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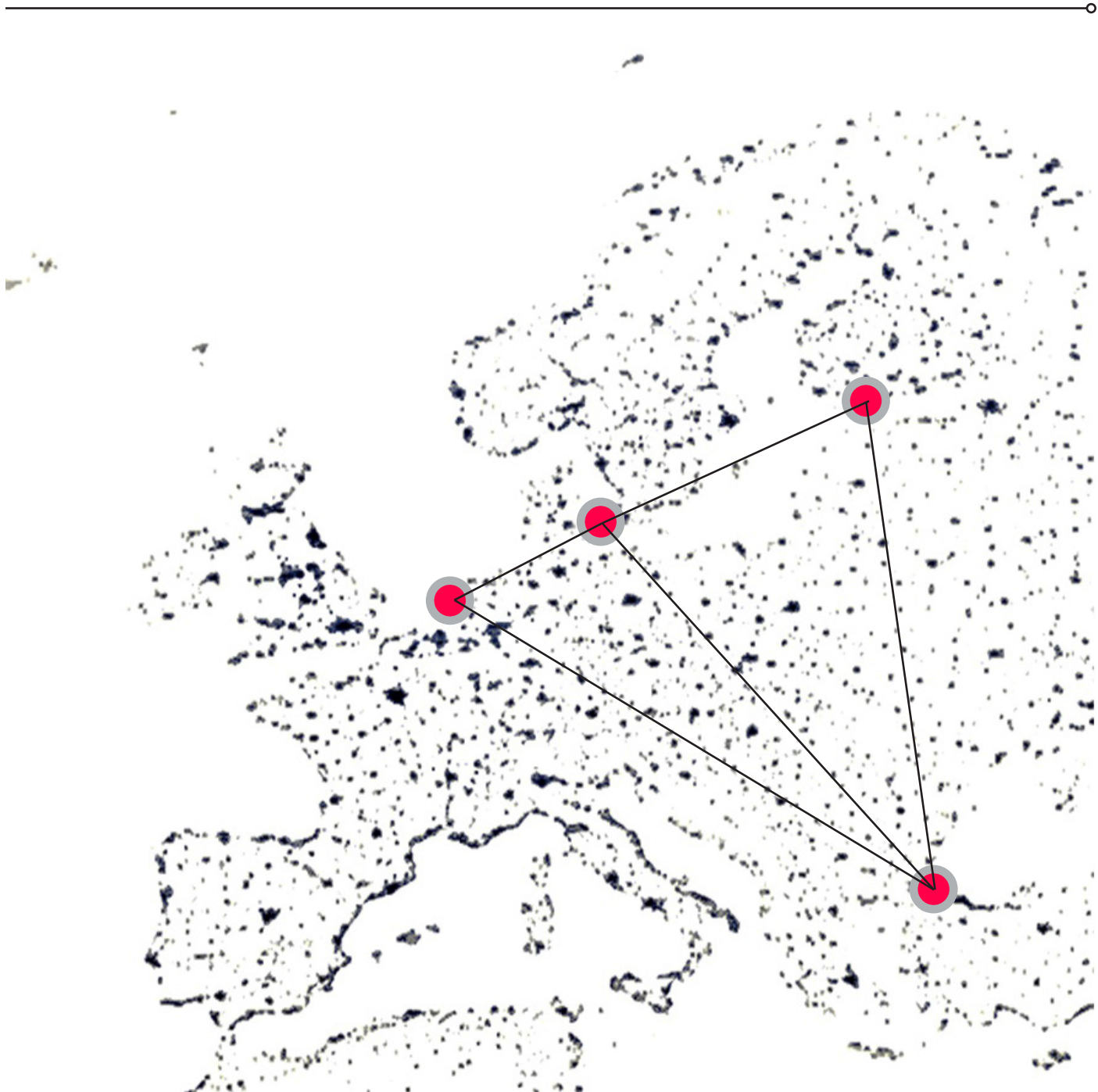
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APRILab

Action Oriented Research
on Planning, Regulation and Investment Dilemmas
in a Living Lab Experience



INTERVENTION DILEMMA REPORT

Deliverable 2a
Edited by
Federico Savini
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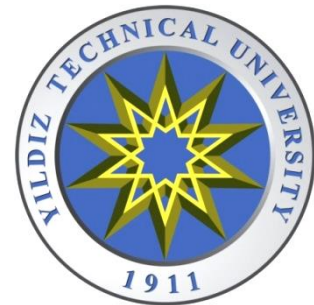
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Cases description

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APRILab

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Abstract

APRILab WP1 starts from the hypothesis that to address the intervention dilemma, any planning process needs to integrate the capacity to combine, integrate and flexibly navigate between the open and close contours of intervention processes throughout time and space. For this sake we have investigated the incremental progress of the project management both in terms of programming (time) and definition of areas of target (space). *In particular, we assume that, despite its capacity of responsiveness and engagement, elements of 'spontaneity' actually might lead to situations of uncertainty and un-control in urban intervention, and create disengagement between short term outcomes and long terms objectives (time), as well as between micro-practices and larger dynamics (space).*

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1. Denmark: Intervention Dilemma in South Harbor and Aalborg East

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1.1 Introduction

In this report, a summary is made concerning the key findings related to the ‘intervention dilemma’ of planning between control and spontaneity (Savini, Salet, & Majoor, 2014). Two cases are analysed in two cities in Denmark: The suburban case of Aalborg East, and a brownfield case in Copenhagen, the South Harbour.

The main difference between the two Danish cases are the collective points of action which were set in motion enduring planning processes in the urban fringe. In the Copenhagen Case, this happened from 1999-2003, in which the Head of Planning and his municipal allies were able to make a showcase that convinced developers to invest in a neighbourhood by proposing to build dwellings along the harbour in a former industrial, ill-reputed brownfield area; whereas in Aalborg East, this point of collective action is still open: will collaborators succeed in supporting a joint agenda? Is it possible for Aalborg Municipality to enable this sort of collaborative, flexible planning? Will one of the actors succeed in demonstrating a strategic leadership that will convince collaborators of the added value of the project, in order to change the status quo in the huge, fragmented suburban area of Aalborg East?

For general background information concerning the context of the cases, the reader should consult the case-study descriptions already developed (Hansen, Savini, Wallin, & Mäntysalo, 2013).

1.1.1 Structure of the chapter

Each case analysis sets out with a brief presentation of the case. On the basis of this description, I structure the analysis around the following themes:

- Role of citizens
- Design and adaptation
- Long term programming
- Connection between initiatives and strategic objectives

The themes are defined by the case study format of the intervention dilemma (Savini, 2013), operationalised on the basis of an interpretation of the developed theoretical framework provided by Savini, Sallet & Majoor (Savini et al., 2014). Accordingly, the description of themes is to be jointly perceived of as an empirical testing of some of the main hypotheses of the APRILab research project: those stakeholders, especially planners, involved in the development of metropolitan urban fringe areas are forced to deal with the tensions and linkages between control and spontaneity in order to generate innovation and flexibility.

1.2 The Brownfield Case: The South Harbour Neighbourhood in Copenhagen

The South Harbour as a neighbourhood can be regarded as being part of a heterogeneous city district that consists of two other neighbourhoods, Kgs. Enghave to the west and Vesterbro to the north-west. Geographically and historically, South Harbour is mostly connected to the old blue-collar neighbourhood of Kgs. Enghave. These two neighbourhoods have substantial differences: South Harbour is prioritized politically as a growth area, having the current attention of developers and municipal plans. In contrast, Kgs. Enghave is a neighbourhood characterised by non-growth and social problems. Physically, the two neighbourhoods are divided by a large road which provides access from the city centre to the highway. South Harbour is a former brownfield with a past of shipyard industry with access to a harbour environment. As such, the neighbourhood of Kgs. Enghave was the place where the workers employed in the harbour industries lived. This harbour area is increasingly being developed and made attractive by private landowners, developers and the municipality. Many new attractive dwellings have been built close to the water, and development plans to further develop parts of this brownfield area have been approved .

Kgs. Enghave is characterised by a rich history of being a district for the working class. However, this neighbourhood is also characterised by social problems and is by The City of Copenhagen identified as one out of six disadvantaged areas. In the past, the municipality has tried to develop this part of the city district by large scale area based programs, but with no enduring success. Many stakeholders in the Kgs. Enghave have in the past, since the development of South Harbour in 2002, been giving voice to their frustration concerning the fact that massive investments are being launched on the east side of the road, whereas the inhabitants on the west are being forgotten. As such, the South Harbour is a neighbourhood in a city district with many political conflicts concerning identity, physical diversion and fragmentation, and political and investment attention.

Accordingly, both neighbourhoods in the city district of Kgs. Enghave/Vesterbro/South Harbour have their own separate problems. The overall challenge for the municipality and local stakeholders in this city district in the long perspective is to develop one overall strategic

response which is able to deal with these separate, but interrelated problems. To date, this strategy has not been developed, but municipality and private landowners and developers provide important elements for such a strategy by focusing on developing South Harbour.

The challenges for South Harbour are:

1. To finish the development in the neighbourhood. This development was severely paused as a consequence of the economic recession.
2. To develop a neighbourhood which internally is better integrated in relation to infrastructure and use of public facilities and services.
3. To develop a neighbourhood which externally is better connected to the surrounding city, especially to the other neighbourhoods in the city district.

These are challenges that are recognized in an extensive evaluation on the first phase of the South Harbour development (Københavns Kommune, 2013a).

The first challenge for the development of South Harbour is to finish what was started before the recession. The economic recession put an end to the construction of new dwelling and basic service and shopping infrastructure, such as a local school for the new inhabitants, day care institutions and grocery stores.

The second challenge in this strategy is to develop a city district which is better integrated. As can be seen for the action plans for the South Harbour, the main challenge is to enable mobility across the roads with heavy traffic (Københavns Kommune 2011, 2012, 2013). This would enable stakeholders from both Kgs. Enghave and South Harbour to exploit the possibilities that the growth area generates for the entire district: First of all, to create a more thriving shopping environment on the east side that is able to provide basic services for the new industries and the new inhabitants, such as students; second, to enable better access from the west side to the east side in order to exploit the recreational facilities along the harbour.

The third challenge is to develop a city district which externally is better connected to the surrounding city. Being a former industrial area demarcated by heavy trafficked roads, the new inhabitants are in need of paths, bridges and public transportation that connects the district to other attractive parts of the city, such as green recreation facilities on the other side of the harbour, access to a close-by mall as well as access to more urbanized neighbourhoods.

An additional strategic challenge is how to deal with the social problems in the non-growth part of the district. This is another type of challenge than the former three. The former three challenges have been responded to by means of the Focused City Development approach, as described in the introduction above. The fourth challenge has not yet been responded to by means of budgets. However, an ambitious 'Policy for Disadvantaged Areas' has been approved. For each disadvantaged area, Development Plans are developed with the aim that in 2020 the areas

will be on the same level concerning education, health, and leisure satisfaction as in the rest of the city (Københavns Kommune: Policy for Disadvantaged Areas of Copenhagen).

In the future, windows of opportunity may emerge that can energize a process leading to an overall strategic response to the joint problems of the city district of Kgs. Enghave and South Harbour. First of all, Aalborg University and small companies have recently entered South Harbour, giving a daily flow of additional 3.000 students and employees. This may generate a push towards a more multi-functional and dynamic environment. Second, the state and municipality are in mid-2013 engaged in negotiations concerning whether the on-going Metro-construction should be extended to the South Harbour. This would likewise make the city district more attractive due to the easy and fast access to the surrounding city.

1.2.1 The role of citizens: consumers and a local democracy on the rise

In the South Harbour development, citizens have so far had a rather limited role to play. Two groups of citizens have influence on the planning process: residents in the South Harbour Area and local democratic voices from the adjacent city districts, Kgs. Enghave and Vesterbro.

The reason for this limited range of citizens with an interest in influencing the planning process is historical. As an urban planner in the municipality notes, the South Harbour has never been a place of great public interest; being a former industrial area, with a reputation of crime and no public facilities, the general public in the City of Copenhagen has no relations with the area. Fifteen years ago no one would have imagined that the South Harbour could be transformed into a neighbourhood where people could live, due to organized crime and lack of commercial industrial success:

“South Harbour was not, as such, a successful harbour. You had the old clay pit, where you did some digging, and so you had this hole with water pouring in...and so it was said that it was a harbour. So, it has never been a commercial success. And so this harbour have stayed like this throughout the years – even in the 80’s when I was studying at the Royal Academy of Architecture and was drawing on this area – the harbour had some major warehouses and freight hotels...But only once a week, at the most, did a boat enter the harbour. So it was not a harbour in that [traditional] way, but instead an area dominated by [the organised criminal gang off] Hell’s Angels...Consequently, such an area is perhaps perceived of as quite irrelevant for the adjacent neighbourhoods and as a no-go area...So it was not an area you would in any sense try to seek out and try to enter.” (Urban planner, Technical and Environmental Administration)

Consequently, when the municipality tried to mobilise support for developing the South Harbour in the end-90s, it faced the challenge of

convincing the market, i.e. investors and developers, that it could in fact be profitable to build dwellings in The City of Copenhagen:

“Everybody thought that this was a mirage....All previous plans for the Copenhagen Harbour had gone awry...nothing had happened....all investors said no to building dwellings in Copenhagen...So we did the opposite of the market....They [investors] thought we were mad”
(Formed Head of Planning)

As a consequence, residents living in the South Harbour have initially been granted and taken a specific role by the municipality and developers: A consumer of an apartment. Even though some social housing dwellings do exist in the area, the main type of tenure is not tenant, but residential property/owner-occupied housing. These residents are, concerning income, located in the resource-full, well-off end of the income scale (534.000 DKK/year), well above the Copenhagen average (338.000 DKK/year) (Københavns Kommune, 2013). What these residents seem to demand is not necessarily an urban environment, but instead a well-functioning neighbourhood to live in, with the most basic social and spatial infrastructure covered: public transportation, bridges in order to go from one part of the area to another, social services important for a family life (nursery, school, athletic facility), recreational areas, and safe passage to schools and a grocery so not being forced to cross the heavy trafficked roads confining the South Harbour district,. This is due to the fact that when citizens moved into the area, they necessarily accepted the unfinished, non-urban, character of the neighbourhood but anticipated that proper infrastructure and public facilities are to be provided, an anticipation that has become visible by the severe delay concerning the construction of the local school (Københavns Kommune, 2013).

Despite being mainly consumers, interviews and document studies display that they are a rather resourceful and demanding group of consumers able to organize support if their privileges are threatened by ongoing, or future, developments, or if the neighbourhood is not provided with the services described above. A number of incidents and cases demonstrate this. Concerning public transportation, the harbour bus initially did not go to the South Harbour neighbourhood; however, the residents managed to get this altered. More forcefully in a hearing concerning the approval of Local Plan ‘Enghave Brygge’(Københavns Kommune, 2013b), citizens discovered that the local plan would result in a severe devaluation of their exclusive view of the harbour, and managed to gather a petition of over 5.000 citizen signatures against the local plan proposal, forcing the local plan proposal to be revised¹. A third example is an old house boat area which was to be removed to make space for a Skanska construction project; in this case, the owners of the house boats managed to gather political support; this support enabled urban planners involved in negotiations with developers to have a stronger negotiation

¹ <http://pol.dk/1881690>

position. As a consequence, the house boat owners managed to enlarge the quayside area by several meters and having their own facilities as part of the Skanska project (Lokalplan 202, tillæg 1). As the head of planning notes, new stakeholders are beginning to be taken into account in the future development of South Harbour; the quote below reveals that the municipality is going through an institutional development process based on the joint experiences of running planning processes in former industrial areas:

“We have been used to the last four years, in which I have participated, to work in these new city areas, and that means that there are no neighbours. So that is something we haven’t paid particular attention to. Instead, we have been paying much attention to the strategic partners, that is, investors and other strategic organisations (...).now we have to do something new – or, some of the areas are so developed, that neighbours are actually present. And here the Local Democratic Committees play a role, they are being given a more central position....but we haven’t got a joint plan for it – it is, to a high degree, an ad hoc approach – and the risk is, that we are forgetting somebody, and then we have to clean up the mess afterwards”. (Current Head of Planning, Finance Administration, City of Copenhagen)

Now, the second group of citizens are the established and acknowledged local political committees from the adjacent districts of Kgs. Enghave and Vesterbro. Both of these local political committees are trying to give voice to citizens concerning how the municipality and developers make decisions for local plans and related planning issues. For instance, by supporting the case of the house boat owners; or stressing the promised public facility development of South Harbour. This group of citizens are increasingly active during the last few years as the South Harbour is being further developed and the citizen base in the area is growing, resulting in increasingly advocating for citizens interests when a local plan is unsatisfactory. Another main interest of this group of formally organized citizens is to enable public access to South Harbour and its recreational areas by pushing the agenda of establishing proper infrastructure to the neighbourhood, thereby enabling a more integrated city development in which South Harbour is more connected to the adjacent neighbourhoods.

However, the role of citizens may change in the future. All together, the last couple of years demonstrate that a local democratic voice may be on the rise. This is mainly due to the fact that the development of the South Harbour area has entered a phase in which each new local plan actually affects stakeholders in the near-by plots in the neighbourhood. In other words, the South Harbour neighbourhood is gradually entering a phase of closure and mainstreaming in which it is possible to assess of, and plan for, the neighbourhood as a neighbourhood with established stakeholders. Furthermore, the future role of citizens is conditioned on the outcome of a number of issues.

First of all, if the municipality does not manage to improve the area properly, people may simply move out. As a planner notes in an interview, South Harbour as a neighbourhood could be regarded as a harbour neighbourhood that is in competition with the Swedish city Malmö, located in the same region. In contrast to the Copenhagen Municipality, Malmö is investing heavily in its harbour areas, especially in terms of cultural facilities, in order to attract middle-class citizens in order to improve the economy of the city. Consequently, the rather mono-functionalistic, non-urban qualities of South Harbour as a consequence of a market based development could in a long-term perspective be a risky development model.

Another issue is the ‘Klondike’ atmosphere which so far has dominated South Harbour. Due to the recession in 2008-2012, the unfinished character of the area has been prolonged, as investments in the area were put to a halt. This has resulted in poor service infrastructure (such as the delay of constructing a vital bridge, building a school, and unfulfilled promises related to recreational areas on the side of the municipality and developers). If the Klondike character becomes a semi-permanent characteristic, the area may begin to gain a more bleak reputation, which could move residents towards a more aggressive and organised role towards the planning interventions.

A final issue that may push citizens towards a more active role in the urban development is the more overall discussion of what kind of neighbourhood South Harbour actually is. Is it mainly a rather polished residential and office space area, with no or few historical markers of its industrial past left, characterised by tranquillity and a nice view? Or is it supposed to be a more mixed and dynamic area with interactions with the past and the surrounding city? As Head of Planning notes in an interview, the discussion of the ‘urban’ vs. ‘residential-/office- neighbourhood’ is a professional discussion being discussed internally between the municipal administrations; however, also residents discuss these issues. An example being the online ‘Forum’ for residents, for the South Harbour, some residents complained about the fact that old, two-storey houseboats had emerged out of nowhere, blocking their view of the harbour, and on top of this, the boats were perceived of as rather ugly and destroying the thoroughly designed aesthetic qualities of the area; whereas other residents found that the old-fashioned, historical aspects of the houseboats were a quality of the area². This discussion demonstrates that residents themselves struggle with defining the identity of the neighbourhood.

An issue linked to the issue of identity is the broader, ongoing public discussion concerning the rather novel recreational use of the harbour in Copenhagen, and citizens’ perceptions of who owns the harbour. Exploiting the Copenhagen harbours in a recreational, instead of an

² Reference: <http://www.sluseholmen-online.dk/forum.html/>, Ugly Houseboats (“Grimme Husbåde”)

industrial, way is a phenomenon which has emerged since the first ‘harbour baths’ was constructed in 2002. As a planner in the municipality notes in an interview, the petition against a specific local plan for the South Harbour gained momentum exactly because citizens were able to combine the resistance against future developments with a debate about ‘who owns the quaysides’ – is it private investors or the public? An increasing public ownership to the docks in the future will have the consequence of making local plans for harbour plots more difficult to negotiate in a bilateral fashion between municipality and developers, if citizens are not involved to a higher degree.

1.2.2 Design and adaptation: Architectural design as enabler of collective action in the past

The issue of design in relation to the analysis of South Harbour is intriguing as findings suggest that design has mainly been an issue of the past, enabling a point of collective action. The sections below demonstrate this. An overall finding is, however, that no new points of design related to collective action have been performed since then, making design playing a minor role in the recurrent negotiations between municipality and developers. So, in the overall trajectory of South Harbour, the past actions of design has mainly had the function of initiating a process that should convince developers and politicians of the strategic viability of transforming an ill-reputed brownfield area into an attractive residential area. Afterwards, the development of South Harbour is being managed as a market driven process, with certain areas defined by past choices of design, in which negotiations with developers, the will of landlords, and economic fluctuations are the decisive factors in defining the physical and identity aspects of the neighbourhood.

Design and professional practice: An innovative action point in the past

The issue of design is explicitly located in the past, although the interviews reveal that municipal planners are beginning to re-design certain aspects of the South Harbour development. As a consequence, data supports the following phases related to design: Political and strategic consensus and solutions of design (1999-2003); implementing parts of the designed comprehensive plan (2004-2008); crisis and a pause in development (2008-2012); continuation of implementation (2012-2013); redefining South Harbour as part of the ‘coherent city’ (2013-). The local plan progression related to these phases is listed below:

- 1999: political decision – defining Copenhagen City as an attractive city to live in. Approval of housing policy³; mobilising political and investor support for South Harbour as a residential area.
- 2000: A design phase, in which a comprehensive plan for South Harbour was produced by Dutch architects and displayed in a public event at the Copenhagen School of Architecture.

³ Københavns Kommune. (2013a). *Bydesign i københavn. erfaringer fra sluseholmen*. ().Københavns Kommune.

- 2001: South Harbour is being designated as a focus area for housing in the Municipal Plan
- 2002: Development and preparing the comprehensive plan for South Harbour⁴ as part of Municipal Plan and local plan; developing a design manual for ‘Sluseholmen’.
- 2003: Local plan suggestion for southern part of the South Harbour, “Sluseholmen”⁵; establishing the site development company ‘Sluseholmen P/S’.
- 2004: Approval of Local plan 310, with extension 1&2
- 2009: Approval of Local plan 310, with extension 3; further elaboration and development of comprehensive plan for the area ‘Teglholmen Øst’
- 2010-2011: Approval of Local Plan 310, with extension 4
- 2013: Approval of Local Plan 494, Enghave Brygge
- 2014: Approval of Local plan 202, with extension 2, Fisketorvet
- 2014: Hearing related to Local Plan 310, extension 5.

In the first phase, important decisions are made that has enduring implications for the future development of South Harbour. First of all, Copenhagen City was in the 90’s at the brink of bankruptcy. Hence, a political consensus had to be established concerning what kind of city Copenhagen should be. A vital political decision is made in 1995 and finally sanctioned in 2001: To make Copenhagen an attractive city to live in (Bisgaard, 2010). On the basis of this decision, Head of Planning in the Finance Administration musters support for something radical at that time: to transform an a former industrial harbour area into an attractive neighbourhood to live in for middle-class citizens. Much energy and many stakeholders were involved in order to create a common understanding of how an architectural proposal could be financed and developed. Accordingly, in this phase, an essential design is formulated that has been fundamental in the future development of the South Harbour: to demonstrate for developers, citizens and politicians that South Harbour could indeed be an attractive place to live in.

