

THE EVALUATION OF PROJECT TYPOLOGIES IN ISTANBUL: FROM CONSPIRING DIALOGUES TO INSPIRING TRIALOGUES

Introduction

In Istanbul, which is one of the competitive cities in the global network, an economic structural transformation and an accompanying wide-scope restructuring is in underway. Most effective agents of restructuring, which transform the urban space, are urban projects. These projects, while on one account, strengthen the status of a global city, on another they serve as the effective tools in the enhancement of the life quality of its inhabitants. In contrast, the projects which are not in harmony with the urban environment in which they are embedded in, create turbulence in terms of social cohesion.

Although the urban projects look similar to one another in the global scale, they require a thorough comprehension of their urban base and also need a proper interaction to be established with the local players. This study targets developing a thought process to distinguish typologies of projects to be supported or handled cautiously, based on identifying urban dynamics of Istanbul.

In this context, this study is composed of two parts. In the first part; two specific recent periods are defined, based on the breakpoints of Istanbul's urban development and structural characteristics originating from these periods presented, together with the influential players of the processes identifying these characteristics. Hints are searched in this regard to increase the applicability of the urban projects. In the second part; the projects that sit on the formerly explored urban base are roughly grouped and one project type of each typology is briefly presented.

Changing Nature of Planning Paradigm in Istanbul

The urban development dynamics and the planning process of Istanbul has evidently moved towards and away from each other over the recent past, but has retained their development patterns along two different paths that never overlapped. Since it is stated in the Master Plan Report-2006 that, 43% of the developed part of the city (60% according to the Master Plan Report-1995) is unauthorized or legalized through amnesties, it is obvious that the produced plans do not comprehend and reflect the urban development dynamics of the city. In this context, the urban projects have to be investigated in a different light than the Western countries and the circumstances that define the grounds of these projects have to be handled with a multi-dimensional awareness.

There are certain breakpoints in the evolution of the planning paradigm of Istanbul. These are:

- the spatial and administrative arrangements of 1850's, which have initiated strong economic and social ties with the West,
- early Republican period (1923-1950), when Istanbul lost the identity of being the Capital City (Ankara was declared as the Capital of the new Republic) and lost its popularity as well as some of its population, thereafter (the population of 1 million at the turn of the century dropped to 690 000 in 1927),
- rapid urbanization after 1950's, when massive migration flows to Istanbul started due to the changing of rural policies on a nationwide scale,

-rapid liberalization after 1980's, when the urban projects became popular to complement the efforts of integration into the global liberal economic order and social justice was forgone in line with the change of direction from a social welfare state to a competitive liberal state.

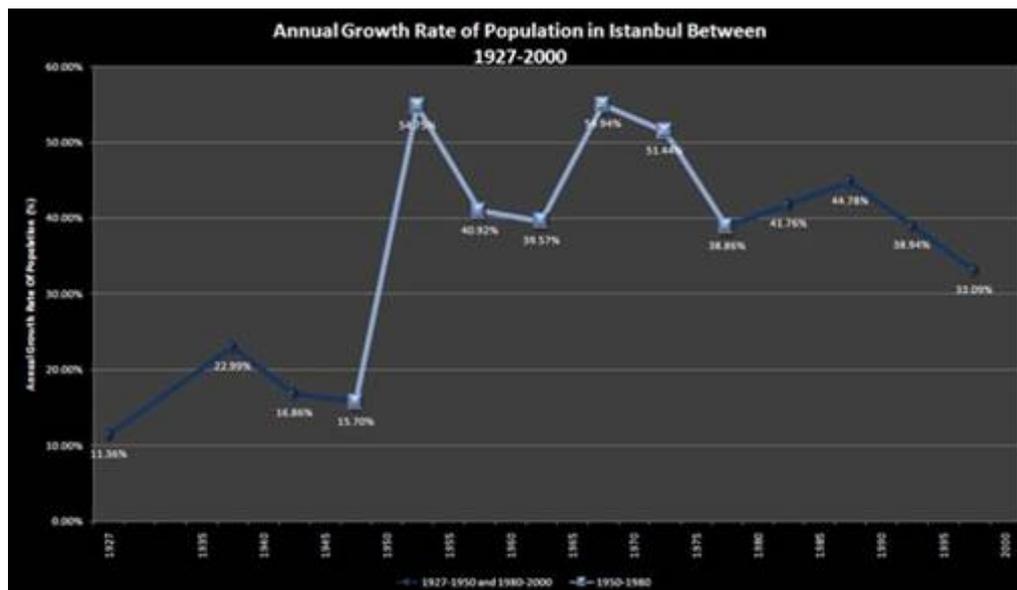
The paradigm change that followed these breakpoints not only modified the econo-political and social processes generating and transforming the urban space, but modified the identity and the configuration of the urban players, their interaction patterns and the split of power as well.

Urban Development of Istanbul: 1950-1980

In this paper; the urban development after 1950's, when the rate of urbanization was dramatically increased, is discussed in a limited scope, in order to identify the main characteristics of the structure forming the basis of urban projects and to define the main players of the processes.

