza :

APPENDIX F

UZUNDERE URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECT - TENDERS																		
	1st Phase			2nd Phase						3rd Phase							4th Phase	
Total Number of Tenders Held	4			4						3							1 (the process is ongoing)	
Building Blocks	11183 and 11185			11182	11182 and 11184	11187 and 11184				11187, 11198 and 1117			11187, 11198, 11199, 11200, 11201, 11202, and 1117				11189, 11190, 11193, 11194, and 11195	
Date of tender	18.05.2016	16.06.2016	28.07.2016	12.10.2017	9.11.2017	21.12.2017	25.01.2018	4.10.2018	9.05.2019	29.07.2021			25.01.2022				30.06.2022	
Companies Participated in Tenders	No contract sale	EGEFEN İNŞ. TAAH. TUR. SAN. TİC. LTD. ŞTİ. SALİHOĞLU İNŞAAT GIDA MARK. İŞL. SAN. TİC. LTD. ŞTİ. AGL GLOBAL LOJ. VE DİŞ TİC. LTD. ŞTİ.	SALİHOĞLU İNŞAAT GIDA MARK. İŞL. SAN. TİC. LTD. ŞTİ. FOLKART YAPI SAN. TİC. A.Ş.	FOLKART YAPI SAN. TİC. A.Ş.	PEKİNTAŞ YAPI SAN. VE TİC. LTD. ŞTİ. İZKA İNŞAAT TAAH. MÜH. LTD. ŞTİ. TURREK TURİZM REKLAM ORGANİZASYON İNŞ. LTD. ŞTİ. AHMET CENGİZ İNŞAAT VE TAAH. İŞLERİ FOLKART YAPI SAN. TİC. A.Ş.	No contract sale	FOLKART YAPI SAN. TİC. A.Ş. METRO MÜHENDİSLİK GIDA MAD. SAN. ve TİC. LTD. ŞTİ. BURKAY İNŞ. MAD. ENERJİ MÜH. TUR. TEKS. TAAH. TİC.LTD. ŞTİ. EFSER YAPI A.Ş. İZKA İNŞAAT TAAH. MÜH. LTD. ŞTİ. SALİHOĞLU İNŞAAT GIDA MARK. İŞL. SAN. TİC. LTD. ŞTİ.	FOLKART YAPI SAN. TİC. A.Ş.	ATİLLA AKAR	No contract sale	KUZU TOPLU KONUT A.Ş. İZBETON A.Ş.	IZBETON		AKDAĞ GAYRİMENKUL DANIŞMALIK İNŞ. TURZ. LTD. ŞTİ..	
Companies Submitted a Bid	No bid submission	No bid submission	FOLKART YAPI SAN. TİC. A.Ş.	No bid submission	No bid submission	SALİHOĞLU İNŞAAT GIDA MARK. İŞL. SAN. TİC. LTD. ŞTİ.	FOLKART YAPI SAN. TİC. A.Ş.	No bid submission	No bid submission	No bid submission			Protocol between Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and IZBETON				No bid submission	
Contract Sign Date	3.10.2016			28.02.2018						25.01.2022								
Site Delivery Date	12.10.2016			9.03.2018						17.02.2022								

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Şule Demirel Şanlı

EDUCATION

2016-2023 PhD, City and Regional Planning, METU

2012-2015 MSc, Urban Design, METU

2007-2012 BSc, City and Regional Planning, METU

2003-2007 TED Kdz. Ereğli College

WORK EXPERIENCE

2018-2021 Turkish Red Crescent, Protection Program Officer

2016-2018 Settar Yapı, City Planner

2012-2013 Kartallar Harita İmar, City Planner

PUBLICATIONS

Demirel, Ş., & Şanlı, T. (2022). Differentiated power and authorization in urban transformation projects: The case of Karabağlar and Örnekköy, İzmir, Turkey. AESOP 2022 Congress 'Space for Species: Redefining Spatial Justice, Book of Abstracts, 974-975.

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Şanlı, T., & Demirel, Ş. (2021). Kentsel dönüşümde planlama örüntüleri ve yerel paydaşların etkileri: İzmir örneği. Planlama, Kavramlar ve Arayışlar, 101-124.

Yetişkul, E., & Demirel, Ş. (2018). Assembling gentrification in Istanbul: The Cihangir neighborhood of Beyoglu. Urban Studies, vol.55, 3336-3352.

Demirel, Ş., Yetişkul, E., & Kayasü, S. (2016). Places of diverse social groups in Cihangir, Istanbul. International Symposium of Urban Design, 4-6 September 2016, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 50-56.

Demirel, Ş. (2015). Reconceptualizing the gentrification process: The case of Cihangir, İstanbul. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University.

PROJECTS

"Interpretation of Settlement Pattern Changes in Turkey: The Case of Izmir" (117K824), funded by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK)

"Practices and Policies for Neighborhood Improvement: Towards Gentrification 2.0" (JPI Urban Europe) (113K026), funded by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK)

AWARDS

2224-A Participation in Scientific Meetings Abroad Grant (2022/1)

TUBITAK Project Grant (117K824)

Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli Graduate Thesis Award (2015)

TUBITAK Project Grant (113K026)

ERASMUS Mobility Program Grant (2013-2014 Fall Semester)

METU Graduation Honor Degree (2012)

TED Kdz. Ereğli College (High School Full Scholarship)