In the following phases, the local plans are referring to the comprehensive plan. But besides this, issues of design are absent in other parts of the local plans. No overall vision or set of values seems to guide local plans. As a planner points out, negotiations are happening on a local plan to local plan basis and are somewhat constrained at the design level due to ownership structures:

Here [South Harbour] you had 42 landowners, when we initiated this [development of South Harbour], some parts being owned by [the state-municipal driven company] City & Harbour (...) But on the overall level owned by all kinds of stakeholders, and to begin all kinds of warehouse companies and minor companies (...) When we even managed to get the ‘The Green Wedge’ established it was because we finally got NCC and MT Højgaard [Large development companies] convinced to let the Wedge run through their various plots. Those bigger stakeholders are

⁴ Lokal plan 310-1&2, p. 3

⁵ Københavns Kommune. (2013). *Bydesign i københavn. erfaringer fra sluseholmen.* ().Københavns Kommune.

gradually entering this process, and of course, it is easier to have a dialogue with NCC or MT Højgaard than talking with 42 different small companies, who haven't always reflected on future changes (...) So that has been the premise in South Harbour - just about 42 different interests"(Urban planner, City of Copenhagen)

So, matters of design are otherwise absent, but are instead something that is negotiated between municipality and developers. This process of negotiation is rather difficult, since most of the land is privately owned, giving planners only legislative tools in these negotiation processes. Furthermore, the municipality does not buy the land in order to make site-development, as it did in the start-up phase. So, since the land is owned by 42 different landowners, it is difficult, especially for the minor landowners, to see the value in making commitments to an overall comprehensive plan for the area. Accordingly, besides the dwellings near the harbour as being part of the comprehensive plan from 2003, the remaining sites of the area are more fragmented than it could have been, based as it is on ongoing negotiations and economic fluctuations. As an example, a green pathway, The Green Wedge, is supposed to be going throughout the neighbourhood and hook up the neighbourhood to the rest of the city for bicycles and pedestrians; however, since The Green Wedge is dependent on actual finished construction sites, the Wedge is not a wedge, but instead an uneven flow of gravel and green spots here and there. As Head of Planning notes it, planning experiences from the South Harbour revealed several inadequacies when it comes to local plans as an instrument for managing market based planning processes. As a consequence, new instruments have been produced that make up for these inadequacies.

Accordingly, the rhetoric of 'implementation' is one that so far has been dominant in the Municipal Plan concerning South Harbour and other development areas. However, this rhetoric is, according to Head of Planning, currently being substituted with another set of values: that of the coherent city. As a consequence, governance instruments (such as budget prioritization tools) and a cross-district perspective on how to integrate growth areas and socially distressed areas are being put into use. As a consequence, the boundaries of the project area is being redeveloped by planning authorities in a way that interaction between South Harbour and adjacent neighbourhoods is promoted, especially when it comes to the socially distressed neighbourhood of Kgs. Enghave.

1.2.3 Long term programming: Creating, implementing and adjusting in order to ensure financial and political flexibility

As described in the sections above, the main programming of South Harbour was established in the period from 1999-2003. The comprehensive plan developed in this period for establishing housing areas in proximity of the quaysides has been sanctioned and referred to in those subsequent local plans that entail quayside development. The South Harbour development process also reveals rather conservative changes in the long term programming: that South Harbour is supposed to be mainly an attractive residential area with office buildings and minor businesses. The economic recession has not changed this programming. Instead of developing alternative visions for the area, the construction of new office space and dwellings are being put on hold. Accordingly, no alternative strategies of, for instance, temporary use of the area have been developed. The reason for this is that developers have demonstrated no intention to facilitate such processes. According to interviews, this is due to the fact that developers have experienced the luxury of investing and building in a district with no public awareness; facilitating temporary use of old buildings could be a threat to that beneficial condition. Another reason for this seems to be that investors and developers have assessed that at some point, the housing market in Copenhagen would slowly be profitable as it was before the recession; this assessment appeared to be correct, since Copenhagen at present benefits from the second wave of urbanization. Furthermore, the fact that 42 landowners, some of them rather small, are engaged in the area makes it difficult to commit these landowners to strategies above the level of local plans.

The main change in the South Harbour seems to be that the area should be more integrated with especially the disadvantaged neighbourhood of Kgs. Enghave, and that the experiences from the first wave of dwellings related to the area called 'Sluseholmen' has revealed that the municipality should pay more attention to public spaces, such as recreational areas. Accordingly, the municipality intends to make more investments in order to ensure a park in the area. Furthermore, the experiences gathered from the South Harbour so far revealed that market volatility is a threat to public facilities, in that public facilities are dependent on whether the market actually supports the constructions in the local plans. Furthermore, the problem has also been that despite politicians wanting to prioritize, for instance, ambitious sport facilities in the area, when the time comes, the politicians may not be able to find the financial resources.

In order to support this agenda, the municipality has developed new tools of management to make up for the deficits of the local plan. These tools are to ensure, that planned public facilities (such as recreational areas, schools and nurseries, and vital infrastructure such as bridges) are implemented, despite market volatility. Furthermore, the planning tools ensure that politicians are given the possibility to make long-term plans

for how to finance public facilities, despite budget negotiational uncertainty.

The new tool is a ‘Plan Package’. This package consists of a local plan with a municipal plan amendment/extension. This furthermore consists of a construction development agreement, supported by the Planning Regulation, in which a date is set for the large infrastructure facilities, i.e. a binding agreement with developers of when infrastructure facilities are to be finished. The Plan Package also consists of a City Development Agreement, in which wishes and interests of all stakeholders are described; in addition, the municipality has developed the Action Plans, which is a budget prioritization tool, in which dates are set for when municipally financed facilities are to be constructed. For the South Harbour from 2013 and onwards, this Action Plan is integrated with the Kgs. Enghave action plan; this has resulted in an increased awareness of the necessity of prioritizing public facilities in Kgs. Enghave, instead of the more ‘nice-to-have’ facilities in the South Harbour.

1.2.4 Connection between initiatives and strategic objectives: Strategy aims at the total city level leaves the definition of the neighbourhood open for negotiation

Spontaneous initiatives in terms of citizen or civil society initiatives are rather few in the South Harbour case. As a planner notes, developers have been outright ‘hostile’ concerning temporary initiatives. Other unforeseen events are typically dealt with by means of negotiating the content of local plans. As an example, attempts of building dwellings too close to an industrial facility resulted in a redefinition of a local plan due to complaints by the industrial facility. The planning authorities typically adjust their adjustment in local plans and the Plan Packages by re-interpreting these local plans and action plans in the light of new political ideas, such as the shift from a ‘implementation’-rhetoric in the Municipal Plan to a rhetoric of the ‘coherent city’. This shift in political rhetoric implies a shift in budget prioritization and in the development of new management tools, such as the integration of action plans for Kgs. Enghave and South Harbour. Another example is that a university entered the area in 2013. This has resulted in a bilateral partnership in which the municipality strives to use the big flow of students to facilitate mobility between South Harbour and the adjacent city district Kgs. Enghave; and to enable the establishment of small businesses to provide services to this new flow of citizens in the area. In this respect, the unforeseen event of a university entering the area is reinterpreted within the rhetoric of the ‘coherent city’.

1.3 Aalborg East

Aalborg East is part of Aalborg Municipality. The city of Aalborg has around 200,000 inhabitants. It plays a key role as the main city for the northern region in Denmark, being the most powerful growth centre in a part of Denmark in which the outskirts are having many financial and demographic challenges as a part of a new wave of urbanization. The City of Aalborg has since the mid-80's been mainly known for its industry, its port operations, its cement factoring, and Aalborg University. Aalborg is transforming into a knowledge city. The last 10-15 years, much building activity has been going on in Aalborg. Industries have moved out, giving room for a number of major restructuring projects, especially concerning the urban waterfronts and other transformations of industrial sites.

1.3.1 Short description of the City, its challenges and its overall strategies

The City of Aalborg approved of a planning strategy which focuses on collaboration across public and private interests and investments in 2011. These collaborations are intended to enhance the city's growth axe, its infrastructure, developing a certain attractiveness inspired by landscape and nature, and to offer a variety of attractive neighbourhood areas (Aalborg Kommune: Planstrategi 2011). One of the main challenges is the large suburban area located in the east-southeast part of the city, called Aalborg East (Aalborg Øst). In order to inspire the strategic plan for the entire AAU East, the City participated in a national campaign launched by a large fund (Realdania) – 'Suburbs of the Future'. This campaign ended out with Aalborg East being one out of seven cases that is supposed to be a part of the second, new campaign, 'Kick starting the Suburb - version 2.0'. Here, the seven winning proposals (two for Aalborg East) are supposed to be further qualified by the relevant municipalities and stakeholders in order to initiate a change in the specific suburb. Another reason for the increased focus on suburbs is a national agenda, in which the national Nature Agency, The Ministry of Environment and the fund Realdania have made a 'Think Tank of Suburbs¹'.

1.3.2 The suburban case of Aalborg East: Massive investments, fragmented functions, lack of strategy

Aalborg East is a truly large and heterogeneous neighbourhood. The area has 21.000 inhabitants, 14.000 jobs and 11.000 students. The area has an international vein due to the presence of Aalborg University, many ethnic citizens and businesses. The area has a mix of educational facilities, industry, business, jobs in the knowledge economy, public service functions and large residential areas.

The area shares the modernistic characteristic of many suburbs, with its large, monofunctional areas, green wasteland and social segregation, as well as great distances between the functions in the area, as displayed in

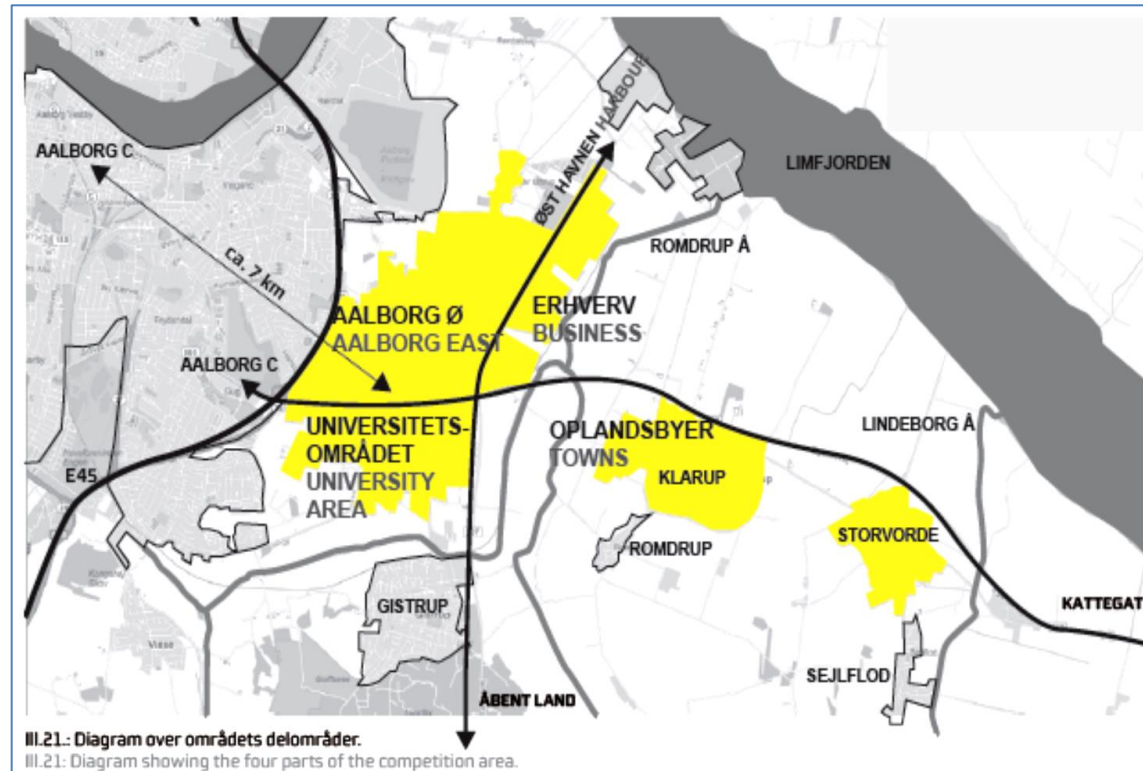
the figure below. The image demonstrates that there is a built environment in 3,3 out of 36,3 square kilometres. The area is characterised by being built in the 1970s when the modernistic planning style was influent. The area is located 5-7 km from the city core (Aalborg Kommune 2012).

Aalborg East consists of four sections where interaction and mobility between them is negligible: (1) A large residential area, with much social housing, single-family dwellings, small business and institutions, (2) a business area, (3) the university area including the coming University Hospital and (4) the surrounding small towns located towards the east (Aalborg Kommune 2012, p.31). The area has also drawn the attention of large-scale area based programs, such as 'Kvarterloeft' in the late 90's (Neighbourhood Lift) and presently a comprehensive plan for the social housing departments in the area. The purpose of these programs was to deal with problems of parts of Aalborg East as a vulnerable and disadvantaged district, due to its overrepresentation of unemployed, children and youngsters, many people on welfare programs, and with averagely lower income and level of education than in the rest of Aalborg.

Consequently, Aalborg East faces several challenges. First of all, there is the strategic challenge of how to exploit the increased interest in sustainable suburbs. And in relation to this, how to exploit the opportunity that arises from the fact that the social housing dwellings in the area are to be renovated by 5 billion DKK the forthcoming years; that there is a regional plan for the construction of a new super-university hospital in the area with about 5,000 jobs, and a new ambitious public transportation initiative, such as a light rail connection as a likely solution for integrating the city district of Aalborg East with the city core of Aalborg. All in all, there is an approximate investment portfolio of 10 billion DKK until 2020 in the area. And further, how to enhance the City of Aalborg's strategy that the area should be the chief growth area in the northern part of Denmark?

Accordingly, the case of Aalborg East is an extreme case because it adds a dimension of scale to well-known suburban development challenges. First of all the case contains many of the challenges that characterise suburbs, such as fragmentation and lack of interaction between area functions. Second of all, the case contains suburban city districts and independent suburbs (Klarum and Storvorde to the south east). The case furthermore contains both private businesses and industry, including farming, as well as public interests in terms of a university and a future university hospital. What makes the case extreme, however, is that the area is huge (!) (above 30 square kilometres), making the challenge of integrating the functions even bigger. The image below demonstrates how the four parts of the area are located in relation to each other. In conclusion, the case contains some interesting dilemmas.

Figure 1: Image of the fragmented areas in the area of Aalborg East



Source: Aalborg Kommune 2012: *City in Between*, p. 30

Intervention dilemma

Driving the process: Many actors can see a perspective in the area: businesses, a university, large social housing organizations, and the municipality. Here, there is a dilemma present between first of all:

- how the organization of all the activities should look like
- who should be responsible for such an organization
- Is it indeed possible and preferable to have an overall strategic master plan for such a fragmented and huge area? Or should stakeholders go for a more pragmatic approach that limits itself to qualify the existing city functions based on a set of values.

Consequently, there are open questions concerning organization, self-organization and governance. There is at the same time the requirement that the development of the area has to be strategically consistent with the intertwined municipal and regional interests in the area.

Defining the development exercise: Elements of an overall strategy are emerging in terms of rhetoric of sustainability, a necessary transformation of suburbs, a regional growth sector and an internationalisation of the area. Related to these strategic building blocks, there is a dilemma of how to define the purpose of this development exercise in order to create synergy of the massive future investments in the area.

The role of citizens: Citizens have mainly been involved in the ‘City in Between’ architectural contest in order to discuss the future of Aalborg

East. Otherwise, citizens take on the role of consumers of dwellings; but also as residents in a huge city district in which people feel unsafe due to the fragmented and desolated character of the area, especially in the social housing part of the area. Due to historical developments, this social housing part of the area has been isolated by highways and by the fact that the development in the area has been happening around the university - and also centred around the future university hospital - for decades. However, a planner notes that in the future, citizens will be more involved due to the fact that specific projects in the area are in need of more communication, and because of legitimacy reasons, it is important to communicate the next phase of the 'City in Between' development.

1.3.3 Design and adaptation: Emerging strategy through combination of interests

The function of design in the development of Aalborg East takes on the character of a joint frame of reference for the stakeholders with interests in the area. This is accomplished through the 'City in Between' competition, through which specific visions for the area were developed, selected and qualified. Accordingly, themes like sustainability, internationalism, growth, densification of the area, creating synergy in the future due to massive investments in the area, and the contentious issue of how to integrate already existing city district functions, are all issues that interviewees respond to. Accordingly, City in Between has some legitimacy that warrants municipal action in terms of strategy and continuation of the strategy work of the area.

Furthermore, the design is also a symbol of actions of lobbyism, proactivity and mediations of interests displayed by the social housing organisation in the area. According to an interviewee, the social housing organisation was one of the drivers to mobilise support for the architectural competition in the first place. Furthermore, the social housing organisation influenced the consortia involved in the competition by pointing attention to an already existing path of movement (The Astrup Path), that could be improved and further developed as a construction project that would connect the social housing neighbourhood to the rest of city district of Aalborg East. As a consequence, the winning proposal adopted this perspective, having the consequence that The Astrup Path is now an explicit part of municipal planning as a strategic aim. The future development of the Astrup Path, assessed by an interviewee as being an infrastructure project of about 100 Mio DKK (15 Mio. Euro), has the prospects of future development in terms of 1.000 dwellings and a densification of the area. This infrastructure project will make mobility between social housing neighbourhood and university easier. However, this project seems to be also one of the few specific results of the City in Between contest.

So, despite the rather modest outputs of the visionary design of the City in Between contest, the function of the design is placed rather high in the strategic consciousness for municipality and social housing

representatives in terms of management. This is because of the overall strategic void of the city district in the wake of the City in Between contest. As described by the City Architect, the municipality has deliberately not formulated local plans for the city district in a ‘top down’-manner; instead, projects are allowed to be facilitated, qualified and matured in a ‘bottom-up’ fashion by non-municipal stakeholders, until it is possible to sanction plans and strategies in binding local plans.

Consequently, City in Between is positioned in a strategic set-up in which the interviewees are rather certain that numerous things are going to happen in the area, that can qualify to the many investments already taking place in the area. However, *what* is going to happen is an open question. Some drivers are possible to distinguish by interviews.

First of all, the city district has by the municipality been branded as the ‘Growth Axis’ in the entire region. Furthermore, the city district is one out of three focus areas in the newly approved of ‘Physical Vision 2025’ for the municipality, and is also given much attention in the municipal ‘Plan Strategy 2011’. According to the City Architect of Aalborg Municipality, the Physical Vision is a vision that requires the municipal welfare administrations to re-think their administrative position in order to contribute to growth in the area:

“Aalborg Municipality is a rather progressive municipality, but that being said, we still have a stove-pipe/silo-way of thinking, and it is not until recently that it has dawned for the Administration of Schooling...that we have been saying to them: “If you are going to discuss school structure, remember that this means more than just the education, it [school structure] has great ramifications [for Aalborg East]”

So, according to the City Architect, the municipality is redefining its strategic planning position: from one of traditional, top-down planning authority to one of strategic planning, a redefinition that requires key stakeholders to think in cross-sectorial ways in order to coordinate investments and deploy resources strategically, creating vantage points and being ahead of entrepreneurs.

This new type of facilitative, strategic and collaborative planning is crucial if a strategy is going to be formulated for Aalborg East. Accordingly, the existing ‘patchwork’ of projects has to be qualified in order to develop a strategic framework that is solid enough to enable private investments.

As of now, the patchwork is managed by a number of terms of reference for each project in the area: The Astrup Path, University development, the redevelopment of the Tornhøj Shopping Mall, renovation of different social housing dwellings, the construction of a university hospital, and a new ambitious sports-facility (‘Gigantium’).

As a result, Aalborg East is in a phase of planning in which a strategy is slowly emerging, on the interpretation of the design of City in Between,

conditioned by the qualification and combinations of resources across specific projects, stakeholders, networks and municipal administrations.

1.3.4 Long term programming: From design to qualification of projects

The social housing organisation ‘Himmerland’ and the municipality are the most proactive actors engaged in developing and qualifying the initial, cross-sectorial development thoughts of City in Between.

In doing so, these actors take on different roles. The municipality takes on the position as *integrator, facilitator, strategist, urbanizer* and *co-developer*. Consequently, the municipality strives to accomplish the strategic integration of the bottom-up initiatives of key stakeholders: the university, social housing organisation, and business think tank. As of now, the specific projects that can create such strategic integration are the following, each having a term of reference:

- University campus
- University hospital
- Tornhøj Mall
- Kildeparken renovation (Himmerland housing organisation)
- Gigantium (sports facility)
- Social housing development (Lejerbo)

Barriers for accomplishing strategic integration are the following:

- The inability of partners to focus on their own agenda
- Lack of political mobilisation
- Silo thinking in the municipal administrations
- Lack of investment account across administrations

The social housing organisation of Himmerland, on the other hand, takes on the position of speeding up the maturation of the strategic platform for development of the area, both concerning the respective administrations, the political level and the regional agenda concerning the energy supply structure. It is doing so by following the logic of a *catalyst*: that the disadvantaged area of the social housing neighbourhood ‘Kildeparken’ can initiate a change in the entire city district. So far, the most specific results have been the a ‘Health Care House’ in Kildeparken, an ambitious, high-profiled house with public service functions, a local police-department, neighbourhood activities, etc. And furthermore, the infrastructure-project of Astrupstien.

Himmerland is hoping to accomplish more in this line of reasoning by some specific projects:

1. Lobbying for an international school in the neighbourhood, in order to attach Kildeparken closer to the massive university developments.
2. Developing new community based dwellings for knowledge workers/newly graduates from the university and their families
3. Lobbying for more public transportation in the neighbourhood
4. Improving the environment around existing public service functions in the area
5. A partnership with the university concerning entrepreneurship
6. Renovation of existing building stock, focused on sustainability

7. Establishment of football fields in order to attract sports-organisations
8. Being a catalyst for energy provision in the area, by using the energy consumption of around 3.000 dwellings as leverage to make an energy partnership with university and energy providers

1.3.5 Connection between initiatives and strategic objectives

In the case of Aalborg East, the planning dilemmas between control and spontaneity is dealt with by the planning authority of the municipality by employing a facilitative approach, in which stakeholder bottom-up initiatives are used as a means to enable a strategy to emerge. These bottom-up initiatives are to some extent enabled by means of an architectural competition for Aalborg East, in which the area is called 'City in Between'. The winning proposal pinpoints to a high extent the potential development possibilities of the city district, implicating that the winning proposals and the process demonstrate a rationality that all stakeholders can relate to. Furthermore, the City in Between context, and the mobilisation of citizens and citizen-groups in this design-phase, warrants more action. In this respect, initiatives suggested by municipality and the pro-active social housing organisation with more than 3.000 dwellings in the area, develop to a high degree projects along the rationality of the City in Between. So, in this phase of the case study, the urban fringe project has left the design phase and is now in the middle of finishing a strategy phase, in which the municipality internally needs to prioritize resources and develop and sanction a joint political understanding of how to develop the city district. This strategy framework will, according to interviewees, allow for an incitement structure where investors, developers and citizens can join the project, allowing the project to enter a phase of implementation and qualification. However, it is still an open question to which degree this strategy will continue to be an emergent strategy, composed by numerous bilateral projects between, for instance, the social housing organisation and university; or whether a more defining master plan will be developed.

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2. The Netherlands: Intervention Dilemma in IJburg and Overamstel, Amsterdam

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2.1 Role of Citizens and Procedures of Involvement and Decision Making

2.1.1 Framing of Practices of Appropriation of Spaces

Originally, IJburg has been conceived as a project where elements of control, regulation and planned management could be combined with a more responsive approach to the market. The fundamental questions of its development regarded the creation of a new substantial part of the city to host a large amount of people to be attracted from both the city and the suburbs. At its origins, in all development plans produced between 1994 (with the VINEX contract) to 2000 (urbanist plan for Haveneiland West) the funding principle was to balance the public need of approximately 20.000 houses in the area, part of a total expectation of 150.000 houses in the Randstad. One of the major logics of development is to combine the regulating capacity of the city with the responsive implementation capacity of consolidated market actors, in order to design marketable spaces. The match of chaos and order was also integrated within the urban design models that led the planning process throughout the years (Claus et al. 2001). In IJburg the management of borders and programming has been strongly influenced by this established assumption that control would have been a ‘qualitative condition’ to enable self-organization on the area. Today examples of self-organization are taking place within the interstices left empty at cause of the economic crisis.

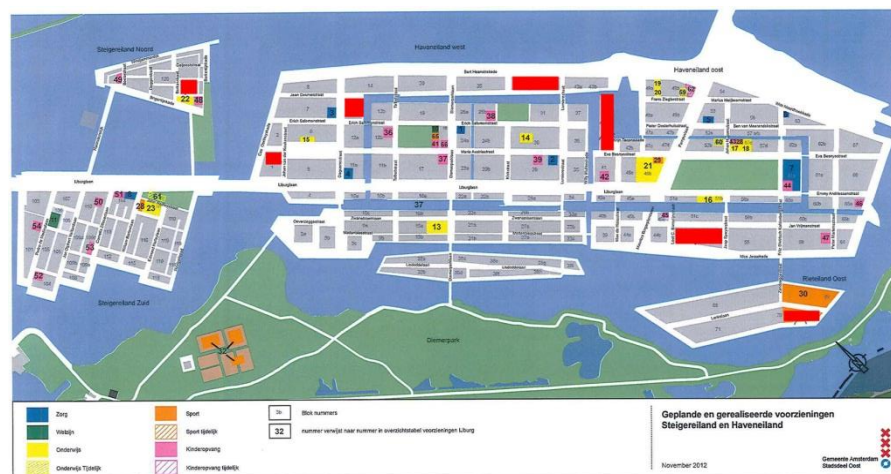
Temporary usages

The temporary usages are examples of bottom-up proposals from the inhabitants. The district has the role of mediator and manager. Temporary usages were quite frequently started already at early stages when the first houses were completed (from 2008, with an exception of the temporary facilities on the beach, Blijburg, which gave an important

identity to the whole island). Today they are more rare. The problems are related to

- a) the high amount of proposals that are submitted to the district area management team (stadsdeel gebiedsmanagementteam);
- b) the legal and fiscal problems emerging from the use of vacant plots related to financial burdens connected to reuse of building land. Vacant land is formally except from BTW taxes. A use of empty lots would imply the payment of selling taxes and transfer taxes at the moment of the redevelopment.
- c) the need to match the social value of temporary initiatives with the economic priorities of the area. Most temporary usages consist of children facilities and urban gardens.

Figure 2. The picture shows the location of temporary usages in IJburg, within vacant lots.



Self-building initiatives

Steigereiland has been one of the most experimental islands in the whole project. According to the general principles of controlled-flexibility, several experiments of self-organization were clustered within a specific island. The more flexible expectations on the island and the lighter structure of land development (without major consortia and structured building quotas) allowed for a more step-by-step approach. Within a planned amount of 1800 houses, the island has planned today about 800 self-built houses and 240 floating houses.

Figure 3. The map show the expected supply of self-built houses in the future. IJburg 2 is the major pole for this purpose.



In Steigereiland, Vrijburcht is considered one of the most successful examples of collective private commissioning. The building complex holds mainly owner-occupied housing but also facilities, such as a daycare center, ateliers and businesses. Because the initiator is a collective, the variety of individual choices that can be made regarding the house are limited. Nevertheless, all houses can have a different layout and can be combined with different functions. Vrijburcht is referred to as a “not planable surprise” (DRO Amsterdam, 2009; 13). Vrijburcht provides 20% affordable houses, 52 houses in total, 8 with an atelier attached. Further, 3 business spaces and 6 care-units. Facilities: bar/café, (movie)theater, daycare center, communal garden, greenhouse, crafting room and guest apartment. Prices ranges: €195.000 - €235.000 - €260.000

Self-building initiatives are starting to be considered both a mean to integrate unimplemented programming within a few empty spaces in IJburg and a practice of place-making and social cohesion. They also seem to provide public spaces needed on the island, of different typologies and sizes of those already programmed. The revised version of the masterplan in IJburg haveneiland Oost (2006) has made possible a resizing of the programming to 9000 houses (2500 less than expected) and increased the share of flexible programming to 55%.

Zeeburgereiland is also a target for self-built initiatives: total programmed amount is around 80 CPOs, within the frame of the redevelopment process RI-Oost, initiated by a cooperation between the housing corporation De Alliantie and the municipality.

IJburg 2 has been substantially preplanned (see below) in order to address the need of small scale self-built initiatives, lower densities and more space form small collectives of citizens and development corporations. IJburg 1 will host first 200 houses which will be self-built. The following 400 houses will be 75% self-built and 25% in collective-private commissioning. Expectations are around 300 houses per year produced according to this system.

Organization of virtual spaces

Within a hyper planned urban design and space, IJburg has shown a large community dynamism in terms of self-organization. This takes place over virtual spaces, that crisscross the boundaries of the designed urban grid. While temporary usages and self-built living spaces must comply with the established design of the island (highly inflexible), citizens have been creating several spaces for community building, interaction and engagement which relate to the management of the space. These activities have a strong identity, mostly related to the archipelago of the island itself. The geographical structure gives strong inputs to the self-organization of inhabitants. Examples are:

IJburg-droomt-IJburg-doet: self-organized initiative of small group of inhabitants. It organizes systematic gatherings with diverse people, mostly IJburgers. Around 100 participants.

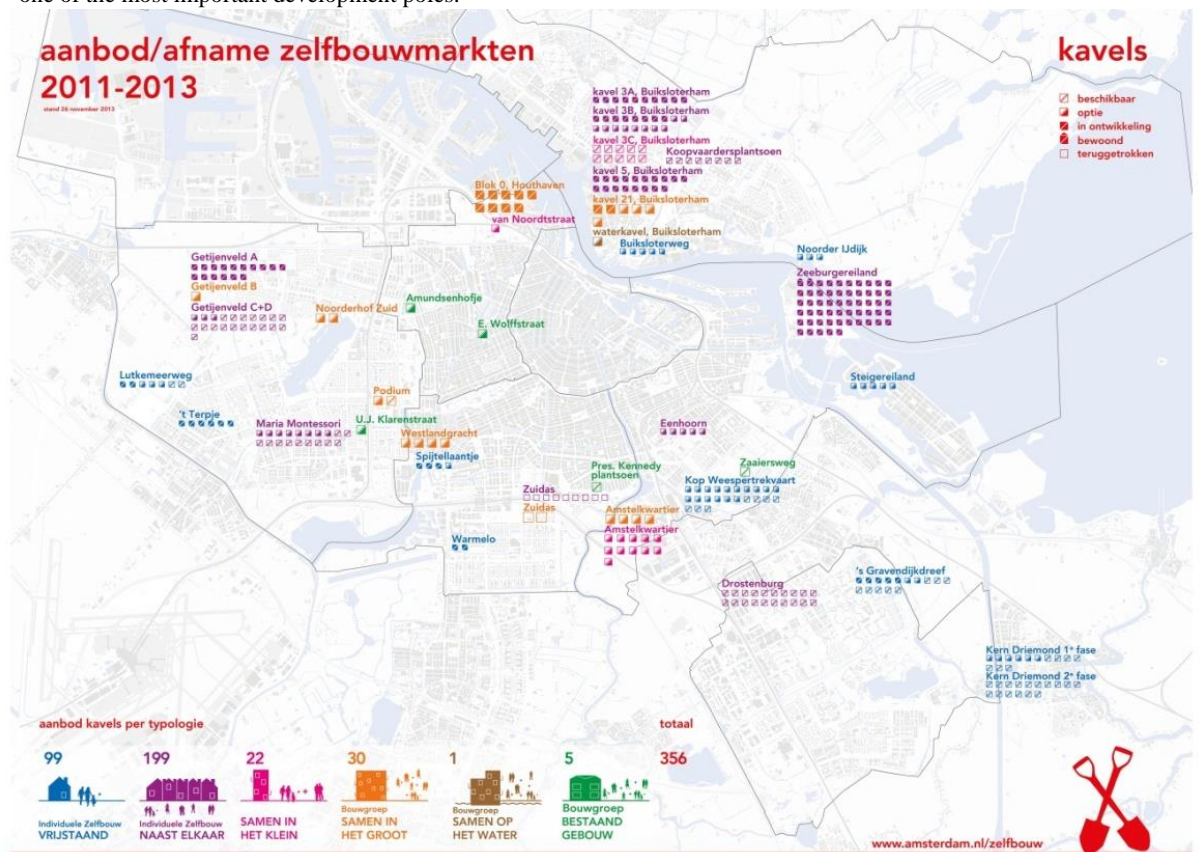
- Hallo IJburg. It is an online platform that allows inhabitants of the neighborhood and other interested persons to interact, advertise activities and discuss different issues on the island. It is an initiative of IJburg-droomt-IJburg-doet.
- Kompas op IJburg: It is a self-organized initiative of bottom-up investigation. It is a network of forums and posts over the needs of IJburgers. Different themes have been designed via informative meetings. The online platform allows for debating over these themes.
- Ring-Ring: it is an individual initiative, sponsored by the Amsterdam smart city network, which creates monetary incentives by calculating the biked kilometers. It requires cooperation with local private commercial activities

2.1.2 Activities in Contraposition/ Continuity of Programming

Self-organization in IJburg is not institutionalized within a process of city-regional planning. Practices of urban management and civic organization take place at the micro level, and in IJburg they show a degree of connection between them. The experiences of self-built houses are generally considered as a more market responsive way to achieve fixed programming. In general, these experiences remain rather limited within the whole city. The total supply of self-built houses in Amsterdam range around 1000 houses. This amount should be framed within the planned housing development of 75.000 houses within the region (minimal level of 2500 houses per year in Amsterdam) established by the current strategic frameworks (*Structuurvisie 2040, Noordvleugelbrief, Gebiedsagenda Noordwest Nederland*).

The reprogramming of IJburg 2 second phase shows a coherence towards a change of land development methods: The initial planning expectations ranged from 1200 to 1500 houses (*bestemmingsplan IJburg2*). Today programming is redefined to 700-800 houses. This is to allow a neighborhood that would provide 20% low range, 20% middle range self-sufficient ground bounded houses and enough density to keep prices low. Issues are mostly related to: the availability of parking, and the general price expectations to be achieved. Temporary usages are programmed, mostly in relationship with recreational use of water.

Figure 4. Overview of different experiences of self-built housing in the city of Amsterdam. Zeeburgereiland is considered one of the most important development poles.



2.1.3 Role of Citizens in Definition Areas of Priority and Interests

Citizens seem to not have much relevance in the definition of the general priorities on the archipelago. But there are some openings towards demand led initiatives via the spontaneous initiatives in IJburg citizens participation. These are mostly self-organized and not sponsored by the city. A few attempts of connecting these spontaneous forms of organization, the planning offices and the development corporations have been stopped because of lack of funds. The *IJburg Coalitie* and the figure of the *Marktmeester* are examples of first institutional attempts to have contact persons able to gather inputs from local networks and transmit them to the planning levels.

Possible elements of connections are the different virtual platforms of discussion organized by the inhabitants of IJburg 1. Yet, there is no institutionalized connection between the two. The temporary use of space is diffuse but mostly punctual and based on first-arrived first served, mostly smaller networks of inhabitants. It is mostly related to the use of the block as ‘management’ unit and not beyond blocks or across streets. Discussions on IJburg2 regard the degree of freedom to be left to citizens. The initial investigation poses important stepping stones to the project, mostly in terms of density and housing prices, but also energy, street design and general approach. The risk is that choices of inhabitants remain confined to smaller aesthetic elements, parking lots or inter-housing organization. The amount and typology of services is also open to discussion. It depends on the expected providers and the local demand.

The dilemma lies in the fact that (cited, designer at DRO team IJburg2) *‘Whether they really want a sand-bank with no restrictions. First the municipality does not want to make sand without a purpose. We cannot explain to everybody that a no reason is a reason to have land in a nature-protected area. We also want people to live there and not the happy few. Secondly, we asked ourselves if there is anybody that really wants to be free in this land. Therefore we started to think at what level to do something collective or private. I think it is at the level of the street and block that you give freedom. The atmosphere is something you want to provide, but then you give freedom on the facades and other details. I now feel safe to figure out how to start a community in the area.’*

2.2 Design and Adaptation to Built Spaces

Figure 5. The map shows the division of blocks in Haveneiland and Rieteilanden



2.2.1 Adaptation of Existent Space and Dealing with Established Ownerships

The spatial and architectural development of IJburg is an expression of the extremely complex organizational and financial system put in place for its realization (to be investigated in the WP3-WP4). Indeed, IJburg reflects some of the most paradoxical trends of real-estate development industry and planning in the mid-2000.

On the one hand, the main urban and architectural principles focus since the beginning on the flexibility of the space, the adaptability and the variety of the built surfaces. IJburg was supposed to be a post-modern suburban area which could fruitfully combine the order and sterility of suburban development with the intimate and dynamic character of city urbanites and their way of living (Lorzing, 2006). The main design principles (Claus et al, 2001) and the work of the quality team was to combine the need of fast and massive housing production and to avoid the risk of standardization of living surfaces into monotonous housing series. On the other hand, integrating these objectives with the high expectations of programming (19.000 houses in IJburg 1 (Haveneiland Oost-West and Rieteilanden) to be produced in max 8-9 years) and fixed housing typology mix (20% social, 50% middle-segment 30% top-end housing) resulted in an extremely complicated process of controlling variety. Organizational solutions have therefore been chosen to guarantee both timely realization of the building stock with a more developed variety of the urban surface.

Table 1. Expected housing output in 2007 of IJburg 1 and IJburg 2. Source: Woningen en bewoners op IJburg. Februari 2007, Projectbureau IJburg

jaar (1 januari)	IJburg eerste fase woningen (totaal)	IJburg eerste fase bewoners (totaal)	IJburg tweede fase woningen (totaal)	IJburg tweede fase bewoners (totaal)	IJburg woningen totaal	IJburg bewoners totaal
1 januari 2007*	2.392	6.092	-	-	2.392	6.092
2008	3.446	9.304	-	-	3.446	9.304
2009	6.257	16.894	-	-	6.257	16.894
2010	8.377	22.618	-	-	8.377	22.618
2011	9.414	25.418	500	1.350	9.914	26.786
2012	9.664	26.093	1.500	4.050	11.164	30.143
2013	9.664	26.093	2.750	7.425	12.414	33.518
2014	9.664	26.093	4.000	10.800	13.664	36.893
2015	9.664	26.093	5.250	14.175	14.914	40.268
2020	9.664	25.610	8.800	23.760	18.464	49.370
2025	9.664	25.610	8.800	23.760	18.464	49.370
2030	9.664	25.126	8.800	23.760	18.464	48.886

2.2.2 Overall Coherence through micro-scale variety

The block has been defined as the unit wherein to achieve extreme variety. Each block was the same and different at the same time from the other. The housing mix had to be reproduced at each level of scale (also within the same block). Block 14 is one of the most evident examples of different tenure and housing structured within a block unit. This made possible to design solutions able to achieve different types of mix and ownership. Such a large variety has extremely complicated the internal management of the building blocks. In some cases it has even hindered virtual social interaction between the tenants, which de facto share different lifestyles and property trends within the some building. Interaction between the blocks and across streets is also limited (Lupi, 2008). The problem is related to the ownership unity of the block, extremely large in size. The ownership structured of the block reflects the planning unit, following the planning principle of organize variety within a coherent block. Large associations of owners makes it less easy to guarantee responsive structural management. These problems also affect the use of internal common spaces (see also Nicolaas, 2013).

2.2.3 Tools to Generate Inputs in the Development Process

Experiments of flexible design and use of space are limited. The Solid (Block 1) was an experiment with the aim to maximize flexibility for different usages and to increase the freedom for end-users as they can draw their own ground maps within the building. To ensure practicability in the future, the building is developed with extra thick floors and increased floor heights. The materials are selected to endure at least 200 years. These aspects made the development extra costly. The square meters were auctioned to the renters and this led to surprising results. Some renters developed very small studio's with a lower rent, while other wanted larger ground floors because they wanted to combine work and living. Unfortunately, the project is considered not to be a viable option in a weak real-estate market. This is due to the high costs of maintenance and to the fact that the complicated and expensive property

make more convenient to redevelop and adapt other vacant spaces in Amsterdam (e.g. office spaces). Part of the building was therefore redeveloped for standard apartments (Platform 31, 2014). Based on a strong logic of self-determination of the market choices, the building makes use of particular forms of market and land use regulations:

- A completely open zoning plan on the plot (bestemmingsplan). Everything is virtually possible with only some limitations (e.g. coffeeshops or supermarkets);
- An internet service of virtual auction of the square meters (making the price per square meters not-defined in advance);
- A ‘casco’ system of ownership of the internal part of the building with a rental system of the external part.

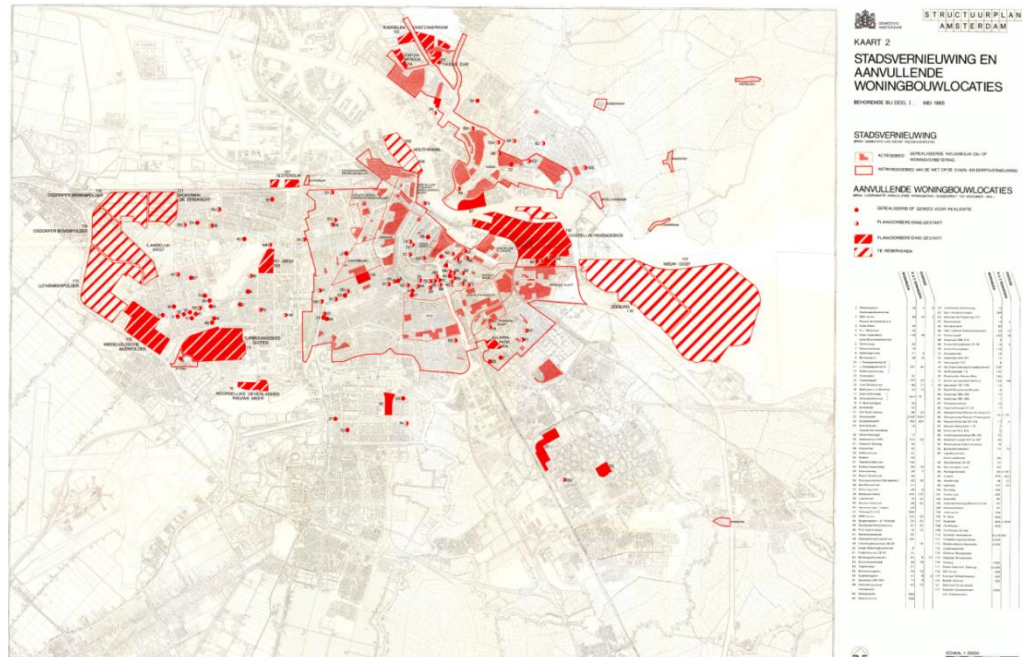
Today, the recent system of input is limited to self-built houses (CPOs and single houses). In this case the land is leased on the base of a specific market (*kavelmarkt*). Temporary usages have been systematically used since 2008. However, today there is a more interest in allowing certain usages that could produce social activities (for example the *IJburg Boerderij*, or the temporary public library OBA, or the IJburg college). These forms of organized entrepreneurship are examples of controlled and institutionalized tools for promoting self-management (publicly financed) initiatives.

2.3 Long Term Programming

2.3.1 Framing of Practices of Appropriation of Spaces

IJburg has been originally conceived as a project where elements of control, regulation and planned management could be combined with a more responsive approach to the market. Its historical development is directed to the creation of a new substantial part of the city to host a large amount of population to be attracted from both the city and from the population in the suburbs. Fifteen years of national government policies of ‘bundled deconcentration’ and ‘growth city poles’ had led to a rebalancing of the metropolitan demographic picture, and to a progressive weakening of core city region (2nd and 3rd national spatial planning frameworks). IJburg is framed within a process of addressing these regional residential equilibriums, which since mid-80s has been institutionalized in several planning documents at different levels of scale (Ministerie van VROM, 1994; Municipality of Amsterdam, 1985).

Figure 6. The *Structuurplan* 1985 shows the major areas of urban extension in Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam)



2.3.2 Changes in the Main Objectives of the Project

The relation between short term and long term programming

The project has maintained an overall continuity of the general real-estate programming and design principles. However, depending on the specific alderman involved and trends in the public-opinion, different issues have been emphasized in time. These issues mostly do not surpass the border of the IJburg project itself and they rather regard the internal features of the project.

- **Up to 1997:** IJburg is an item within a national debate on housing production and urban center revitalization. It is considered, with major projects within the IJmeer as one of the core projects of residential strengthening of Amsterdam metropolitan area. Reflection on urban-suburban combinations of urbanity, the connectivity with the historical parts of the city and experimentation of urban design are the most relevant items in the process (*Startnota IJburg, 1995; Gemeente Amsterdam, 1995a; 1995b*)
- **1997-1999:** Following the referendum over the environmental impact of the project, sustainability becomes a fundamental issue on the political agenda (*IJburgreferendum, held 20 march 1997*) This is also related to the upcoming influence, and quick institutionalization of the green-leftist parties. Housing quality, versatility and variegated design are the top issues in the project.
- **2000-2003:** The first problems with implementation (complex organization) opens up space for debate over the process management, the complexity of the development process. Here the issue is about a more particular management of the plan (fundamental design choices are made, from the grid, to the strip-system of assigning building quotas to development corporations, but also the first reflections over the use of space within the block of the ownership structure, etc.) (Architekten Cie et al., 2001; IJburg Haveneilanden en Rieteilanden, 2001).

- **2004:** the booming economy and the raising housing prices (20-30% every year) makes IJburg the field for experimenting with new living structures and massive plan management. It is the year of the marketization and branding of IJburg, with the first pioneers, and even the first strategies of temporary usages (Blijburg) framed as instruments of place-branding. In these years there is also a stretching of the borders of the project. IJburg is starting to be rethought and discussed (not at implementation or design level) in relationship with metropolitan dynamics of housing production. The metropolitan reflections on the north wing of the Randstad (*Noordvleugelconferenties*) allow a replacing of IJburg within the Amsterdam-Almere equilibrium. IJburg is started to be framed within the wider ecological and urban development of the IJmeer (Waterhout et al, 2013).
- **2006:** The urbanity issue and the social environment of the project become central issues. First experiences of the pioneers are investigated (Lupi, 2008) and initial reflections on cohabitation between different social profiles is central. IJburg starts to be compared to the Bijlmermeer in terms of social environment, ghettoization and isolating from the rest of the city.
- **2008:** The economic crisis opens up a space to reflect on the combination of the social question and the economic issue. The issue is how flexibility might be inserted in vacant plots; how and why people are not building and how they can be endorsed to activate self-organizing practices. Issues of self-building and temporary usages are recombined within a discourse of economic rejuvenation of the project.
- **Today:** IJburg is reframed as a local project. It is framed in competition rather than connection (see 2004 above) with the similar developments in the Western Part of Almere (Almere Poort, Homeruskwartier, and the self-built low density neighborhoods in the new town). There is a strong focus on the issue of working and living within the island.

2.4 Connection Between Initiatives and Strategic Objectives

Today, there are two different major spaces of reflection with regards to the interrelations between self-organizing dynamics and strategic objectives of IJburg.

Self-organization in IJburg 2 is framed within a discourse of ‘promoting’ localized capacities of management, local know-how and small entrepreneurialism. The development of Centrumeland (first part of IJburg 2) is pinned over a mutated perception of planning: enabling and leveraging on small scale preferences and demands from the inhabitants.

In IJburg 2 participation and self-organization is expected to be structured within a specific ultimate idea on both typology and costs of housing (cited from project leader at PMB IJburg Centrumeland):

The exploration is the end of the first phase of idea-making. It is not tabula rasa but we want to influence the bottom-up process with some basic ideas. We want to make affordable housing with low density instead of high-rise. We have an idea about the project because this is also part of the IJ-burg project. We have an idea but it has to be as simple as possible. It has only 5 points of reference

Figure 7. The image shows the division of plots to be assigned for self-building (Centrumeiland Verkenning, 2014).



This approach does not differ substantially from the design driven perspective on development by block. Rather it redefines the role of the development agents, partitioning the land into small parcels to be assigned to small scale developers. These developers are supposedly more connected to local demands. Most importantly, the strategic objectives of real-estate production seems substantially flexible (with a progressive re-sizing in the last 10 years of the expected output). This flexibility is also justified by the political will to keep open both the possibility to develop further the island of IJburg 2, and the type of environment to be designed. Originally, IJburg 2 was supposed to be a highly dense part of the city.

The first developments of IJburg 2 (Centrumeiland) remains highly regulated. This makes it hard to define which dimensions of planning will actually be subject to public choices and debate. The concept plan defined specific typologies of self-built houses within the island, the specific disposition of the to-be-built houses, providing with a coherent plan. Yet, this raises questions of over-control in a project that aims at getting substantial inputs from inhabitants.

Figure 8. The image shows the preliminary concept plan for the Western part of centrum eiland, the organization of the self-built plots, the expected planning of services within the grid and the different typologies of houses in relation with parking



2.4.1 The Response and Position of Governmental and Developmental Actors Towards Spontaneous Initiatives

On the other hand, emerging practices of urban change and do-it-yourself urbanism in the developed area of IJburg 1 are reframed as examples of (less or not-profitable) activities for social revitalization and community building in the neighborhood. These practices takes two main features:

- **Filling and retrofitting vacant plots in the area.** This is taken place mostly with a systematic use of temporary activities policies, the replacement of the existing one, and the reframing of bottom-up activities within issues of education, children entertainment and public space recreational use;
- **ICTs based forms of participation.** The IJburg Kompas is one of the examples (self-organized by a group of inhabitants) of an input driven platform. IJburg TV has become a fundamental tool in the creation of a community feeling in the area. Promoted by the Amsterdam Smart City network, few initiatives have been also developed to address the problem of connection between inhabitants and the city;
- **Versatility of space and new practices of urban living.** The social composition of IJburg has radically changed from expectations. There is a higher amount of children than expected, families with more than one child and several examples of self-employed workers (20.13% of current inhabitants is a life-age between 5-14 years old) (data from Research Office of Statistics Municipality of Amsterdam, 2013). This raises questions on the adaptability of living-working spaces. In the whole IJburg there are today 4.039 employed persons and 2.038 workplaces. Yet, there is a rather high degree of self-employed persons which tend to share living-working space. Despite this being one of the initial drivers of design (for example the eight of the ground floor living space, 3.15, was supposed to enable the flexible adaptation of living space into working space if needed) there is a search for new ways to allow diversity of use within the area.

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3. Istanbul: Intervention Dilemma in Kartal and Derbent

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3.1 Summary

Istanbul has been a fast growing city for more than half a century. By mid-1980s Istanbul was already, as a prominent Turkish scholar put it, an overgrown industrial city (source ?). As the economic engine of the country, Istanbul has been an attraction point both for investments and people, and has been under constant pressures of growth. A noteworthy part of this urban growth has taken place in a rather informal way, although there have always been efforts to plan the city and control its development. The city initially grew linearly along the shorelines, then inland towards forest areas, agricultural lands and water basins. Over time, both industrial establishments, as well as self-organized informal housing forms, popped up and spread to the periphery. There was always a tension between self-organization and control, and Istanbul has been a contested terrain of many actors trying to gain control over urban space. The urban periphery has increasingly become a space of contestation as the control of space is largely left to the market forces, where the State plays a facilitating role strategically, intervening to the socio-spatial restructuring of space through a variety of mechanisms and planning is one of them.

The cases we have chosen demonstrate different facet of this State's intervention in space. Our first case, Kartal, is an industrial area where most of the industrial activity came to a halt, albeit some smaller-scale establishments still hold on to this place. The area has been deliberately de-centralized in the context of a larger program aiming to clear Istanbul from industry to make way for advanced business services and other uses that will help Istanbul to become a world class city. The planning intervention here is interesting not only because it entails a vast area that, if realized, as it is envisaged, will have significant socio-spatial impacts on the metropolitan area, but also because the planning process involves a rather experimental approach involving a long mediation and negotiation process where planners struggle to navigate through a number of uncertainties. Kartal case opens an avenue where we can discuss dilemmas between top-down vs. bottom up processes, between flexibility and control, and its implications for participatory planning practices; where do we set the limits, the boundaries of being open to

future possibilities, and how do we manage the uncertainties such openness leaves us with.

Our second case, Derbent neighborhood, is located to the north of Istanbul along the ridges of the Bosphorus. It is a self-organized gecekondu area built on public lands, but with rising land values because of its proximity to the business district of Istanbul. Hence, the neighborhood is under a greater pressure for renewal than ever before. Here, contestation and conflict has been a commonplace phenomenon over many years, however, recently the will on the part of the government has become much sharper to re-shape these socio-spatial formations. Increasingly we see piecemeal interventions targeting gecekondu areas. Derbent is a good example of how the central government intervenes in space through new instruments. Here again, we see a sharp example of top-down decisions and how the community organizes to resist these decisions and struggles to push through bottom-up processes. Both cases give us an opportunity to examine and discuss how various alliances are formed, what is the role of planner and planning, and in which ways the state power increasingly becomes centralized and hegemonic. This is a line of analysis we would like to pursue in the future steps of this research.

3.2 Kartal

3.2.1 Role of Citizens and Procedures of Involvement and Decision Making

There are two user groups in the Kartal Transformation Project Area, one consisting of industrialists and the other of inhabitants. The percentage of industrial areas is 81 % while it is 9% for residential areas. There are 399 active firms and nearly 10.000 inhabitants in the project area. The industrialists can also be grouped under small scale and large-scale industrialist. Each inhabitant/user has a different role in project development.⁶

According to the ‘Industrial Relocation Program’ in 1991, Kartal was designated as a ‘De- industrialization Zone’⁷ after this period, the relocation of large-scale industries has been recorded but some of the small-scale industries are still active in the project area. The period of transformation in Kartal has started in 2005 with the foundation of *Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center (IMP)*, and followed by the announcement of an international urban design competition for the area to which only a select group of renowned architects were invited.

⁶ Kentsel Strateji, Kartal – A New Center on the Anatolian Side, presentation about negotiation process in Kartal, 2014 , page. 6

⁷ Expert reports addressed to the İstanbul 7th Administrative Tribunal with the Case no 2008/1776 and to the İstanbul 9th Administrative Tribunal with the Case no 2010/1024

On May 13, 2005 a meeting was held, attended by İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM), IMP, Kartal Municipality and large-scale industrialist, during which the planning, design and transformation process of the Kartal Central Industrial zone, as well as the foundation of an umbrella organization for the industrialists were discussed in detail. After the meeting, Kartal Urban Development Association (Kartal Kent-Der) was established by Kartal industrial property owners on 21 November 2006⁸. Indeed, the foundation of the association was encouraged by IMM as the idea was to create resources necessary to finance the international competition. Initially, only those industrialists who had a property of minimum 5000sq.mts were admitted as a member of the association, indicating the aspirations of the large-scale capital to have a say and influence in the transformation of the area. However, the smaller scale industrialist eventually got their way in the association and those industrialists who had a property smaller than 5000 sq.mts were also allowed to become members of the Association.⁹ However, since they do not pay membership fees, they are considered as social members. Currently, Kartal Urban Development Association has 29 full or active members and 27 social members.¹⁰ Members of Kent-Der represent about 71% of the landowners in this huge industrial area.¹¹

Kartal Urban Development Association or Kent-Der and the large-scale industrialists, from the beginning, have been directly involved in the process. The membership fees paid by these large-scale industrialists financed the international urban design competition and the services of the private company, Kentsel Strateji, managing the negotiation process. The association has also been actively participating in the resolution meetings and influenced, to a large extent, the decisions through the demands of the large-scale industrialists. The small-scale industrialists on the other hand, who were only social members do not seem to have a strong influence in the decision making process. Nevertheless, they have participated in the meetings and had a chance to express their views and expectations.

On the other hand, the current residential population, who will be directly affected by the plan, and in fear of forced displacement, founded the 'Kartal Yunus Neighborhood Urban Transformation Victims Association' after the meeting done at the beginning of the project period. During the process, they demanded an upgrade in the physical environment without forced displacements. On 29 March 2009, CHP won the local elections in Kartal, which has been under AKP rule previously. At the beginning, CHP administration took a political stand

⁸ Unlu, O. (2010). Participation and relations between actors In Urban Transformation Project: Kartal, PhD thesis, İstanbul Technical University, page:63

⁹ interview with Ozdemir Sonmez 18th April 2014

¹⁰ At the beginning it was decided that only the landowners with 5000m2 or bigger plots who paid the membership fee would become full members but then this limit was dropped until 2500m2 landowners..

¹¹ İstanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center, 2011, Kartal Central Area Project, page 27

and opposed the plan claiming it to be a benefit-oriented project to increase land rent. Indeed, CHP won the elections, on the large part, by campaigning against the transformation projects, including the Kartal Project. That was why for sometime the new Mayor of Kartal distanced himself from the project. But after having realized the aims of the plan, and in the interest of resolving the conflicts in favor of the citizens, he eventually started supporting the project. Nowadays, he became a proponent of the transformation of Kartal, claiming that “Barcelona will be a Model for the Transformation of Kartal.”

The planning of Kartal was a rather unique experience in a number of respects. First it involved the wholesale renewal and regeneration of such a huge industrial area. Second, it involved an international competition by renowned architects and third, it involved quite an extensive mediation and negotiation process and over 50 meetings were held with different actors during the planning process. These include:

- **Project decision-making committee meetings:** This committee was composed of representatives from IMM-IMP, Kartal Municipality, ZHA Architects and Kartal Kent-Der. The committee gathered in total 8 times to deliver decisions on fundamental principles and make evaluations on the project design, planning and the process.
- **General meetings:** During these meetings attended by Kent-Der, members and non-member property owners briefings were given and awareness-raising tasks were executed in order to achieve a feasible plan embraced by different parties. These meetings were held six times during the process.
- **Sub-regional Planning meetings:** Meetings were organized with property owners in each of the 14 zones of the project area. These meetings intended not only to inform the property owners about the project and raise awareness, but at the same time to inform the planners about the individual problems, demands and expectations of the property owners. In total 14 meetings were held, one in each of the zones.
- **Field meetings:** In order to examine the problems and demands of the property owners 12 onsite-meetings were organized.
- **Technical meetings:** These meetings were held 22 times, during which technical work has been carried on all along the planning process. ZHA Architects, IMM-IMP Planners, Kartal Municipality and the Association (Kent-Der) representatives who have been involved in the plan preparation phases attended these meetings.

Figure 1. Meetings as part of the mediation and negotiation process, Source: IMP, 2011 Kartal Central Area Project



In spite of all these meetings, it is still not possible to say that the process was an all-inclusive participatory process. Mediated by Kentsel Strateji, negotiations took place mostly between the main actors mentioned above and neither the residents nor the neighborhood associations took part in these meetings. The mediation process involved, for the most part, a process of explanation of the spirit and principles of ZHA's concept, strategies to implement it within the confines of the existing planning legislation, and convincing the landowners to agree among themselves and merge their plots, which would then supposedly become more attractive to large investors who would bring to life the kind of urbanity envisioned by Zaha Hadid.

Kartal Municipality played an intermediary role between the planning agents and the residents. The mayor organized meetings with the residents on site and informed people about the project. After the meetings, in the light of the information provided and due to the level of trust for the mayor, the residents started supporting the project as well and changed the name of their association to 'Urban Transformation Platform'¹². Meanwhile, the 1/5000 plan sued by the Chamber of Architects was revised and a new one was approved in 2009. In the revision plan, M legend areas (residential) were given improved construction rights and under certain conditions even the same right as the industrial areas. We will be mentioning these in detail in part b below. Also, M areas are kept exempt from 40% "development readjustment share" (DOP).¹³

With the arrangements made to resolve the disadvantages in the residential areas, the residents started demanding the settlement of uncertainties in the project as soon as possible and were eager to proceed with the implementation phase. In the meantime one of the areas situated in an M legend area was designated as a risk zone under the law no. 6306 regarding the 'Transformation of Areas Under the Risk of Disaster'- shortly referred as the Disaster Law- by the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning. The Urban Transformation Platform and Yunus Special Project Area Property Owners Association – a group detached from the platform because of personal disagreements - signed an agreement with a construction company, ŞUA Yapı, to realize the transformation through their own initiatives.¹⁴

¹² Interview with Mehmet Battalçođlu, member of Urban Transformation Platform, 21th April 2014

¹³ *Düzenleme Ortaklık Payı (DOP)* - Development Readjustment Share: The land cuts applied in the development plans taken equally from all the private properties in the area in order to provide public facilities and infrastructure such as roads, squares, parks, green spaces, public parking lots, first and secondary public schools, religious buildings, police stations, market places and public transport areas. The article 18 of the Building Code regulates the free of charge cessation of these lands as public domain.

¹⁴ Interview with Mehmet Battalçođlu, member of Urban Transformation Platform, 21th April 2014

Figure 2. Kartal Centrum Project by ŞUA Yapı will include offices, residences, shopping and an artificial lake. Source: <http://emlakkulisi.com/sua-insaat-centrum-kartal-projesine-2014-yilinda-basliyor/191069>



3.2.2 Design and Adaptation to Built Spaces

The transformation project of Kartal was prepared by Zaha Hadid Architects. ‘Flexibility’ constitutes the central point of the urban design concept of Kartal Urban Transformation Project. The whole concept is based on a soft-grid plan done according to the transportation thresholds and physical values of the area. The project proposes three focal areas¹⁵;

1. North Hub and Public Recreation Area: around the former stone quarry planned as a public recreation center with a lake. Leisure and mixed-use functions will surround a central public plaza, connecting the North Hub (metro station interchange and tram station) to the project area.
2. Central Boulevard: Central Boulevard supported with a tram line and ground floor commercial continuity and a human scale urban environment.
3. Seafront-Marina and South Hub: connected via tram/Marmaray/ferry. It serves as a recreation quarter supported by a new cultural and civic center.

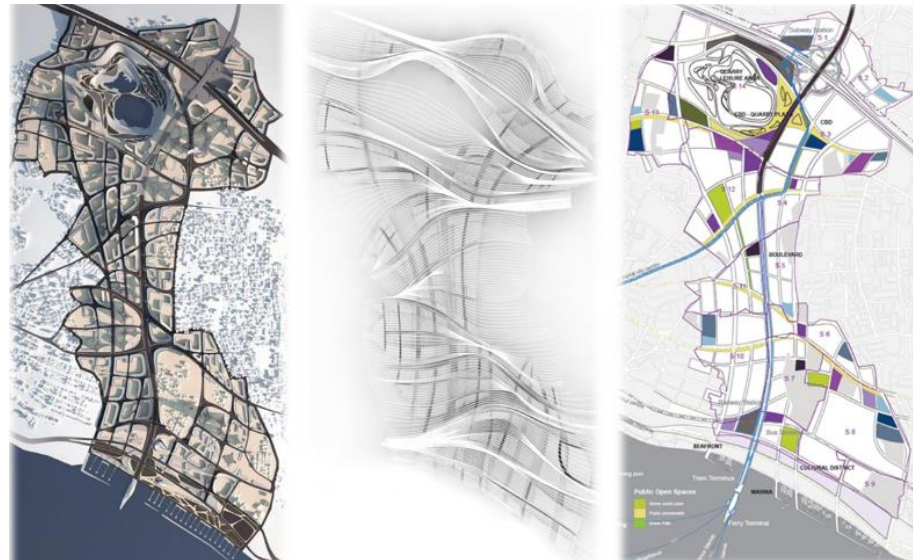
The other prominent elements of ZHA’s conceptual plan is a stitching geometry, block based construction, height strategy and various building typologies. As part of its planning principles it defines equal development rights, equal development parcels and flexibility in use and construction. The project concept proposes the creation of a new center for the metropolitan area with an urban tissue composed of office, housing and recreational elements compatible with the transformation of Kartal from an industrial to a service industry zone.

The design principles introduced by Zaha Hadid Architects provides the basis of the 1/5000 Kartal Center Master Plan. Unlike traditional planning methods applied in Turkey, a master plan was being made taking a concept as a basis defining its fundamental guidelines such as allotment, transport lines and most importantly flexibility of the use

¹⁵ Kentsel Strateji, Kartal – A New Center on the Anatolian Side, presentation about negotiation process in Kartal, 2014, page.11

functions and matching zoning, the final being clearly defined in a conventional master plan. This creates problems while transferring the concept project to a master plan as well as its adaptation and implementation concerning the physical conditions of the site. However greater issues emerged in adapting the design to the Turkey's existing planning legislation framework and planning regulations and reaching a common ground between the demands of the property owners and the basic principles of the project.

Figure 3. From a design concept to a master plan. Source: Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center, 2011, Kartal Central Area Project



While Zaha Hadid's concept was being adapted to the plan, several meetings were done with the participation of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, IMP, ZHA Architects, Kartal Municipality and Kent-Der Association as the main parties. As the result of these meetings, the parties reached a common ground by adjusting the demands of the industrial property owners and the initial design concept project through creating a new allotment structure and a modification in FAR rights that would compensate for a possible loss created by it. Consequently, it was decided that in the allotment structure the industrial landowners would be placed to the closest lots available, if keeping them in the same location is not possible. And apart from the obligatory 40% "development readjustment share" (DOP), if they cede 10% of the land as "public development share" (KOP)¹⁶ at no cost to the municipality, the floor areas they would get from that 10% of their land will be added to the

¹⁶ *Kamu Ortaklık Payı (KOP) – Public Development Share*: It is another form of land readjustment method applied in the development plans through the land cuts taken from private properties in the area for the provision of public facilities other than those included in DOP stated (such as public service areas, health care institutions and service areas). This can be done in two forms; 1) The value of the land taken is paid to the landowner, 2) Instead of a monetary remuneration, the construction rights on the ceded land is added to the rest of the constructible area. The second, although preferred by public authorities for not having to spare funds, engenders a change/increase in densities.

total constructible area. According to the final agreement, a maximum 50% of the total area will be used for housing and a minimum 50% for commercial, office, tourism and cultural uses. To encourage this, three development options were given, each with a different floor area ratio, increasing with office, cultural, touristic or public service uses, encouraging construction serving the transformation process from an industrial area towards a service industry zone. The three options are as follows¹⁷:

- Option A: 31-50% of construction land for housing, maximum FAR 2.50
- Option B: 0-30% of construction land for housing, maximum FAR 3
- Option C: Total construction land used for touristic, cultural, sportive activities, accommodation and public service facilities, maximum FAR 3. In case the area is used for public service facilities underground construction areas and for other uses only 1st underground level, are exempt from FAR

The 2008 1/5000 Kartal Center Master plan was revised due to the lawsuit filed by the Chamber of Architects and was approved in 2009. In this plan several revisions were made and in M legend areas minimum lot size requirements were lowered from 2000 m² to 500 m². Later on with another revision, the 2011 plan further reduced the minimum lot requirement, this time from 500m² to 200m². In principle, as the size of the lot gets larger and the ratio of land used as housing decreases, then the building rights are increased.

The construction conditions in the project area are as below

Minimum gross lot size is 200 m². : If¹⁸;

- Lot size between 200-500 m², maximum FAR 0,50
- Lot size between 501-1.999 m², maximum FAR 0,75
- Lot size between 2.000-4.999 m²:
 - o 41% or more of the total built space residential, maximum FAR 2.
 - o Between 01-40% of the total built space residential, maximum FAR 2,25
- If gross lot size is 5.000 m² and above, building rights are the same with the rest of the project area (i.e. as the options A, B, C above).

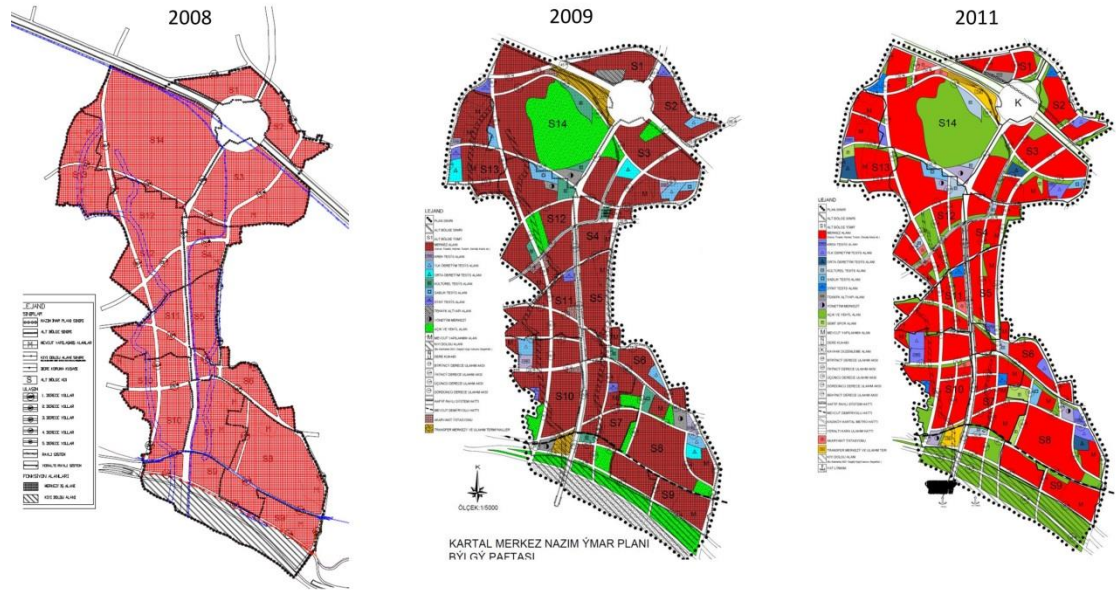
Also, due to objections, revisions were made for the 2008 plan in which areas for public facilities were not designated and the compatibility of the road widths with its surrounding areas was found inadequate. These were defined later on in the 1/5000 master plan approved in 2009. The final plan designates public facility areas as follows: 50 ha green area, five cultural centers, three medical centers, four administrative facilities, thirteen schools, and five religious facilities¹⁹

¹⁷ Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center, 2011, Kartal Central Area Project, page: 37

¹⁸ Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center, 2011, Kartal Central Area Project, page: 40

¹⁹ Kentsel Strateji (2009) Kartal, Strateji ve Eylem Planı, page 86

Figure 4. 1/5000 Kartal Center Master Plans for 2008,2009 and 2011 Source: Expert Report Case no 2010/1024 and Kentsel Strateji



On the other hand Zaha Hadid's concept project does not go without criticism. The expert reports prepared for the lawsuits of 2008 and 2009 plans²⁰ assert that the soft-grid system comprising the basis of the 1/5000 plan, and the allotment structures defined on it, seems to be done as if the area was formerly a bare plot with no structure on it, neglecting the current land use, and ownership structures.

Also, Faruk Göksu from Kentsel Strateji remarks his concern about planning such a large area through an urban design competition and adds that a strategy should have been planned involving various actors during the project design phase. He also notes that the design should be in accordance with the reality (ie. wind direction, land structure) and that it is not appropriate to develop a plan in such a large area through a competition, while adding that a more appropriate plan could have been selected if İMP had its own strategic design principles in the first place.²¹

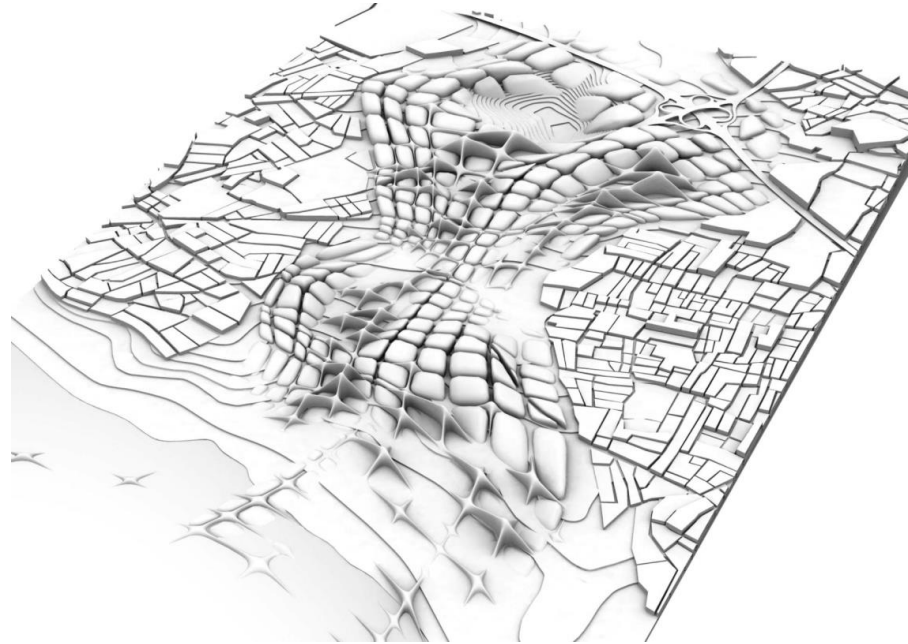
Architect Esin Köymen, the representative of Kartal Chamber of Architects also remarks the incompatibility between the design and its surroundings and expresses concern about the construction of the 170m high buildings next to 15m ones. On the other hand, IMP, as the organizer of the competition, points out that the idea behind working with worldwide known designers was to increase the urban value and make use of the expertise of these designers. It was also thought that a

²⁰ Expert reports addressed to the İstanbul 7th Administrative Tribunal with the Case no 2008/1776 and to the İstanbul 9th Administrative Tribunal with the Case no 2010/1024

²¹ Interview with Faruk Göksu (Urban Strategy),17th April 2014

strategic area such as Kartal, if designed by a ‘starchitect’, would be a significant asset in branding Istanbul.²²

Figure 5. Zaha Hadid’s Soft Grid concept for Kartal Project Area. Note the contrast between the proposed and exiting urban tissue. Source: Arkitera



As to the users of the groups that will be affected first-hand from the project, one of the residents, ‘muhtar’²³ of Çavuşoğlu Neighborhood, expresses his concern about the wealthy-poor division it would create in the neighborhood. Another resident, ‘muhtar’ of Topselvi Mahallesi adds that he does not find the design fit as the high-rise buildings would block the landscape and the wind for the surrounding buildings, however contradictorily he still wants the project to be implemented if none of the residents will be displaced.²⁴

3.2.3 Long Term Programming

The core idea of the urban transformation in Kartal aims to transform the area into a ‘Central Business District’ on the Anatolian side to take off pressure from Maslak CBD and balance the two sides of İstanbul in terms of office spaces and service industries and create an attractive, international, high quality and mixed-use center for investments. The planning department of İBB and Kentsel Strateji base this strategy on the conception of a multi-centered metropolitan area that has already been

²² Interview with Esin Koymen (Kartal Chamber of Architects), 6th May 2014

²³ Muhtar is an elected representative of a neighborhood in charge of determining the common needs through voluntary participation of the residents, carrying out dialogues with municipalities and other public institutions, delivering an opinion about issues concerning the neighborhood, collaborating with other institutions and exercise other duties given by law.

²⁴ Interview with muhtar of Topselvi neighborhood, Ramazan Keklik and muhtar of Çavuşoğlu neighborhood, Arif Koç, 21th April 2014

incorporated into the 1/100.000 Metropolitan Land Use Plans of 1980's. Although there seems to be an overall consensus on the need for multi-centers for İstanbul, the transformation of Kartal as a CBD rather than a center to serve its surrounding area creates controversies.

The interviews as well as the documents provided by planners of the Kartal project asserts that the area was designated due to its potential: suitable conditions with an urban tissue mainly composed of unused large-scale industrial sites, closeness to the main transportation networks such as the Kadıköy-Kartal metro line, E-5 and TEM highways, Sabiha Gökçen Airport, sea transport lines, as well as the possibility to connect the area with the finance center in Ataşehir. Several well-known architects were invited to join the International Competition with projects that would use this potential according to the main objectives designated above. As the IMP planners indicate, the idea behind inviting renowned architects to design projects for the area was to add to the urban value and identity that was aimed to be created in Kartal, to attract new investments and people to the area through featured designs.

Subsequently, the overall concept of ZHA, the winner of the competition, envisaging a mixture of residential-office-leisure uses was translated into a land use plan. The information given by the former city planners from İMP and current planning office, as well as Kentsel Strateji estimates creation of offices, housing, cultural, social and touristic areas on 359ha, generating 4 million m² construction land of which 800.000 m² will be reserved for public facilities such as schools, service zones, green areas etc. Maximum 50% of the total area will be used for housing and minimum 50% for commercial, office, tourism and cultural use. To encourage this, three options were given, each with a different floor area ratio increasing with office and cultural, touristic or public service uses²⁵, and encouraging construction serving the transformation process form an industrial area towards a service industry zone.

²⁵ Option A: 31-50% of construction land for housing, maximum FAR 2.50
Option B: 0-30% of construction land for housing, maximum FAR 3
Option C: Total construction land used for touristic, cultural, sportive activities, accommodation and public service facilities, maximum FAR 3. In case the area is used for public service facilities underground construction areas and for other uses only 1st underground level, are exempt from FAR

Figure 6. The skyline envisaged as a result of the flexible approach in defining building densities according to the percentage of non-residential uses in Zaha Hadid's Soft Grid concept for Kartal Project Area Source: Arkitera

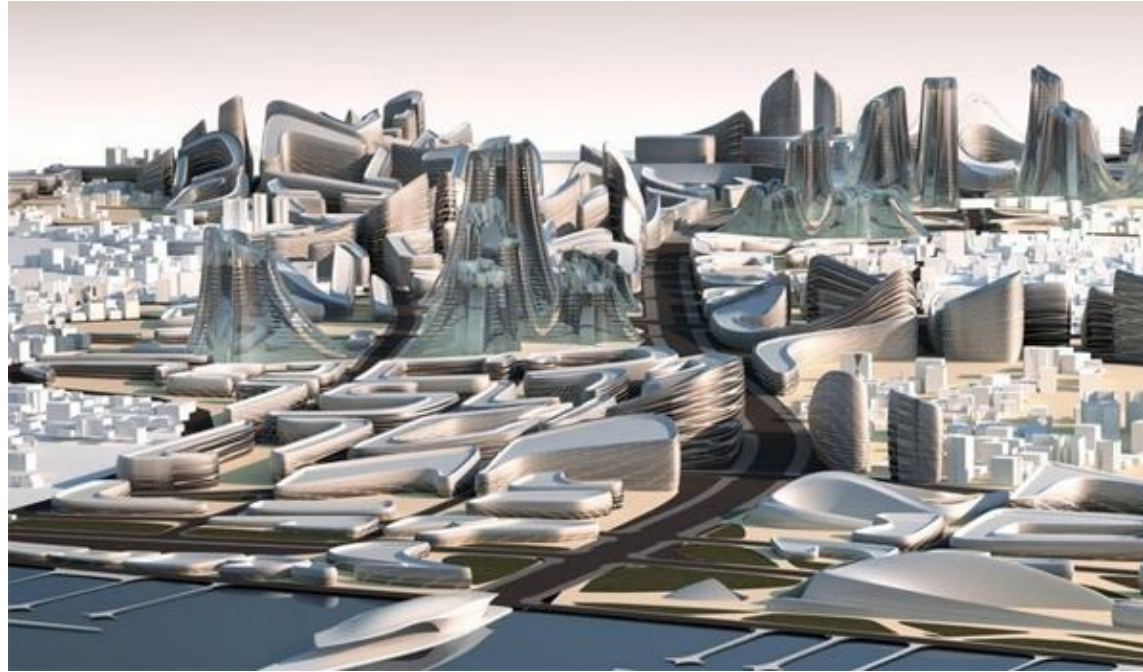
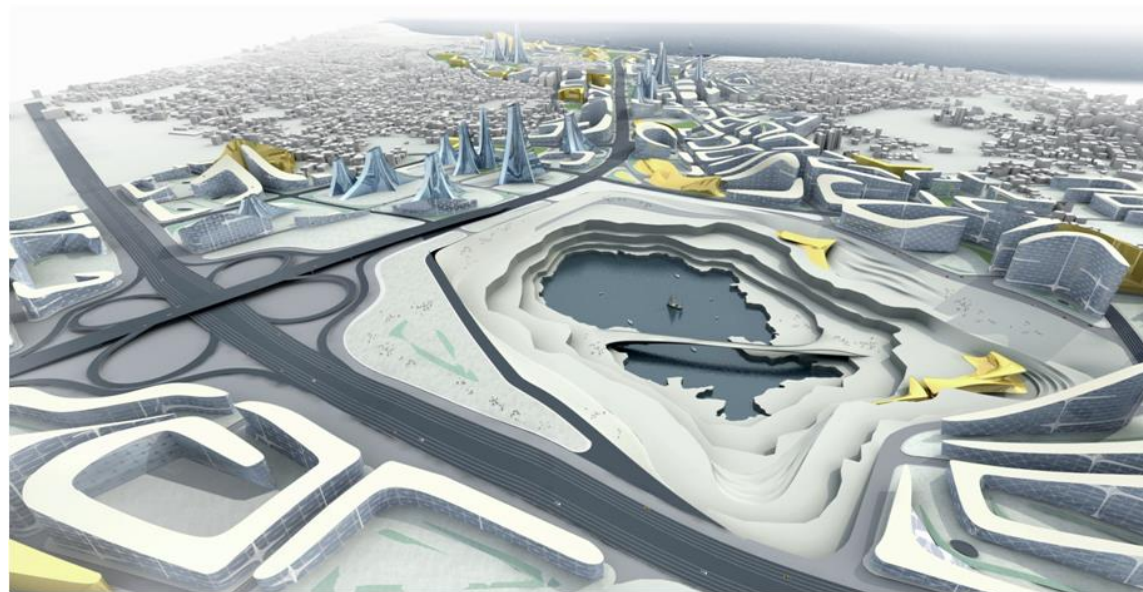


Figure 7. The skyline envisaged looking towards the Marmara Sea. In the fore ground is the large pond left over from mining activity. Source: Arkitera



On the other hand, M legend areas (existing constructed land) consisted, in major part, of small residential lots is given different FAR rights²⁶ in

²⁶ Use ratios between residential, commercial, cultural, touristic are not restricted.
Minimum gross lot size is 200 m²'dir. If;
Lot size between 200-500 m², maximum FAR 0,50
Lot size between 501-1999 m², maximum FAR 0,75
Lot size between 2000-4999 m² ; for %41 and above for residential maximum FAR 2.

order to discourage 100% residential use and encourage merging of small lots to form larger and integrated construction areas adapted to the land use concept of the whole project. With all this, 100.000 workers and 50.000 inhabitants are estimated at the end of the project.

However, the planning approach of the Kartal area and some of the decisions in the plan generate dissent and several lawsuits have been filed. The prime issue is seen as the nonconformance to planning principles in the making of the 1/5000 plan. The interviews and the expert report ²⁷ indicate that the main conflict stems from the incompatibility between a flexible planning conception that was attempted to put in application for the first time in Kartal – as underlined several times by the planning authorities – and the rigidity of prevalent planning legislation that does not accommodate ‘uncertainties’ resulting from such a flexible approach.

As we mentioned before in part b above, the Kartal plan was done by translating the core principles of the concept project done by ZHA into a master plan. Thus, the design principles were taken as guidelines to reconfigure the physical space to adapt to the new life conditions and functions of a CBD. As acknowledged in the expert report, this situation challenges the traditional planning hierarchy in which an upper scale plan is followed by a subscale plan and then a project is done accordingly.

According to the expert reports and the court decisions based on their assessments - although this approach was regarded as necessary to compensate the need for flexibility in Turkey’s planning practice - certain aspects that we will clarify below are regarded dissatisfactory. The section below remarks and reflects upon the opinions expressed in these documents.

The flexibility approach causes several major problems. First, in the 1/5000 plan 14 building blocks were defined as subzones (S) in various dimensions according to the soft-grid concept developed by ZHA. According to the flexibility principle, the plan provisions indicate that subscale plans will regulate the land use on each building block within the office-commerce-recreation-housing mixed-use framework and the three options regulating the use percentages that we mentioned above. This is regarded as an innovative and recommended approach for planning as it leaves a margin for future demand and investments to decide on the use. However, it can be criticized under three essential points.

First, there are two contradictory opinions about Zaha Hadid’s plan and its relation with the existing land structure. Both expert reports draw

Between %01-40 maximum FAR 2,25
If gross lot size is 5000 m2 and above construction rights are the same with the rest of the project area.

²⁷ Expert reports addressed to the İstanbul 7th Administrative Court with the Case no 2008/1776 and to the İstanbul 9th Administrative Court with the Case no 2010/1024

attention to the attempt to transfer a concept project and the soft grid system that results in an area planned as if it was formerly a bare plot, totally neglecting the current land use, and ownership structure. Also both documents state that the Kartal project is lacking a transport masterplan and the main transport axes shown on the plan are just advisory and their designation is not based on any kind of transportation master plan which is deemed necessary for a CBD zone that would attract a mobile population on a daily basis. However the planners from IMP and the competition jury claim the contrary and remark that ZHA's plan was chosen since it was the most appropriate plan taking into account the current urban tissue and the road thresholds on it.

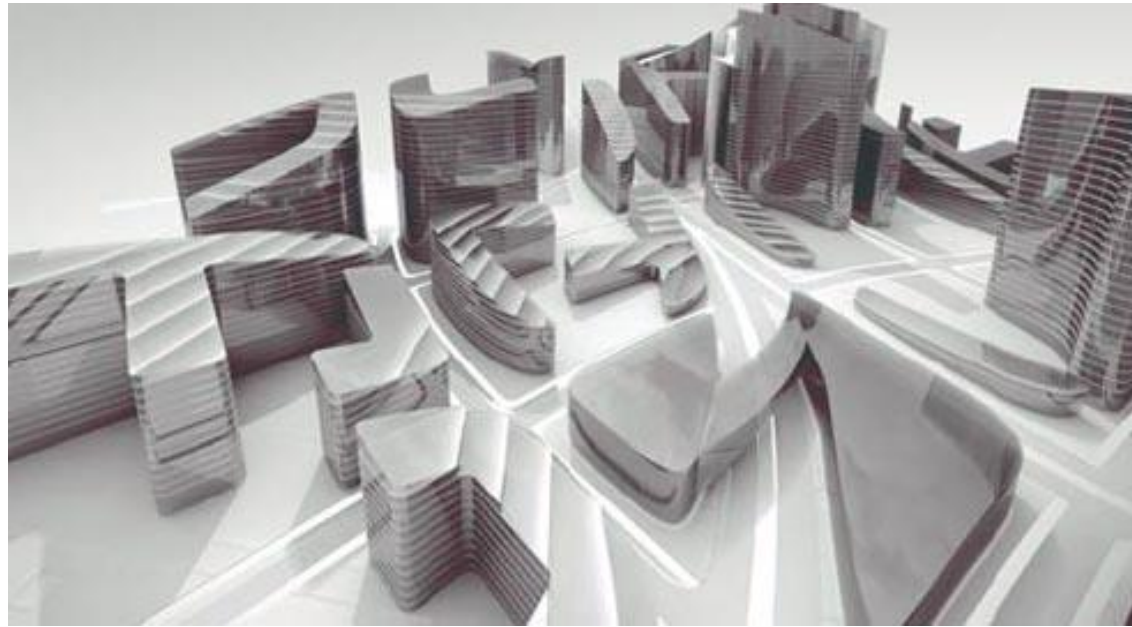
Second, the flexibility principle guiding the 1/5000 plan creates uncertainties in terms of land use density and functions. It is asserted that the scope of a 1/5000 master plan is to determine the land use strategies although for Kartal undefined areas were left as the provisions of the 1/5000 plan authorized the subscale plans and schemes to define these according to needs and demands. This is regarded as conflicting with the prevalent planning principles and legislation, which define master plans as *“plans that delineate the general land use, major zones, the population densities, if necessary the building densities, and show the principles of development, directions and size of growth, the transportation system and solutions to the problems of the settlement in question. As such they serve as a basis for 1/1000 development plans.”*²⁸ Hence, it is argued, the master plan cannot leave ambiguous areas the specific function of which to be determined in subscale plans.²⁹ At this point the conflict between flexibility principle and planning legislation manifest itself clearly.

Due to the leading role given to the demands and investments, the proportion of the land uses and functions in the subzones will only be determined once there is a real demand for development by an investor. This makes it almost impossible to make projections on the percentage of the use types and the final user figures, hence decide on the public facilities necessary for the area as the needs of an office use and residential area would be substantially different.

²⁸ Law no. 3194- Development Law, art. 5

²⁹ This was one of the major arguments the court grounded its decision to cancel the 1/5000 Master Plan for Kartal as stated in the Court Decision of 2013 (Case no: 2011/967, Decision no. 2013/965)

Figure 8. Flexible block structure of the ZHA Kartal Project . Source: Arkitera



The uncertainties caused by this flexible approach also create problems regarding the implementation stage. As Faruk Göksu from Kentsel Strateji remarks, notable variances might come up on building block basis as each building lot will be deciding on the percentage use of the functions devoted to either one of the office, housing and leisure uses according to their needs and that it will not be possible to manage the overall distribution of these functions as well as the phasing of it before the constructions starts.

Thirdly, the non-existence of a sound analysis in the plan report regarding the current use and conditions of the land and built area and most importantly a social-economical analysis in terms of the capacities of the industries, their fixed investments, employment structures and relocation plans that should provide a basis for the development plans is underlined and criticized in both expert reports from 2008 and 2010. For this reason the plan is regarded as disregarding the decision-making principle based on scientific data by the experts. It is remarked that the lack of a detailed analysis of the current conditions and a program phasing, the decentralization of industry will definitely be to the disadvantage of workplaces that are still active, however small they may be. Although, a staging strategy for the decentralization of the industry – one year for idle companies and 5 years for currently active ones - is going to be added to the plan with the latest revisions as IMM planners state. Moreover, the expert report also underline the absence of a social plan to simultaneously transform the employment structure and reinforce labor force qualification, ignoring the social equity and sustainability aspects of such a radical transformation at the area.

At this point, Faruk Göksu, of Kentsel Strateji, adds that this should have been asserted by the local municipality during the negotiation period. He asserts that instead of questioning what kind of a public space could be

created for the inhabitants and setting the creation of a professional training and employment program designating a minimum of 10-20% workforce supply from the local inhabitants, as conditions, they hindered the application process because of political reasons.

Apart from the objections that hinder the planning process; decisions taken by different authorities on certain zones make it difficult to adapt these different areas to the overall plan and have a holistic approach and an integrated long-term plan as stated by the İMM planners. For example one of the M areas is declared as a risk area , and is now being transformed under the “Disaster Law” conditions. But a more striking change happens on a lot belonging formerly to a cement factory, designated as a public transport transfer hub where Marmaray and metro stations would meet next to the Kartal sea shore. On 5 November 2012, the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning made a revision in the plan and the lot belonging to the public treasury was sold by Emlak Real Estate Investment Partnership - whose shareholder is the Housing Development Administration TOKİ- to Dab Yapı and Ağaoğlu³⁰. The lot was given to these companies in exchange for partnership on profits made from flats sold. As we learn from Esin Köymen, the representative of Kartal Chamber of Architects and backed by a newspaper article, the project will include 3.000 residences, a hotel, offices, a shopping street, a marina, a high-speed train, a private school and a hospital. It is also mentioned in the article that the railway passing through the lot on the former plans was placed underground³¹. This points out how ‘flexibility’ can be taken as the arbitrary use of authority by certain institutions to incorporate projects at their own will into Kartal plans.

Finally, Kartal Chamber of Architects claim that the physical boundaries of the plan does not comply with a holistic strategy nor with planning regulations and isolate a 359ha area from its surroundings as well as creating a disjunction on the urban tissue. Moreover, other concerns expressed in the expert reports about the long-term planning for the transformation project addresses the lack of an analysis on its effect on the surrounding areas and İstanbul in general. As indicated by the planners in İMM, the Kartal transformation project will have a spillover effect on its surrounding area as well as on the daily lives of the current inhabitants. İMM planners remark a radical change on the built environment and neighborhood scale that will alter living spaces suitable for the industry workers and underline the discrepancy between the highrise buildings with proposed open (public) spaces built within the frame of the soft-grid concept brought by Zaha Hadid and the urban tissue in the surrounding area composed of apartment blocks on an unplanned road network. In the long run, the current population is expected to be able to move out with the surplus value generated during the transformation, however, the absence of a Strategic Plan conceptualizing a long-term integration strategy on social, economic and

³⁰ They are two of the biggest construction companies in Turkey. Ağaoğlu is also known for corruption cases and its close relationships with the government officials.

³¹ <http://birqun.net/haber/agaogluunun-kayiqi-hukuksuzlukta-yuzuyor-6420.html>

physical levels indicate to an uncertainty for the long-term outcomes of Kartal transformation project.

On the other hand the fundamental difference on two areas, the project area and its surroundings, is regarded as a positive outcome of the project by Özdemir Sönmez, former planner from IMP, in charge of the Kartal Master Plan. He suggests that the project area is expected to have a triggering effect for the transformation of the surrounding area composed of split-deed housing.³² The transformation of this area, it is thought, would potentially create a healthier environment.

3.2.4 Connection Between Initiatives and Strategic Objectives

The overall planning process comprising of negotiations between the actors involved is seen by the planning agents as the essential part of the Kartal transformation project, making it an exemplary practice for such big scale urban transformation projects, as it would enable a flexible planning structure in which different actors would have a chance to communicate their demands and leave a space for initiative. Though, the management of the negotiation process and power balances between different actors is highly debatable. For example, the association founded by the large-scale industrialists, Kent-Der, is in alliance with IMM and seem to have a closer relationship with the planning agents making it easier for them to communicate their demands more than the other actors such as the inhabitants who are represented by their own neighborhood associations and the local municipality.

Further, the connotation of ‘urban transformation’ in Turkey creates an instant reaction and emergence of citizen based strategies against it. In Kartal, the first plan proposed by IMM causes reactions as the inhabitants think they will be put into a disadvantaged position as the local municipality was also governed by AKP and they would back up any plans made by the central government no matter the social disadvantages it could engender. Also, the previous transformation examples such as Sulukule neighborhood ending up by the forced displacement of the inhabitants have a great role in forming an opposition against top-down urban transformation projects and decisions. As a consequence, in Kartal the inhabitants got organized under a ‘Urban Transformation Victims’ association to seek their rights. Yet, with CHP elected for the local municipality and the promises of mayor to implement an in-situ urban transformation alleviating the worries about displacement, the public opinion changes in favor of the project. This was indeed manifest in the changing name of the citizens’ association from ‘Urban Transformation Victims’ to ‘Urban Transformation

³² Split-deed housing is another form of self-organized, informal housing. Its difference from gecekondü is that split-deed housing the land ownership is legal, but the house built upon it is not since the peripheral area where split-deed housing was initially built was outside planned areas. Whereas, in gecekondü since it is build on occupied public land, the ownership of land as well as the structure on it are not legal.

Platform.’ Without doubt, the reduction of the minimum lot sizes for development from 500sq.mts to 200sq.mts had major role in this. Besides, the change in the minimum lot sizes in order to get FAR rights entitled to residential areas, as we mentioned in section b³³, are similar to the construction rights of the overall project and eliminate disadvantages while facilitating the willingness for the implementation of the transformation project. This could be seen as the result of bottom up organization of the inhabitants and their good relationship with the local municipality lobbying for their rights and the compromise of the planners to reach a common ground for the implementation of the project.

Additionally, the demand for the application of the law no.6306, known as Disaster Law, and the demarcation of certain residential areas (M legend) by the contractors as “Risk Areas” is also another strategy used to create independent zones inside the project area that can implement its own urban transformation. Vis-a-vis this situation, the only thing that the planning Office of the metropolitan municipality would be to deliver their affirmative or negative opinion on whether the self-transformation is compatible with the rest of the planned area, as it is the Ministry having the authority to regulate Risk Areas and not the municipalities.

Lastly we can also speak of adverse strategies coming from the planning authorities in order to stall the objection process and ensure the implementation of the plan and the project. As the ground of action of the Chamber of Architects suggest, immediately after each appeal for the cancelation of the 1/5000 plan, another one is being made without waiting for a resolution. As it can be affirmed from the official pleadings, this has happened three times consequently on 2008, 2009 and 2011, each time with the creation of a new plan. This could be evaluated as a strategy used in order to avoid the stay of execution and cancelation of plans and pursue with the planning stage of Kartal project by making small revisions, and oblige the chamber to open up a new case for each new plan that is being made.

3.2.5 Conclusion

The Kartal transformation process aims at a functional change of the industrial zones towards a service sector use that started in 2005 with the foundation of IMP and the organization of a an international design competition, which has been shaped by several different actors. These actors were respectively, IMM, IMP, Kent-Der Association founded by the industrial landowners, ZHA architects, Kentsel Strateji, Kartal Municipality, Ministry of Environment and Urban planning and finally the Chamber of Architects and the Chamber of Urban Planners. The

³³ After the revision done in the 2008 1/5000 Kartal plan, in 2009 M legend areas’ minimum lot size requirements were lowered from 2000m² to 500m². Later on with another revision, the 2011 plan further reduced the minimum lot requirement, this time from 500m² to 200m². For more details see section b.

dominant actors that influenced the decision making process can be pointed as IMM, IMP, Kent-Der and Kartal Municipality. In 2012, the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning sold the land belonging to the Treasury, which was formerly used by the Yunus Concrete Factory. And in 2013, the Ministry declared an area within the M legend zone a risk area. This new space of innervation was a demarcation, and the Ministry became one of the influential actors in the Kartal Project area. Kartal municipality has become another actor supporting the Project, although the Mayor distanced himself from the planning process since he won the elections with a discourse against urban transformation projects, which the AKP government, both central and local, is so keen to pursue. Professional bodies, both the Chamber of Architects and the Chamber of Planners, did not participate in the process for the very same reason that they stay on the opposition front to many of the large scale projects that are promoted by the central government as well as the IMM on the grounds that these projects are manifestations of profit-driven neo liberal urbanism at the expense of the benefit for all. They have also been critical towards the project, claiming that the design approach is highly incompatible with the surrounding social and physical tissue. With this perspective, the Chambers played an important role filing court cases, which resulted in the cancelation of the plans.

There are three groups of users present in the Kartal Project Area; large-scale industrialists, small-scale industrialists and the residents. The large-scale industrialists have taken a stronger part in the decision making process by founding an association and financing the Project. The small-scale industrialist participated in the meetings; however, their stance *vis-à-vis* the project does not yet seem to be advantageous. In order to benefit from the same building rights, they have to go through a process of agreement and merger with other landowners, which is a process full of hardships. Besides, those who are still active in the area are those who are not able to or willing to leave their production premises. And there is no effort so far programming how and in what conditions these small producers will be moving from the area. No less important is what will happen to the 10.000 workers who are still employed in these establishments. Let alone listening to their voice, there is not even a talk about what will happen to these people and their families who will be laid off when their workplaces shut down or move. How can they be integrated to the new service economy that is envisaged in the area? Apparently, if no measures are taken for increasing their capacity, thousand of people will be faced with the grim problems of unemployment.

The third group, the residents, were not included in this process either and only had an opportunity to attend the briefings. However, they united under the ‘Association of Urban Transformation Victims’ in fear of forced evictions. It is interesting to note how their change of attitude towards the renewal of the area was reflected in the changing name of their association from “transformation victims” to “transformation platform” The explanatory meetings of the Mayor of Kartal ensuring the housing rights of the residents certainly did have a role in changing the

public opinion. Considering the role of the citizens and the implementation of participatory practices, it could be claimed that the other users, apart from the large-scale industrialists, were not effectively included in the decision making process. Even though some 50 meetings were organized, we can observe that the residents never attended to any of them. Hence, the only option given to the actors – who were merely given information about the Project - left outside the decision making process was to accept or reject the Project. Even though the residents have not participated in the meetings, they nevertheless managed to get building rights adapted to their needs, as we saw in the reduction of minimum buildable lot sizes. Although this seems to be a gain on their part, the future in the long run seems to be quite uncertain for these people of limited means. It is highly questionable whether they can survive in the area if it becomes the kind of place it is envisioned to be.

Regarding the implementation phase, a common ground was reached by adjusting the demands of the industrial property owners and the initial design concept through making modifications in the construction provisions entitled by the 2008 1/5000 master plan in 2009 and then in 2011. Nonetheless, the plan was objected due to its disregard concerning its surrounding urban tissue and the discrepancy between the architectural and urban design elements that contrast sharply with the rest of its surrounding area. Moreover, the lack of necessary social and physical analysis that the Turkish planning legislation requires was part of the arguments causing the cancellation of the plan. Also, it was asserted that a strategic social plan that should consider the possible effects of the Project on the lower-middle income residents and propose a strategy for the social adaptation processes was not done. Experts, the Chamber of Architects, and Planners, raised concerns about the integration issues between the Project, designed separately from the rest of the urban tissue and the other parts of Kartal directly affected by it.

Conflicts arose due to political differences and conflicting interests; such as the opposition of Kartal Municipality to the plans after the 2009 elections, the objections of the chamber of architects and the petitions sent by the residents for the cancellation of the plan. These conflicts were attempted to be resolved through negotiation. The fact that the project cannot be implemented since 2005 is causing discontent amongst property owners. Although the plan as a result of a negotiation process has shortcomings, the property owners and the residents are demanding the uncertainties to be resolved as soon as possible so that the project can see light soon.

Yet, the foundational rationale behind the reason making Kartal Project is such a controversial one that it should be analyzed under two issues/dilemmas; ‘the limits of intervention’ and the conflict between top-down and bottom-up approaches of planning. And it should be underlined that the ‘flexibility’ issue provides a basis for these two issues.

First, the biggest discord stems from the fact that for the first time an area is tried to be transformed with an approach following a method that

is quite the opposite of the Turkish rigid planning legislations which dictates a rational comprehensive planning approach. While a plan is seen as a set of documents defining clearly the steps/strategies to be followed, the Kartal approach leaves undefined or undetermined areas to be concretized in a subscale plan or during implementation. In other words a flexible and open-ended master plan open to be shaped through negotiations is seen as defying the planning hierarchy and against the current planning regulations.

Indeed, it can be deduced from both the expert reports and the statements of the IMM and IMP planners that the Kartal Transformation Project takes the 1/100.000 Metropolitan Master Plan - in which İstanbul was conceived as a multi-centered city, and Kartal was designated as a CBD area - as a reference, meaning that it is compatible with a macro scale plan. Yet, the fact that both the 1/100.000 Metropolitan Plan and Kartal Project that later on turns into a 1/5.000 master plan were realized simultaneously, is deemed as against the legislations. So as we underlined in the beginning, the conflict arises between two different approaches of planning, the first one being rigid and devout to planning methods defined by legislations and the second being flexible enough to break the power distributions in each step of planning. Moreover, it should also be questioned here how macro scale and subscale plans can interact and provide feedback for each other and whether or not different scales of planning processes should work simultaneously.

Also, as we can understand reading the expert reports; planners in Turkey also carries the dilemma between top-down rigid planning approaches, over deterministic plans and flexible and adaptable planning methods, leaving leeway to strategies that can be developed on the way in the face of problems that might emerge. In other words, methods that allow the planners to navigate through the uncertainties of the complex planning environments, and the variety of conflicts and dilemmas that arise in face of increasingly polarized powers. Since the second approach is yet a newly practiced method, there seems to be confusion deciding on the limits of intervention and where 'planning' should stand in the face of new practices challenging the traditional planning practices. Expert reports support and encourage the flexible and innovative approach that the Kartal Transformation Project brings, but at the same time criticize the uncertainties it generates such as the absence of defined public facility and infrastructure areas and clear designations of functions in each subzone – that was left to the incentives of a subscale 1/1000 plan in this case - that a rigid planning approach entails.

Maybe this could have been resolved in the case of Kartal if preliminary analysis that should back up the plan had been done properly and the participative planning had encapsulated all the actors in the field creating settings in which all the demands of each party could have been communicated. Although, it should be reminded again, to not to be unfair, that such an approach was tried for the first time in Kartal. On the other hand, there are diverging opinions on the limits of participation in planning in Turkey. While some planners, and especially bureaucracy,

are holding the decision making authority in its hands, and argue that there cannot be a single idea of common good, a consensus can never be reached and there will always be conflicting interests and way too many opinions, making a participative process impossible; the others assert that the planning approach is changing in the world and participation as well as the planning process itself rather than the final plan is becoming a fundamental part of it.

At this point, we could argue that in Kartal the participatory method and the negotiation processes did not involve everyone and not all the parties had equal power in influencing the decision making and planning institutions, creating conflicts. In order to solve these, we observe that planners use several different navigation strategies such as adjusting the construction rights to satisfy the demands of large-scale industrialists and the rights given to M legend areas, in case they opt for the mixed-use option, both to be able to adapt them to the overall plan and eliminate disadvantages so that the residents also support the plan. Moreover, these adjustments and solution strategies demonstrate how bottom-up initiatives or demands shape the top-down planning approaches. However, it could also be criticized whether the negotiation process and the ‘flexibility’ principle is being applied equally or more for the benefit of the market rules. Regarding that private investment is a very important asset for the implementation of such a big scale projects it can seem normal that the solutions also aim to facilitate implementation of market rules. However, at this point the question of the limits of intervention and the actors holding the power to intervene arise again. In the case of Kartal, as we mentioned, Kent-Der who is also financing the ZHA, has been a prime actor raising doubts about the egalitarian approach that planning should carry.

Finally, the last point that engenders conflict in the Kartal project can be assessed under the application of ‘flexibility’ principle. It can be examined in relation with the power distribution between different institutions holding planning authority, though in different levels. It is seen clearly in the case of Kartal, in the decisions taken by the ministry of Environment and Urban planning that can announce certain parts inside the project area risk zones or sell them to private companies, making itself the supreme power of authority in terms of decision-making. Although we cannot talk about a total flexibility in the Turkish planning practices, surely this situation points to flexibility in terms of intervention, underlining a conflict between the central planning bodies and the local ones.

As a result, Kartal transformation Project carries the signs of a dilemma in the Turkish planning practice managed by conventional top-down planning approaches and a new perspective that is tried to be introduced, running against rigid legislations on one side and indefinite limits of intervention or ‘uncontrolled’ flexibility of practices on the other.

3.3 Derbent

3.3.1 Role of Citizens and Procedures of Involvement and Decision Making

The residents of Derbent are the people who have settled on the publically owned lands in the area in the 1950s. and have no ownership rights except for the preliminary allotment deeds granted in mid-1980s.³⁴ They built the dwellings and the main infrastructure of the neighborhood during the years they have been living in the area. In that sense, it can be considered as a truly self-organized community. Currently, 7.000 people live in the area and the total number of dwellings in the area is 1.600.³⁵ Besides the residents of the neighborhood, there are a number of powerful actors who have a stake in the Derbent Urban Transformation Project area. First and foremost among them is Oto Sanatkarları Housing Construction Cooperative, that owns 46% of the land within the transformation area and is one of the potential users if and when the project is realized. Another powerful actor is IMM. Although IMM is not part of the final users of the project, it owns great majority of the public lands³⁶ - 38% of the total - on which gecekondur dwellings were built up. Hence, IMM takes part both as a public planning authority and also as a landowner in the contested attempts to renew the neighborhood. The tense process of change in Derbent has started when the Oto Sanatkarları Cooperative, which was founded in 1985, began to purchase preliminary allotment deeds from the residents of Derbent living in informal dwellings. We could argue that part of the residents selling off their preliminary allotment deeds in the first place, weakened the unity amongst the Derbent inhabitants and placed them in a disadvantaged position against the Oto Sanatkarları Cooperative. This led to the Oto Sanatkarları Cooperative filing a lawsuit for the elimination of joint ownership (*izale-i şüyu*) in order to get hold of the rest of the area. In 1995 the cooperative secured approximately 22,1ha of land ownership by the court's decision. As a consequence, the preliminary allotment deeds of the residents were canceled. The Cooperative had a verbal agreement to keep the residents in the rest of the area while MESA gated community was being constructed on 9ha of the total land..It is also interesting to note here that the land on which MESA houses were built was left outside the boundaries of the Derbent Urban Transformation Project Area since an agreement was reached between the gecekondur owners and the Cooperative and there was no need for public intervention to transform the area. Currently, the Cooperative is the

³⁴ According to the “Çamlıtepe(Derbent) ve Darüşşafaka Mahallelerinin Tarihçesi” (History of the Çamlıtepe(derbent and Darüşşafaka Neighborhoods) document provided by Sarıyer Municipality currently 226 households on the 3 different lots belonging to IMM hold allotment deeds.

³⁵ This number is controversial. The data given by Sarıyer Municipality states 7,900 people live in the area whereas numbers taken from a research (Şen and Öktem, 2014) where 2009 survey results were given shows this as 6660.

³⁶ 54% of the area belongs to various public authorities, including the IMM, the treasury and a public high school

owner of 13,1ha in Derbent Urban Transformation Area. In 2010, it has given full authority to Cemre Construction Company to carry out the evictions of the informal dwellings on its land. The company stated that it would not be possible for them to keep the gecekondu areas in Derbent and that all the families would be dislodged to TOKİ social housing, either in Pendik or in Kağıthane.³⁷ After this reclamation, the residents sent petitions to Sarıyer Municipality and protested heavily, the eviction decision, with support of 35 ‘muhtar’ and 18 neighborhood associations, resonating widely in the press. However, 74 families accepted the company’s terms and moved into TOKİ Kağıthane social housings.

Furthermore, the declaration of Derbent in 2012 as a risk zone and the 1/5000 Conservation Revision Master Plan Concerning the Transformation of the Gecekondu Areas in Çamlıtepe (Derbent) Neighborhood approved by the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning arouse similar protest in Derbent. The Neighborhood cooperative filed a lawsuit against the plan while Sarıyer Municipality appeals to court for the cancelation of the risk zone decision.

Examining the role of citizens who have been living in Derbent since 1960, we noticed that they could not have an influential role in the decision making process and the process was directed by the metropolitan and then the central government and the investors. The residents united under an association during the transformation process in order to resist and be able to communicate their demands officially. They have been seen as party “to be convinced” for the implementation of the project or even as a target of the 1/5000 Conservation Revision Master Plan concerning the transformation of the gecekondu areas³⁸ by the central government and the project decision-makers in the process. As stated by the president of the Neighborhood Association, Rıza Coşkun, with the first ‘transformation signs’ that appear in the neighborhood in the 2000s, to be able to take the necessary steps to protect their rights and get informed about the possible consequences, they first resorted to institutions such as the bar association, chambers of planners, architects and engineers. Later on they got in contact with “1 Umut Association” who have provided them with legal and technical support. Currently, more than 10 neighborhood associations under the name of Sarıyer Mahalle Dernekleri ve Kooperatifleri Platformu (Sarıyer

³⁷ Şen and Ünsal (2014) states that the Company prepares an eviction plan to be realized in the following two months and offers people debris value in return for their houses. The criteria is as follows:

- Debris value for a 50 m2 dwelling 20.000 TL
- If evicted in June, payment of an extra 20.000 TL in addition to the Debris value, if in July, an extra 15.000 TL and if in August, an extra 10.000TL
- No recompensation will be paid if not evicted in the indicated period
- Gecekondu dwellers will pay a retroactive compensation fee for unwarranted occupancy of the land (*geriye dönük ecri misil*)

³⁸ The name of the plan is ironic: It has to be called a conservation plan since the area is a designated site for its historic and natural values. But what it proposes is a total renewal of the existing low density housing with a higher density one the suitability of which to the historic and natural values is highly questionable.

Neighborhood Associations and Cooperatives Platform)³⁹ are actively working on the urban transformation processes in Sarıyer district and are closely observing the transformation process in Derbent. After the legal objections and the cancellation of Derbent risk area, the project was stopped by the court's decision in April 2014. The top-down plan made initially by the central government in alliance with IMM and the former Sarıyer Municipal Administration⁴⁰, and the capital owners versus the organized resistance lead by the residents who were not involved in the decision making process points out to a dilemma that should be analyzed in terms of the limits of intervention and the conflict between top-down and bottom up planning approaches.

According to the information we gathered through the interviews, Sarıyer Municipality, citizens and tradesmen located in Derbent have not been included in the decision making process. We could conclude that the Derbent Urban transformation process did not involve a flexible planning approach open to negotiations between the different actors involved. It was also stated during the interviews that the project prepared by IMM and the construction company was presented as the only alternative and the residents could either make an agreement with the construction company or oppose the project without being able to have any influence on the planning phase.

Murat Yalçınan, member of the 1 Umut Association, affirms that the citizens have not been involved in the process undertaken by IMM but they have a good relationship with the Sarıyer municipality since the main opposition party CHP was elected in 2009. Also, Yalçınan asserts that after the change in the local government, they have been envisioning meetings during which the neighborhood representatives would transmit the demands of the inhabitants decided at neighborhood meetings to the executive technical officer. But these meetings did not succeed, as the residents could not manage to take clear decisions during their internal meetings. Sarıyer Municipality deputy mayor Sevgi Atalay has indicated that the residents and Sarıyer Municipality is in a close dialogue, and they have informed the neighborhood about the transformation project, so the citizens has built a trust in Sarıyer Municipality. The 'muhtar' of Derbent neighborhood, Aydemir Görmez, believes that the process should have proceeded through meetings and mediations in order for the urban transformation projects to proceed positively. However, the

³⁹ Apart from the Sarıyer Neighborhood Associations and Cooperatives Platform in Sarıyer, Derbent neighborhood is also part of a citywide network of İstanbul Neighborhood Associations platform composed of gecekondu areas that are under the threat of urban transformation. These associations have been exchanging their experiences and trying to broaden the resistance with the help of academics, university students and Professional chambers since 2008. The Platform also organizes symposiums and demonstrations to make themselves heard and get wider support in order to unite everyone subjected to urban transformation and willing to take part actively in the solidarity movement for the right to the city.

⁴⁰ AKP governed Sarıyer until the 2009 elections. CHP won the elections and took the office.

residents never had a chance until now to discuss in person with any of the actors influential in the decision-making processes.

Furthermore, the President of the Neighborhood Association, Rıza Coşkun, expresses that they have met the Mayor of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Kadir Topbaş in 2010 and that he encouraged them for the foundation of the cooperative that they have been working on. He asserts that they had hopes to be able to get into a dialogue with IMM, however neither the Çamlıtepe(Derbent) Cooperative nor the residents have been involved in the Project and IMM has only followed a persuasion strategy during the process. Also, Coşkun adds that IBB presented the project in Cannes International Real Estate Fair MIPIM in 2013 before the project information was shared with residents.

Lastly, we could add that all along the transformation process the residents managed to show their discontent only through the ongoing, and from time to time violent, public demonstrations and the petitions they sent to the municipalities asking for the cancelation of the plans and the project. Finally, the neighborhood cooperative filed a lawsuit against the risk zone decision of the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning and the case was resolved in favor of the residents.

3.3.2 Design and Adaptation to Built Spaces

The urban transformation project, presented under the name “Yorum Maslak,” was prepared in partnership with İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Yorum Construction Company without providing any information to Sarıyer Municipality or the people of Derbent. The planning area is located on the western side of the Bosphorus and to the north of the İstanbul Metropolitan Area, in the limits of Sarıyer district. The area is part of the Bosphorus Historical and Natural Conservation Area, and it is bordered by a forest area to the north, MESA Maslak gated community to the east, Darüşşafaka High School and residential areas to the west and south. The size of the planning area is 28.07 hectares.

Figure 9. View from Derbent Neighborhood



Revised 1/5000 Conservation Master Plan and 1/1000 Conservation Development plans, which are important from a technical point in the implementation of the urban transformation project, were approved in August, 14 2012 by the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning. At this point it should also be noted that the upper scale 1/100.000 Metropolitan Master Plan, that at the subscale plans are liable to, recognizes the provisions of the Plan for the Bosphorus Historical and Natural Conservation Area and its principles to conserve this unique cultural landscape. The same, however, cannot be said for the new revision plans, as will be discussed below.

İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality justifies the scope of the revision plans approved by the Ministry under three motives; first the risk of a possible earthquake and the problems engendered by informal, and unlicensed housing stock, which is claimed to be vulnerable to earthquakes; secondly inadequate supply of public facilities prevalent in the urban tissue of İstanbul, and thirdly the need to develop the new city parts vertically due to the increasing land values forcing the planners to use this land ‘wisely’ making space for new *housing, facilities and infrastructure areas*. Derbent is presented as an area dominated by unlicensed and unregulated gecekondu settlements that should be rebuilt according to health and safety requirements and with a license, preventing illegal and unregulated developments in the project area⁴¹.

⁴¹ “1/5000 Conservation Revision Master Plan Concerning the Transformation of the Gecekondu Areas in Çamlıtepe(Derbent) Neighborhood, Sarıyer District, İstanbul Province” Plan Explanation Report provided by IMM’s planning officers in 2013.

In the 1/5000 revision plan, the number of current dwellings in Derbent are identified as 1.600 and the population is 7.000 people. But the plan targets a population of 10.000 people. The current gecekondu residents will be moved into the new dwellings constructed on the residential zones marked as B and D, whereas zone C will be left to IMM as a reserve housing area, and zone A will be given to the private owner, Oto Sanatkarları Cooperative. The revisions suggest a grading in the transportation system to provide an interconnection between the functional areas and strengthen the transport connections with the surrounding areas. In terms of land uses, areas allocated for public facilities such as schools, parks, religious facilities, police station, cultural facilities, that existed in the 2003 Master Plan, are more or less preserved in the 2012 Plan except for the green areas that are reduced from 4.04 hectares to 3.6 hectares and 0.3 ha of the kindergarten is totally eliminated. Public roads are reduced by half and decreased from 6.8 ha to 3.6 ha, while the area allocated for religious facilities was increased twice from 0.4 to 0.8 ha and 0.9 ha is allocated to vocational school. The largest increase is observed in the residential areas from 15 ha to 19 ha.

Figure 10. 1/1000 Conservation Development Plan approved in 29.07.2003

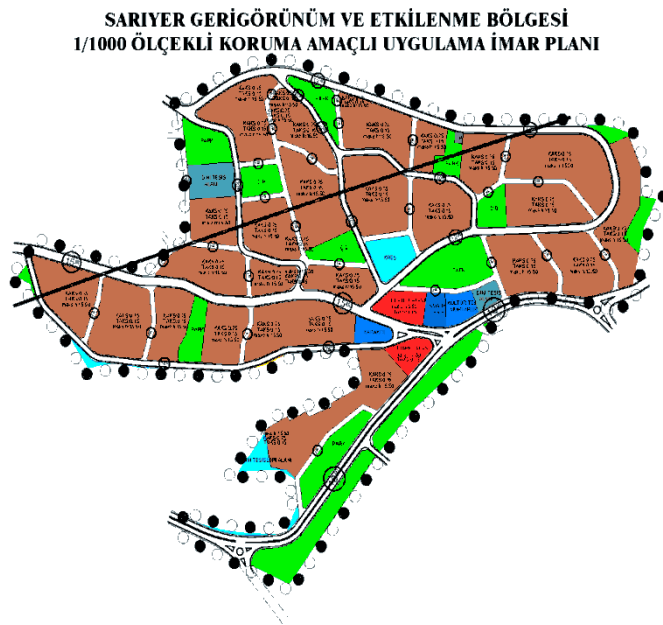
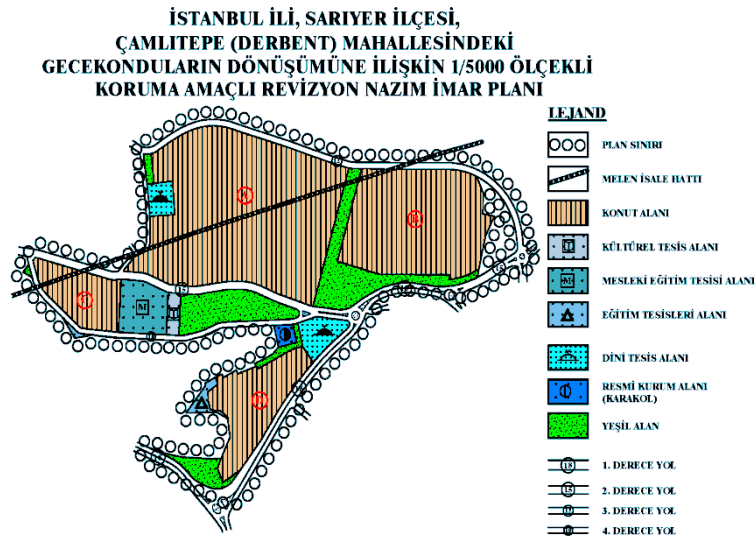


Figure 11. 1/5000 Conservation Revision Master Plan Concerning the Transformation of the Gecekondu Areas in Çamlıtepe(Derbent) Neighborhood, Sarıyer District, approved in 14.08.2012



Further, the 1/5000 plan notes leaving the organization of space to include open/green spaces, pedestrian walks etc. to be solved through the design and planning of superblocks do not seem to be complied at all. The preliminary project in the Figures 32, 33 and 34 illustrate openly the inadequacy of the regulation left to be resolved in the block scale.

What is more significant is the spatial re-configuration of land uses separating different zones from each other, and the clear demarcation of boundaries by green areas and public facilities between zone A (3rd stage in the below figure), which belongs to the Oto Sanayiciler Cooperative that will be a middle and upper middle class area just like the MESA Houses formerly built by this cooperative, and zones B and D (1st and 2nd stages in the below figure)⁴² where the current *gecekondu* residents of Derbent are intended to be re-located. Moreover, it is stated that instead of the small building blocks of the 2003 Plan, which sustained the existing *gecekondu* structure, the new plan envisaged super blocks⁴³ that denote a rather different morphology.

⁴² The corresponding stages of the zoning as configured in the plan will be explained in detail in Part C. Long-term planning of this report.

⁴³ *ibid*, p.6

Figure 12. Aerial view of the stages corresponding to Zones A (3rd stage), B (1st stage), D (2nd stage) and the 4th unplanned zone



Figure 13-14-15. Figures above display the extremely mechanical and dense design approach of the preliminary project in each three zones with the 3D images of the building structure.





The deputy mayor of Sariyer municipality Sevgi Atalay affirmed that the



İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality's and Sarıyer Municipality's plans for Derbent envisioned a similar transformation including a mixture of social houses and luxury ones, although there would not be a visible social and physical separation in any way in the plan made by Sarıyer Municipality, contrary to IMM's plan. She also added, IMM's plan lacked a social infrastructure area and the layout was inadequate. It seems that the revision master plan that we quoted above 'reorders' the planning area making it compatible with the project made by Yorum İnşaat, although this is not mentioned explicitly.

Second, and maybe more importantly, IMM refers to an earthquake danger when the Law 6306 was still a draft being debated in the parliament. This implies a covert intention to make use of the imminent law, which is proven to be true. As soon as the law passed, Derbent became one of the first areas declared a risk zone, making the Ministry of Environment and Urban Plannign the ultimate authority in the area in January, 2013. Furthermore, it seems to be no coincidence that the boundaries of the project area and the boundaries of the risk zone overlap precisely, including all the gecekondu dwellings in the transformation area.

Soon after, in March 2103, Yorum Construction Company presented the project in Cannes International Real Estate Fair MIPIM, together with the IMM mayor Kadir Topbaş. As the below figures present, the design of the area was done in such a way that a clear social separation between the luxury and the social houses can be noticed clearly. The residents say, "The wall separating two parts will be like the wall in Palestine. We will be placed in the parts of the neighborhood away from the metro and the main road whereas the luxury houses will take the best part" (Interviews). It is also criticized by the deputy mayor of Sarıyer on the grounds that it will be causing social segregation. Also, Sarıyer municipality planning department underlines the unconformity of the project with the regulations in protected areas. As the officials in the department expresses, the land structure protection regulations in such zones is infringed by the underground levels and the parking areas as demonstrated in the below figure. Moreover, it is asserted that excessive density and construction will be generated in the area with the increasing building heights as compared to the existing structures, which are on the most part one and two storey structures. In addition, the amount and the distance between the buildings are interpreted as turning the area into a "sea of concrete apartment blocks". Moreover, they note that the reserve area in Ferahevler is also a protected area, which makes the decision to construct temporary housing on it disputable.

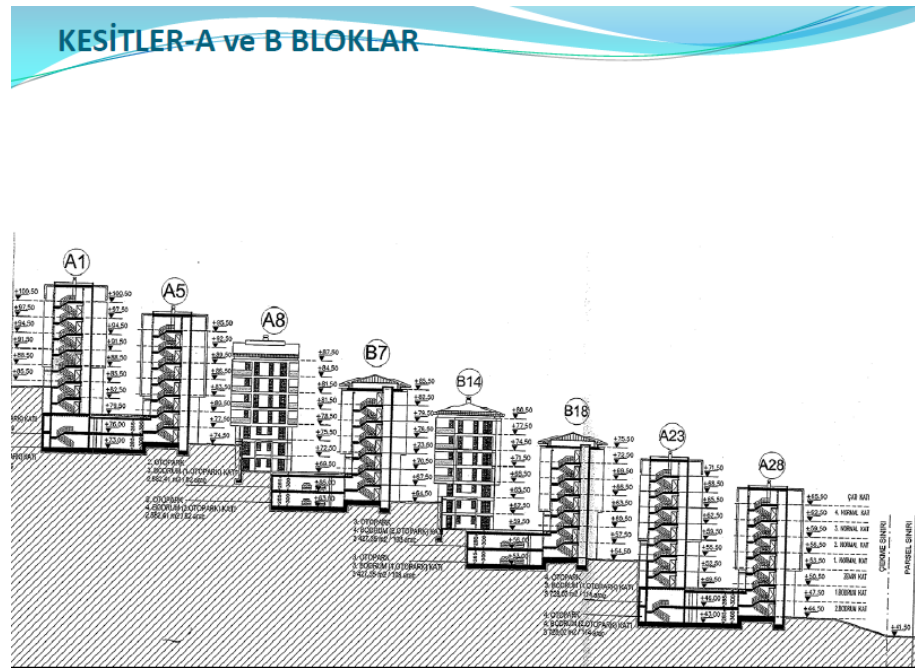
Figure 16. An image from Yorum Construction Company's project showing the buildings planned on the 3 zones.



Finally, the project mentions the construction of 1.652 social houses, although the residents say that there are 2.151 households in Derbent. This obviously means that some of the residents will have to be displaced and leave the area, together with the social networks that they have built upon over many years. Moreover, the size of the two bedroom flats that will be given to the residents, ranging between 51.40 to 74,0m², which is seen as inadequate by the planners in Sarıyer municipality as well as the residents, regarding the family sizes in Derbent. Also, the lack of shops in the exclusively residential plan draws attention of the residents, academics and the planners we interviewed, especially since there are currently local shops owned by the residents of Derbent in the neighborhood.

To conclude, we could say that the design anticipates a sharp transformation in terms of building space as well as an economic and social transformation in the area. The project proposes to raze off the entire existing one or two storey houses and build multi storey houses (2 underground + 4 levels + penthouse), with no adaptation presumed. Also, the homogenous apartment houses will differ from the diversity of the *gecekondu* dwellings. The number of blocks planned, 48 in zone B, 36 in zone D and 84 in zone A, will increase the building density. Ultimately, the area will be reserved only for residential use destroying the mixed structure of the neighborhood, addressing an upper-middle income population in contrast to a lower income presence in Derbent. We could easily say that the design of the project ignores the existing space. And not only that, it does not take into account the provisions of the Bosphorus Conservation Plan. Although 1/5000 Conservation Revision Master Plan adheres to the building height limits set by the Bosphorus Conservation Plan, it nevertheless increases the density by increasing the population by one thirds, decreasing open spaces and allowing two extra floors below ground level. Figure 36 displays the increase in building density.

Figure 17. Cross section showing the social housing types A and B. Source: Taken from the preliminary project presentation of Sariyer Municipality. Note that with the addition of garages there are 4 to 5 levels below ground.

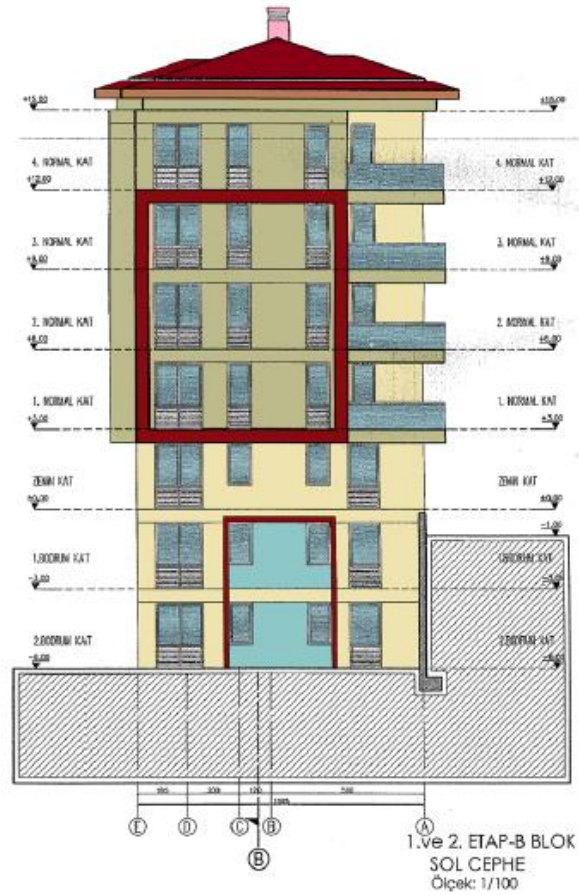


It is interesting to note here that in the 1/1000 plan the FAR is not specified, whereas it is given as 0.75 in the 1/5000 plan in which maximum building height is limited to 5-storeys and ground coverage is 0.15. The 1/1000 plan keeps the 5-storey limit and the ground coverage as 0.15. However, since it does not limit FAR, it becomes possible to allow two more habitable storeys below the ground level (basement). It even allows for a 3rd level, if it used in conjunction with the unit above, i.e. the second level under the ground. In the concept preliminary developed by Yorum and approved by IMM, the total floor area to be built in zones A, B and D is given as 493.840m² and the total planning area for these 3 zones as 266.615m².⁴⁴ A simple calculation according to these figures shows that the FAR for these three zones is 1.85; a figure 2.5 times more than what it should be according to the provisions of the Bosphorus Conservation Plan.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Data taken from the Preliminary Project Presentation of Sariyer Municipality, slide 20

⁴⁵ According to the Bosphorus Conservation Plan FAR for the area in which Derbent is also located is only 0.75.

Figure 18. Plans of the apartment buildings displaying the habitable basements below the ground level



Besides, the fact that the area was designated as a risk area placing it under the jurisdiction of the Disaster Law, no. 6306, is a means to by pass rules and regulations about conservation as the provisions of Law no. 6306 is set to be binding above many other legislation, including the Law no 2863 on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Values as well as the Law no. 2960 on the Protection of the Bosphorus. Also, neither the master plan considering the transformation of the Gecekondu Areas, nor law no 6306, do not clearly disclose the terms of conditions of the transformation such as the right and duties of the current population, carrying a risk of displacement that has happened before in other transformation areas of Istanbul such as Sulukule and Tarlabası. For this very reason, the residents of Derbent pursue their opposition and the resistance to seek their rights.

3.3.3 Long Term Programming

In August 2012, 1/5000 Protection Master Plan Revision and 1/1000 Development Plan Revisions regarding the transformation of the Informal Settlements for Çamlıtepe (Derbent)⁴⁶ neighborhood is approved by the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning.

The preliminary project done according to the plans in Derbent neighborhood on 28.19ha area proposes the construction of 2.576 houses, 1.652 being social and 924 luxury houses, in 118 apartment blocks. The total construction area will be 439.840 m² planned in four stages.

The 1st and 2nd stage - corresponding to zones B and D that we mentioned in part c - will comprise of social housing on 7.7ha; 1st stage on 52.719 m² land with 126.000 m² construction area, and 2nd on 24.540 m² land with 56.000m² construction area. Two underground levels will also be included as habitable space. The two bedroom flats vary between 51-74 m²⁴⁷.

The 3rd stage - corresponding to zone A that we mentioned in part c - spared for luxury housing on 99.890 m² on a 288.000m² construction area, will consist of flats varying between two bedrooms, five bedrooms, one living room and six bedrooms with 75-350m² options.

The 4th stage has not been planned yet.⁴⁸

Derbent is declared a 'Risk Zone' in January 2013, whose limits overlap precisely with the project area as we mentioned before. Accordingly, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality designated an area in Ferahevler, a nearby neighborhood in Sarıyer, in March 2013 as 'Reserve Construction Area'⁴⁹, as they say in order to create temporary housing for the people that will have to move from Derbent during the construction period. Yet the local municipality remarks that the intended use of this area was never communicated to their behalf and adds that the area is filed under protected areas, since it is part of the Bosphorus Historical and Natural Conservation Area, making the decision controversial.

Moreover the local municipality argues that the Law no.6306 regarding the transformation of risk zones is not a data-driven law, ignoring the

⁴⁶ The official name of the neighborhood is Çamlıtepe, but over the years it became to be known as Derbent. Now both names are used.

⁴⁷ Construction area figures are taken from a popular website giving up-to-date information about real estate projects in Turkey, <http://emlakkulisi.com/yorum-maslak-evleri-derbent-projesinin-ilk-gorselleri/219364>, 28 December 2013, viewed 9 May 2014. According to these figures FAR for stage 1 is 2,39 and for stage 2 it is 2, 28 and 2,8 8 for stage 3 Much more above the FAR much more than what it should be (0,75) according to the provisions of the Bosphorus Conservation Plan.

⁴⁸ Data taken from the Preliminary Project Presentation of Sarıyer Municipality

⁴⁹ According to the information taken from the Preliminary Project presentation from the Municipality of Sarıyer; "Under the 2. Article Law no. 6306 regarding the 'Transformation of Areas Under the Risk of Disaster' Derbent is declares a 'Risk Zone' in 03.01.2013 and under the c clause of the same article and the approval no 1007 of the Ministry the area in Ferahevler is declared a 'Reserve Construction Area'".

local facts, and they would never allow a transformation in Sarıyer using this law as a pretext. The deputy mayor adds, in a city where the vast majority of the land is not regularized and the constructions are unauthorized, it is stated that the law is unclear about the rights and the obligations of the informal settlements, and it is quite impossible to realize urban transformation through the designation of risk zones. We should stress that this law, transferring all the authority to the Ministry, creates almost a 'state of exception' overpowering all the regulations and legislations, leaving the final verdict to the decision of the ministry. Hence it creates a threat, in some cases, for the guaranteed rights of the lots with title deeds in the concerned areas and gives no clear definition about the rights of the settlements without permits or any kind of deeds. Besides, the local municipality as well as the neighborhood association asserts that it is justified by a scientific report done by a Japanese research team that Derbent is not a 'risk zone' creating doubts about the motive behind the ministry's decision.

In the light of the data, acting together with the inhabitants of Derbent, Sarıyer Municipality filed a lawsuit against the 1/5.000 plan and plead for the stay of executions of Yorum Construction Company's project. Subsequently, the neighborhood association opened a case against the 'Risk Zone' and 'Reserved Construction Area' decisions. Also, with the help of the Professional Chambers, academics, and lawyers the residents united under the Neighborhood Association handed in 1.884 petitions to the ministry on the grounds that public participation was neglected and that the plan was lacking a report and the necessary notes. Also, it was argued that the plan suggested flat sizes incompatible with the family sizes in Derbent, neglected the tendencies and habits of the Derbent residents in terms of use of public spaces such as the green areas and the streets, and did not include commercial spaces placing the current tradesmen in Derbent in a disadvantaged position. Finally, the petitions stated it was not clarified whether the current residents will have to make a payment for the flats in question (Yalçınan, 2012)⁵⁰.

In April 2014, the court canceled the 'Risk Zone' decision and consequently on the grounds that the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning exceeds its authority boundaries by making a plan for an urban transformation area and not a Risk Zone, the 1/5000 was also canceled. Therefore the preliminary project done according to the 1/5000 plan and the construction permits given to Yorum Construction Company to implement the project were also nullified.

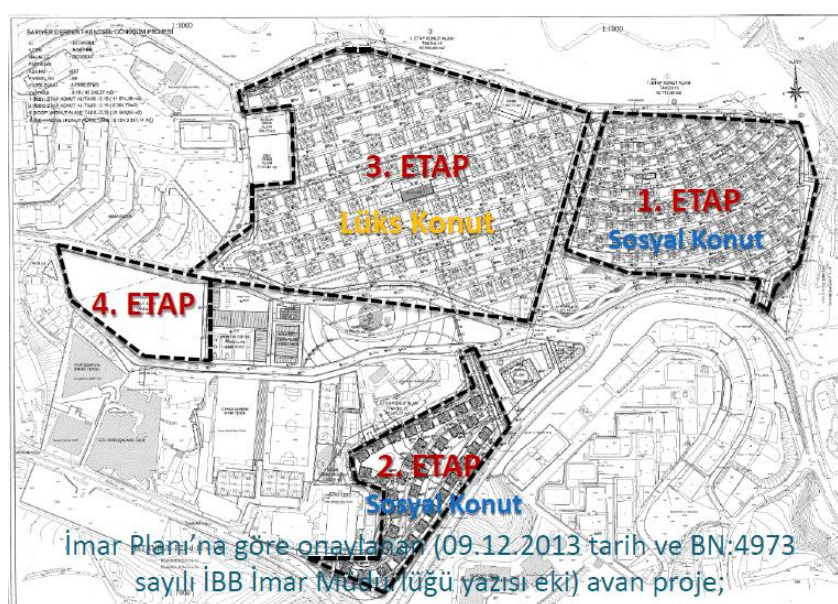
Although Derbent seems to regain its former status, Sarıyer municipality manifests doubts about IMM letting go of an urban transformation project in the neighborhood. Therefore the local municipality indicates that they will realize a model urban transformation project in another neighborhood of Sarıyer to set an example of best practice of *in-situ*

⁵⁰ Yalçınan, M. C., "Afet Yasasının ilk Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi", <http://www.ikibin50dergisi.org/46/afet-yasasinin-ilk-kentsel-donusum-projesi.html>, Access date: 15.03.2014

urban transformation, contrary to a total demolition that is being suggested in Derbent and take a back seat until the legal situation, as well as the conflicts between the actors involved is settled.

In the long run, the inhabitants assert that they demand free transfer of the public land in order to realize a transformation by themselves. However a report written by Sariyer municipality suggest that there are currently 944 informal settlements with a population of 7,900 inhabitants, and even though the ownership issue is resolved by concentrating the title deeds under one owner – being the inhabitants of Derbent as a whole – as it is demanded by the residents and an alternative project differing from what Yorum İnşaat proposes is realized; with the implementation of the 1/1000 plan; “at least 2.700 will have to be dislodged as they are situated on areas reserved for public equipments”.⁵¹

Figure 19. The map showing the stages of construction. 1st and 2nd stage, social housing, 3rd stage luxury housing and the 4th unplanned area.



To sum up, we could assert that the project done by Yorum Construction Company, as well as the 1/5000 plan do not refer to any long-term social or economical strategy, but foresee a transformation towards an exclusively residential zone addressed to an upper-middle income group, and does not aim any kind of adaptation to the current social and physical structure of the area. On the contrary, the long term objectives of the plan and the project seem to be clearly defined as the provision of residential areas compatible with the trade center vision attributed to İstanbul and with the increasing land values in the area in question, in which clearly *gecekondu* dwellers and lower income groups stand out. The below statements taken from 1/5000 Conservation Revision Master

⁵¹ See: “ÇAMLITEPE-(DERBENT) VE DARÜŞŞAFKA MAHALLELERİNİN TARİHCESİ”, provided by Sariyer Municipality Planning Department

Plan Concerning the Transformation of the Gecekondu Areas in Çamlıtepe (Derbent) Neighborhood also supports our argument:

“Due to the economic development we have been witnessing during the recent years, the importance given to the cities is increasing...İstanbul is the most important trade center of Turkey and its gateway to the world. Hence, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality carries important duties to solve these problems. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality has been conducting works in order to provide regulated, high quality earthquake resistant residential areas and is pioneering for the transformation of the current residential areas...in a trade center such as İstanbul where land is valuable.”⁵²

3.3.4 Connection Between Initiatives and Strategic Objectives

The urban transformation in Derbent can be analyzed as a top-down planning process, yet it does not fully prevent bottom-up initiatives to emerge. On the contrary, partly due to the history of the neighborhood, it is possible to talk about a strong grass-roots resistance.

Since 2004, when ‘urban transformation’ took its place in the agenda and the livelihoods of the residents, the foundation of a neighborhood association, and later on a Cooperative, only open to the Derbent inhabitants to carry their resistance on a ‘corporate’ and organized level can be seen as the strongest bottom-up initiatives.

Furthermore, the fact that the neighborhood association contacted directly the bar association, chambers of urban planners, architects and engineers when the urban transformation project was announced, show a level of awareness as well as a will to get ‘professional’ support from institutions and people with comprehensive knowledge on urban issues. Through these contacts the inhabitants get to know 1 Umut association, which has already been working on a neighborhood level in places that are under the threat of urban transformation, together with academics and lawyers to back up their cases and be able to defend their rights on a legal level.

Also, the presence of eighteen neighborhood cooperatives and associations in Sarıyer acting together under a platform becomes a significant strategy to generate a critical mass and impact of their demands, as well as creating strong community bonds. These associations also publish a local newspaper called ‘Mahalleden’ in which urban transformation tends to be the main issue. Other than informing the

⁵² Taken from IMM’s “1/5000 Conservation Revision Master Plan Concerning the Transformation of the Gecekondu Areas in Çamlıtepe(Derbent) Neighborhood, Sarıyer District, İstanbul Province” plan explanation report by IMM’s officers in 2013.

locals about the urban transformation process, their rights and the actions organized, it also reaches out to a greater public on the city level.

Another action taken by these associations was to send an ‘Election contract’ to the local candidates of each party asking them to sign it. Then, the candidates who have signed the contract, including the current Sariyer mayor from the opposition party CHP, elected in March, were announced publicly. The contract ensures that the prospective mayors:

- will use their authorities to stop any kind of construction plans and implementations,
- make sure that no new action can be taken before the current residences’ rights are guaranteed,
- that none of the residence will be forced to evict their dwellings under any kind of legal, economical or emotional pressure during the planning process,
- execution stages and project periods will be decided upon, having discussed with all of the residents and with at least 70% consensus
- during urban planning and budgeting, the drafts will be prepared after having asked the proposals of the neighborhoods and will be put on public display before each working period.

Apart from collective strategies, Derbent residents also are getting prepared to make an alternative plan together with 1 Umut Association and propose it to the municipality. As Murat Yalçın from 1 Umut expresses “*The idea is to locate buildings that can be demolished and keep the transformation limited to that and upgrade the rest. And ensure a transformation keeping the area limited and done without deterring the neighborhood structure*” (See Interview). If the plan does not draw attention, the inhabitants are planning to ask for the free transfer of public land and pursue the transformation process by themselves.

Here it is important to mention the opinion of an academic actively involved in Derbent who asserts that ten years ago the inhabitants would just ask for a rehabilitation master plan, title deeds and their living space left untouched. So, they would not ask for any projects done, but AKP government created a 'hope' by promising title deeds, upgrade in living conditions or creation of surplus value through construction that placed the idea of a transformation project equating to unearned income in people’s minds. Alongside with the hope created, the IMM governed by AKP, did in reality distribute symbolic title deeds⁵³ to certain people willing to support the transformation project in the neighborhood just before the local elections in 2014. These deeds were indeed only valid as construction servitude (*kat irtifakı*)⁵⁴ and did not entitle any rights neither

⁵³http://www.sariyermarti.com/haber/guncel_1/tapu-torende-derbentliler-yoktu/721.html, viewed 9 May, 2014

<http://www.sariyerposta.com/ak-parti-derbentlilere-tapu-sevinci-yasatti/>, viewed 9 May, 2014 <http://emlakkulisi.com/derbent-mahallesi-sakinleri-tapularina-kavustu/240483>, viewed 9 May, 2014

⁵⁴ Construction servitude or *kat irtifakı* is regulated under article 13, subtitle D of Turkish Condominium Law numbered 634 and dated June 23, 1965. In respect to relevant article, land owners or co-owners might demand construction servitude on land

for the land nor for the properties. Yet, while on one hand the supporters of a transformation are rewarded, on the other hand people are seen as hindrance and intimidated under ‘legal’ pretexts. On 2012, fourteen people, including the current ‘muhtar’ who is also the president of the neighborhood cooperative, the president of the neighborhood association and the spokesman of the ‘right to the city’ movement, were taken into custody and pleaded for taking part in an illegal organization.

Finally, here again the use of Law no.6306 and the declaration of Derbent as a risk zone is worth to mention as a strategy developed by the planning agents in order to have a legal justification that would enable the implementation of an urban transformation project in Derbent.

3.3.5 Conclusions

The transformation Project that was planned for the land with a total of 28ha, a great majority of which belong to IMM and Oto Sanatkarları Cooperative – though public treasury and a private high school also has a small portion - in Derbent, envisaging the construction of 1.652 social houses and 924 luxury dwellings, engendering a social and a physical separation in the neighborhood which can actually be seen as part of a top-down transformation process that started after the 1980’s in the informal settlement zones, *gecekondu*, in the whole of İstanbul.

As we discussed in the case description part, the first *gecekondu* settlements that the migrant workers started to build around industrial areas in the 1950s developed with the help of government policies such as amnesties. The reason for this is firstly that they have a significant voting power, and secondly that they are seen as grassroots solutions to the housing problems that the State could not resolve for the time being. Furthermore, the amnesties on one hand incorporate *gecekondu* areas into the formal housing market, and on the other give their residents a chance to have their shares in the increasing urban land rent, hoping that it would prevent resistance against the system in which they have been placed in a disadvantaged position until then. However after the 1980’s and especially starting from the 2000’s the *gecekondu* dwellers increasingly find themselves in the middle of a city developing in line with a vision of İstanbul that is planned by the central government and its local institutions to accommodate the service sector that can compete with the other world-cities, with its high-rise luxury developments, offices and residences. Furthermore after the 1980’s, the economic policies did not only display a shift towards the service sector, also the construction sector became one of the biggest locomotives of the Turkish

where an apartment or building has not been constructed or completed. To register this land in the title deeds registry office, they must submit their demand with the project plan prepared according to subparagraph (a) of Article 12, management plan as specified under subparagraph (b) and list mentioned in subparagraph (c). Following the completion of construction, the property will be issued a use permit (habitation certificate) by the municipality and following this the entitled beneficiaries will receive ownership of the property in the land registry office.

economy. Again, as we commented on in the case description, together with the increasing land values, İstanbul witnesses a development led by the contractors, construction companies and landowners trying to get a share from the escalating land rents. This has significant repercussions in informal settlement areas. These areas close to the city center, or to its developing parts, witness an increase of the land values on which they happen to be settled years ago and consequently thereafter are being referred as the ‘unwanted squatters’ who need to be cleared out of these zones. This indicates, at the same time, a shift in the official discourse used against the *gecekondu* dwellers changing from migrant labor power to “illegal occupants.”

Likewise, a similar process takes place in Derbent. The residents moved into the area first in 1950’s, and build up their homes on public land during the 1960s, 70s until the 1980s with the support of the public authorities. Benefiting from the amnesties granted in 1980s, many *gecekondu* dwellers bought preliminary allotment deeds, legalizing their situation. However, after the 1980s with the neo-liberal policies turning the city into a service sector dominated, upper-middle class area, and the sprawl of the city towards the North where Derbent is situated, along with the skyrocketing land land values, the conditions were reversed again. In 1985, the Oto Sanatkarları Cooperative marked a first turn in the neighborhood and built a gated community for upper-middle income people, physically starting the transformation process in Derbent. The presence of a gated community next to *gecekondu* settlements created the first socio-economical division in the neighborhood. Thus, transformation takes another form starting from the 2000’s.

The transformation process, going on with an accelerated pace starting from the 2000s until today, can be examined under several points in terms of top-down and bottom-up intervention approaches and strategies. Firstly, we witness a discourse pointing at the *gecekondu* dwellers as the ‘unwanted’ groups in the city, becoming more and more apparent, especially with the coming to the power of the Sarıyer mayor in 2004, and concretized in time with the actions taken by the official institutions. The continuous statements of the local mayor declaring the demolition of the dwellings without a permit in Derbent backed up with eviction and demolition actions put in place with the help of the riot police and the detentions of the activists defending housing rights under the pretext of founding a crime syndicate indicate to stigmatization and intimidation strategies used in order to justify the illegal presence of *gecekondu* groups in the city, underlining the unregulated and unauthorized conditions of these areas. Also, the construction company’s remark on the impossibility of keeping Derbent residents in the area and the proposal made to the families who accept to make an agreement to be moved to TOKİ social houses in the outskirts of the city – in Kağıthane and Pendik – during the initial phase of the transformation process demonstrate once more that there is no place for such social groups in the precious lands up over the Bosphorus or in the city center.

Secondly, an alliance between the capital investors, construction companies and the planning authorities during the planning process is observed. The first sign of this is the presentation of Yorum Construction company's – hired by the Oto Sanatkarları Cooperative – presented in the Real Estate Fair MIPIM in Cannes together with Mayor Topbaş. Moreover, the 1/5000 master plan notes underline the valuable land in Istanbul and the pioneering role of IMM in the transformation of unregulated areas settled on these lands alluding a desire of transforming these areas in accordance with the market rules, and although not explicitly said, open them up to the use of the capital investment. These two remarks are crystallized through the project prepared for groups with a certain life-style belonging to a different socio-economic class than the current residents of Derbent. As raised in the objections of the Neighborhood association, it neglects the tendencies and habits of the Derbent residents in terms of use of public spaces such as the green areas and the streets as well as the current social situation, offering them houses that do not satisfy the needs of the average Derbent family. In other words, it ignores the lifestyle of the *gecekondu* dwellers and addresses to upper-middle income groups that it wants to attract to the area through a sharp physical, economical and cultural intervention.

Thirdly, in 2013 - in line with the striking power shift in terms of urban planning making, the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning almost the prime authority in Turkey entitled to it by the 'Disaster Law' no6306 - the planning authority changes hands one more time in Derbent with the declaration of the area as a Risk Zone. Thus, the Ministry takes over the decision making and planning authority in Derbent Project Area. Also, it should be reminded that it is hardly a coincidence that the boundaries of the area declared as a Risk Zone coincides exactly with the *gecekondu* area, indicating to a strong will to implement the project and the desire of the government to show its authority over 'illegal' settlement areas and their inhabitants. We could also argue that this decision can be analyzed as a tool enabling the realization of a project in the framework of the national planning regulations, hence legalizing a transformation in favor of the capital investors and the market excluding certain classes from the planning process as well as from having rights to the city.

Lastly, we should also refer to the emergence of other alliances that face the transformation process with a bottom-up approach; first between the residents - gathered under the neighborhood association and the neighborhood cooperative - and NGO's, second between the residents and the local municipality after CHP took the seat in 2009. Since the transformation process was reinitiated in the 2000s, Derbent residents gather under the umbrella of the Çamlıtepe (Derbent) Neighborhood Cooperative and the neighborhood association, and have resorted to the help of professional chambers. Currently they are working in cooperation with 1 Umut Association that, apart from giving legal and technical aid, helps the residents in the preparation of an alternative plan. We could consider 1 Umut as playing a catalyst role in managing a bottom up process aiming to carry the work done on a legal level. Regardless of the

success of its outcome, the initiative of 1 Umut is also important as it is not only trying to create an alternative plan opposing the plans made by the municipalities, but also it is underlining the importance of the process during which the residents are placed at the center and becomes a lever to create a social consciousness concerning the rights and the role of the inhabitants in the planning process, and providing guidance for the social struggle. As for the resident-local governance relationship, it indicates not only to a bottom-up initiative and a strong solidarity but also to a will to carry their demands on a political platform by keeping in contact with Sariyer municipality and on the other hand a will to make visible their struggle for their ‘right’ to be in the city and against the projects that would force them out of their living spaces.

To conclude, Derbent represents unplanned or rather ‘self-organized’ *gecekondu* areas that developed through bottom-up processes in which almost the whole neighborhoods and the infrastructures, including the houses, the roads, association buildings, community centers and so forth were built by the residents themselves. *Gecekondu* became a substitute strategy for housing and the redistribution of wealth policies that were not being provided by the State that did not plan – or unable to catch up with the growth rate of development so could not plan – these areas of the city neither during the industrialization period nor until the 1980s. Yet, the conflict that arises since the 2000’s in Derbent is not only a clash between these top-down and bottom-up planning strategies, it should be examined under the light of the historical development of *gecekondu* areas that we mentioned and the official strategy/discourse that has been developed differently in each period concerning the *gecekondu* developments. On one hand, Derbent case unveils the changing planning discourses, and a top-down approach leaving out certain groups living in an area since they are considered illegal and a hindrance for the realization of projects done to the advantage of capital groups with political influence, and favoring the ideal of the creation of an upper-middle class city where *gecekondu* areas do not have a place. Hence, it presents a situation in which demands of different classes do not comply with each other and whose members do not have an equal say in the planning process. On the other hand, it reveals the presence of a bottom up strategy of the residents who have been actively involved in the planning of their own living space, willing to create a possible encounter between the authoritarian top-down and bottom-up mechanisms and planning actors, during which different parties can come together for the first time and mediate.

3.4 Conclusions

Kartal and Derbent transformation areas are examples illustrating most of the built environment dominating the urban tissue of Istanbul. These areas exhibit the results of “small interventions” and “non-interventions” in their historical perspectives. In this context, transformation projects excluding the local administrations were being implemented for the two areas in question, the first being a residential-industrial area shaped after the industrial investments, and the second being an area with a low quality environment as a result of informal developments.

The intervention dilemma regarding the management of complex decision making between ‘spontaneity’ and ‘control’ occurs in Kartal and Derbent in different ways. Historically Kartal was an industrial district which created blue collars’ residential areas around, and developed until the 1990s when the transformation idea firstly mentioned. With the Metropolitan Plan of Istanbul prepared in 2009, Kartal gained importance as one of the sub-centers of Istanbul. Derbent, on the other hand, represents an informal, self-organized, spontaneously emerged housing districts in Istanbul after city’s rapid industrialization. While its proximity to Bosphorus and to the new CBD of Istanbul increases the land values, inhabitants of Derbent who do not have ownership rights to the lands they occupy, other than the preliminary allotment deeds, made it much easier to justify the transformation of the area for housing higher income groups. Thus, it makes the long-time residents of Derbent much more vulnerable for displacement. Together with their location and ownership pattern, ‘economical concerns’ of the central government leads to upper scale urban interventions using Istanbul Metropolitan Plan of 2009 and Disaster Law no.6306. In addition to ‘economic concerns’, which aims to get the highest profit from these transformations, ‘political concerns’ are effective that in both cases the local (district) municipalities, which have a different political outlook than the central government, are eliminated. In both cases, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is the leader of the processes by preparing land use plans and projects.

Since the planning system in Turkey has not adopted “participatory practices” it still works close-ended. Therefore, those who are powerful actors, like industrialists as in the case of Kartal or the construction company in the case of Derbent, ally with the Metropolitan Municipality and have active roles in the project development process. These reflect on land use, construction types, and new ownership patterns proposed by the projects for both Kartal and Derbent as it is expected. Without participation of all actors related with the transformation area, only a few of those who have power gain ‘control’ of the future. The tensions between actors and lawsuits against the projects come forward in the cases.

Transformation in Kartal expected to be implemented by building at the lot scale with agreements between land owners and developers: getting more construction rights depends on merging the lots to obtain larger

ones to build upon, agreeing on architectural projects and implementing them by the approval of only the aesthetic committee. Therefore, for the construction phase, the ‘flexibility’ goes together with ‘control’ described by the plan. On the other side we have Derbent, a spontaneously developed housing environment is under a great pressure of top-down ‘control’. And yet, Against the top down project approach, people of Derbent are ready for an alternative project / plan which supports historical self-organized feature of the area and gets help from NGOs.

To sum up, while in Kartal we encounter a process shaped by the industrialists who are the investors of the transformation, in Derbent the planning approach can be evaluated as a non-participative exclusionary process. In this sense, we could say that a sharp physical, economical and cultural intervention is aimed in Derbent whereas in Kartal the physical and economic sides come forth with the demands of the property owners. Both direct and slightly flexible transformation interventions in the two cases will engender dense construction, maximization of land rent/profits, a new urban environment and forced displacement lower income groups. The evaluation of the project processes can be seen in the following table:

Table 2. Evaluation Of Urban Transformation Case Studies: Kartal And Derbent

	KARTAL	DERBENT	REMARKS
Area Designation Criteria: “economic concerns”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decentralization of industry defined in the upper scale 1/100.000 Istanbul Metropolitan Plan, and the intention of creating a sub-center at a metropolitan scale - Large sized industrial lots - Capitalist landowners in favor of transformation - is in the process of deterioration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proximity to Bosphorus and Levent-Maslak CBD - Presence of a population not in possession of land right and easy to evict/dislodge 	<p>Due to the locations of the designated areas in the city profits made from the transformation will be high</p> <p>Hence,</p> <p>Struggle over ownership rights between the Cooperative and the residents, rivaling interests</p>
Definition of the boundaries: Transformation Areas/ Boundaries defined by the central authorities to settle the authority dualism between the central and local administrations: “political concerns” Means used: “Istanbul Metropolitan Plan of 2009” & “Disaster Law no. 6306”	-At the beginning of the process, the Mayor of Kartal Municipality from the opposition party, the local administration was not in favor of the Project, impeding the planning process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sariyer Municipality did not take part in the process as the project/plan coordinator was IMM, elected from the ruling party AKP - Sariyer Municipality filed a lawsuit against the ‘Risk Zone’ decision in Derbent and managed to invalidate the legal foundations of the transformation Project. 	In the legislations concerning the transformation, leading actor/ institution in charge is defined and altered by the central government.
Planning /Project Making	-The transformation Project was developed by IMM, and	- After the Project being prepared exclusively by	Due to economical and political concerns,

<p>Process – Participation:</p> <p>The close-ended planning system in Turkey defines the planning and project making processes exclusive to the administration and the planner: “non-participatory planning”</p>	<p>since the transformation would be financed by the landowner industrialist an alliance between administration and investors formed: IMM-(ZHA)-Industrialist</p> <p>-The transformation for M legend residential areas kept out of the transformation area is being implemented on each separate lot through cooperation between Kartal Municipality and residents in the area.</p>	<p>IMM, Oto Sanatkarları Cooperative and Construction Companies , the residents in Derbent take a stance against the administration- capital investors alliance with the help of NGO’s :</p> <p>IMM- Oto Sanatkarları Ass.- Yorum Construction Company, Derbent residents- NGO’s alliance/cooperation</p>	<p>alliances occur between various actors in the Project area.</p> <p>It is not possible to talk about a participatory planning/ project process in which actors can come side by side and mediate</p>
<p>Resolution of the Design and Ownership Issues, Adaptation of the Project:</p> <p>“Tailoring conforming with the legislations/planning regulations”</p>	<p>-Mixed-use, multi functional center designed by a star architect</p> <p>- Housing production addressed upper-middle income groups.</p> <p>- Planning approach entitling increased construction rights to merged (big-sized) lots.</p>	<p>-Urban tissue composed of gated communities addressed to upper income groups alongside social housing in a restricted area for the current residents.</p>	<p>Due to ‘economic concerns’ in the transformation areas, instead of creating high quality living spaces, the discernible motive behind is to increase density and construction rights in order to create profits for groups starting from the central government, local government, investors and landowners.</p> <p>Entirely new environments are being created via plan notes conforming to the national legislations differing greatly from the current ownership structures and the built environment.</p>
<p>Implementation of the Transformation / Organization Structure</p>	<p>-Implementation of architectural projects subjected to the contracts done between the land/property owners and contractor/construction company on a lot or block basis depending on the ownership and to the evaluation of an aesthetic committee.</p>	<p>- Uniform buildings constructed by a single company.</p>	<p>In Kartal people do have the inclination to get organized. This capacity can be further developed in the future</p> <p>In Derbent however, there is a top-down process with no room for participation</p>
<p>Future of the Project</p>	<p>-A process aimed to be resolved/settled through a dialogue between various actors.</p> <p>- Plan approval from IMM is awaited for the implementation of the</p>	<p>-Stay of execution of the project as the ‘transformation for disaster prevention’</p> <p>Approach aimed to resolve the legal/illegal housing problem was subjected to a</p>	

	project	<p>court case.</p> <p>- The making of an alternative plan is being conceptualized with the cooperation of the residents and NGO's.</p> <p>the future of the projects lies in the hands of the local municipalities and their ability to manage the situation well.</p> <p>The future of the project would look bright if they can mediate the process while depending on the fundamental principles of the CDO and Boshorus</p>	
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Decree Law no. 648 on the Foundation of the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning, 2011

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A total of 13541 national newspaper articles between 1950 – 2014 on various aspects of urban transformation projects, including those in Kartal and Derbent have been gathered. A very small sample of these regarding the case study areas are given below:

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<<http://emlakkulisi.com/kartal-kentsel-donusum-2013/207700>> , viewed 2 February 2014

<http://emlakkulisi.com/44321_kartal_kentsel_donusum_projesi_ne_asamada>, viewed 20 February 2014

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Interviews

Arif Koç – Muhtar of Kartal Çavuşoğlu Neighbourhood: 21 April 2014

Aydemir Görmez- Muhtar of Sarıyer Çamlitepe (Derbent) Neighbourhood: 15 April 2014

Çiğdem Ertan- Deputy mayor of Kartal Municipality: 27 March 2014

Faruk Göksu - Representative of Kentsel Strateji: 17 April 2014

Hüseyin Kaptan – Former president of IMP: 24 April 2014

Mehmet Battaloğlu - Member of Kartal Urban Transformation Platform : 21 April 2014

Murat Cemal Yalçınan – Representative of Bir Umut Association / Academician: 18 April 2014

Murat Durna - Technical staff of Sarıyer Municipality : 24 April 2014

Özdemir Sönmez – Former planning coordinator of IMP : 18 April 2014

Ramazan Keklik - Muhtar of Kartal Çavuşođlu Neighbourhood: 21 April 2014

Rıza Coşkun - President of Derbent neighborhood association: 2 May 2014

Sedat Nacar - IMM Şehir Planlama Müdürlüğü Anadolu Yakası Bölge Şefi : 31 March 2014

Sevgi Atalay – Deputy mayor of Sarıyer Municipality :24 April 2014

Uğur İnan - IMM Former City Planning Director of Planning and Zoning Department: 18 May 2014

Yusuf Burkut - IMM Deputy Director of Town Planning Departments: 31 March 2014

Appendixes

Appendix 1. THE ANALYSIS OF APRILab CASE STUDY: KARTAL

Table 3. Characteristics of the Living Lab: Kartal

The name of the study case : Kartal			
Analysis of the characteristics	Is / is not, and why?	The Role of Technology?	Examples
User-centred	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Owners of large scale facilities were organized under the name of Istanbul Kartal Urban Development Association (Kartal Kent-Der) in 2006. As large land owners they have active role in the planning procedure.</p> <p>On the other hand, some of small scale industrialists and inhabitants are not included in this processes.</p>	<p>The project started with the urban design competition held by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. There was conducted the first meeting with participation of Mayor of Istanbul, Mayor of Kartal, and Industrialists and it is decided that the industrialist would be part of design and planning process of Kartal's transformation. In January 2006, in the second meeting, the project developed by Zaha Hadid Architects was selected as the first.</p> <p>In addition, industrialists work with a private company named 'Kentsel Strateji' (Urban Strategy) which is in dialog with municipality for the future process of the project.</p>	<p>In 2007, after contract with Zaha Hadid Architects, there was arranged eight meetings for project decision. The participants were Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center, Kartal Municipality, Zaha Hadid Architects and Kartal Urban Development Association.</p>
Supportive of open innovativeness	<p>In Istanbul, large number of industrial areas which have developed for 60 years have parallel characteristics with Kartal. It is one of the representatives of industrial decentralization.</p>	<p>Developing new urban areas on the huge urban lands and creating transportation connections, this project need to be hold not only as physical and economic transformation but also social improvement that APRILab can guide the future of the area.</p>	
Part of a larger ecosystem	<p>Kartal is one of the main districts in eastern side of Istanbul. There are both residential and business areas with various features. The industrial area lies</p>		

	between two major transportation line.		
Connection with the real urban environment	The new vision for Kartal was set in 2009 Istanbul metropolitan Plan. Both the design competition and the plan propose Kartal as a focus composed of mixed use on Anatolian Side of Istanbul. It has significant location and position for transformation of Istanbul that it effects the macroform of the city.	Although the project was created with the concept of ‘flexibility’ which does not put sharp principles, in reality it take precedence over implementation due to the legal framework.	

Table 4. The Typology of stakeholders and their procedures in the case study of Kartal

Typology of Kartal	Who (affiliations)?	Why/what for (Their rationale & objectives)?	How (type and amount of resources & methods)?	Examples
Enablers	Kartal Municipality	To manage the urban transformation process in residential areas.	They engage in dialog with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality	Project Meetings with residents.
	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality	To prepare and approve land use plans.	Land use plan	The latest plan of Kartal has been made by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality.
	Ministry of Environment and Urbanization	To prepare and approve land use plans	Power of preparing partial land use plan	In 2013, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization was planned partially the coastline of Kartal.
Providers	Kartal Kentsel Geliştirme Derneği (Kartal Kent-Der) (Kartal Urban Development Association) The association established by industrial investors to support urban transformation	To manage urban transformation project successfully	Role of speaking for industrialists / large land owners	Meetings put industrialists and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality together.
	Emlak Konut Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı (Emlak Konut Real Estate Investment Trust)	Real Estate Company applicant to run construction and purchase& sale processes	Construction activities	

	-this information is not confirmed!-	To manage urban transformation project successfully		
End-users	Large scale industrial companies (Eczacıbaşı, Siemens, Sabancı) Property owner	To finance the project To get maximum profit at the end of the project	Owners of large scale lands	
	small and medium scale industrial companies Property owner	To derive almost the same profit as large parcel owners' at the end of the project	Land owners	
	Urban Strategy Company	Company conducting negotiations between the parties To create an urban transformation model and to generalize it to other regions	Ability to combine scientific and practical knowledge relevant to the subject	
Developers	TÜBİTAK			
	Yildiz Technical University			

Appendix 2. THE ANALYSIS OF APRILab CASE STUDY: DERBENT

Table 5. Characteristics of the Living Lab: Derbent

The name of the study case: Derbent - Sariyer			
Analysis of the characteristics	Is / is not, and why?	The Role of Technology?	Examples
User-centred	Yes. Although in the process of project development the citizens were not a stakeholder, with the establishment of Sariyer Derbent Association, they aim to get land title, to rehabilitate their living environment and to renew their homes. This attempt has changed the design and planning approach of the project. Nowadays, users/ participants have a role in the planning procedure: Sariyer Derbent Association.	Emergence of self-organizing public association put local people in the project development process; that is, the project is forced to be more flexible in terms of public participation. In addition, people take the attention of others in Istanbul and gives information about what is going on in Derbent.	By the help of Chamber of City Planners and non-governmental organizations such as Birumut Derneği (One hope association) contribute the process for transformation of the area by conducting some meetings in order to inform people about urban transformation concepts, planning system in Turkey, and rights of <i>gecekondü</i> users. There are facebook, twitter accounts of people of Derbent and internet sites of supporting NGOs.
Supportive of open innovativeness	There are many neighborhoods which have similar characteristics with Derbent in Bosphorus region in Istanbul.	The negotiation studies settled by APRILab work where prevents the large effects of top-down Turkish planning approaches in the city of Istanbul can manipulate the process for local benefits.	
Part of a larger ecosystem	Derbent neighborhood is a sub-region of Bosphorus Urban Landscape. Residential areas, parks, and a lot of social service areas are located in its surrounding. There is also an important connection with the transportation axis.		
Connection with the real urban environment	In the large scale planning practices of Istanbul, Sariyer – Derbent is considered as a residential area with low density due to its being on the fringe near the natural thresholds. Its closer location to business district of Levent-Maslak Axis of Istanbul, there is high transformation pressure on Derbent.	In addition to planning studies, top-down project approaches by central government has direct impact on the urban pattern of Derbent. For this reason, new disaster law was introduced as a new way of urban transformation.	2009 Istanbul Metropolitan Plan Law numbered 6306

Table 6. The Typology of stakeholders and their procedures in the case study of Derbent, Sariyer

Typology of Derbent	Who (affiliations)?	Why/what for (Their rationale & objectives)?	How (type and amount of resources & methods)?	Examples
Enablers	Sariyer Municipality	To manage the urban transformation process To solve ownership problems of gecekondu area of Derbent	They engage in dialog with the people living in the area.	
	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality	To prepare and approve land use plans	Land Use Plan	1/1000 scale plan of Derbent Neighborhood approved in 14 th August 2013
	Ministry of Environment and Urbanization	To enforce the law numbered 6306 To implement the law so that to keep construction industry alive	Ministry has absolute power of using the law 6306 for manipulating construction sector	Declaration of Derbent as a risky area Approval of 1/1000 scale plan of Derbent
Providers	Auto Industry Cooperatives Owner of a part of the land	To be accepted as land owner To evacuate and to restructure the land To finish the process with maximum profit	Bargaining power gotten by 46 % of land ownership	
	Cemre Construction Tourism Industry and Trade Incorporated Company Construction company responsible for building actions	To carry out constructions as built & sell method	Company has capital which makes it capable of carrying out the construction It is equipped to manage technical design of the project	
	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Property owner in the area	To gain right for construction while transferring property to owner of gecekondus	It is owner of the area with percentage of 54% which it shares with people of Derbent	
End-users	People of Derbent House owners	To protect housing rights and to maximize ownership rights	Housing right comes from people's living in the area since	

			1960	
	Sarıyer Derbent Association Association established to protect housing rights	To conduct negotiations with municipality and cooperative to maximize ownership level of Derbent people		Skill of conducting negotiations between institutions
	Birumut Derneği Non-governmental organizations who defend housing rights of people, conduct negotiations between municipality-property owner-cooperative-people and wants to develop model	To generalize urban transformation model to other regions		Ability to combine scientific and practical knowledge relevant to the subject
Developers	Sarıyer Derbent Association			
	Birumut Derneği			
	TÜBİTAK			
	Yildiz Technical University			

APRILab

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