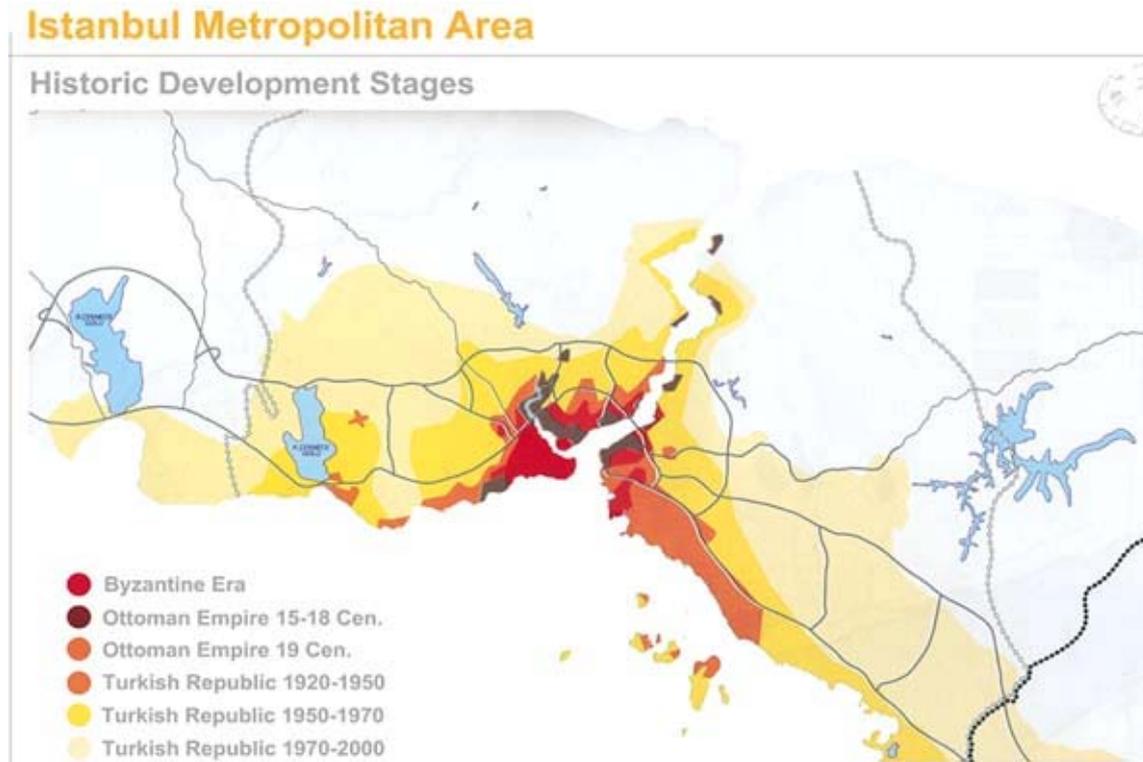
The rates of population increase and the spatial expansion was the highest in the period from 1950 to 1980. (See Figure 1 and Figure 2)

Figure 1: Population Growth Rates (1950-1980)



Source: Produced from the data in *Census of Population, 2000*, State Institute of Statistics, Istanbul, p.41

Figure 2: Spatial Development of Istanbul



Source: Presented by Huseyin Kaptan, in the context of 18th International Urban Design and Implementations Symposium, MSGSU, Istanbul

The major decisions determining the urban macroform and the most of the significant regulations shaping up the nature of the development of the city took place in this period. Before 1950, the city was formed in line with the natural thresholds of Marmara Sea, the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn and developed in line with the main decisions of the Prost Plan of 1937. However, after 1950, in accordance with the national policies promoting the transportation via motor-vehicles, newly constructed highways and industrial sites on these roads have guided the urban developments.

Istanbul's development in 1950's has been decided mostly by the central authorities as opposed to local initiative-taking. Large squares, highways, parking lots and green areas have been opened initiating the integration of the city to the highways through the development operations named after the Prime Minister of the time (Menderes Development Operations). Wide scale demolition operations have been conducted based on the Expropriation Laws passed to facilitate the opening of the necessary space and consequently the cultural heritage received the first blow.

The newly-opened roads also drove the development of the industry. The industrial establishments took place in the Golden Horn Area in the pre-1950 period as proposed in the Prost Plan, have jumped to the other side of the Golden Horn (opposing the Historic Peninsula) to Bomonti, Levent, Sisli, Kasimpasa and the mouth of the Kagithane Creek by the Master Plan of the Beyoglu Side (1954). With the Plan Revision (1955), industrial development spread to Topkapi, Haznedar as well as new sites along the Bosphorus, Istinye and Pasabahce, were opened to industry (Tekeli, 1994, p.112; Yesilirmak 2007).

The industrial establishments, emerging in line with the constructions of the highways, were surrounded by the poorly-constructed, unauthorized residential areas soon, providing inexpensive labor pools. The unauthorized units firstly intensified around the Zeytinburnu Area. Later on, despite the forbidding regulations, unauthorized constructions rapidly increased and widely expanded.

When 1960 was reached, the execution of the central authority in the urban development of Istanbul through the judgments of the Prime Minister was terminated by the Military Intervention. The principles of the Social Welfare State were identified by the 1961 Constitution. In this context, State Planning Office (SPO) was established to strengthen the planning process and to prevent the uncontrolled development or ad hoc applications not in line with the public preference. A detailed planning study of Istanbul was held by the academicians and the bureaucrats and submitted to the SPO. It emphasized the necessity of a regional approach to deal with the planning issues of Istanbul and Eastern Marmara Regional Plan was produced as a result. In order to increase the success of implementation, this plan was presented in a joint platform involving the private sector and non-governmental organizations as well as the public authorities (Tekeli, 1994, p.133).

In 1960's, although the planning process was held in high opinion and achieved institutional structures, the lack of proper land and development policies meeting the requirements of the rapid urbanization led to the ongoing process of uncontrolled development. The unauthorized constructions around the industrial sites rapidly grew in number while a population density increase was experienced through the vertical rise of the constructions in the authorized sections of the city. The Title Deed Law (1954), The Floor Regulation Plan for Istanbul (1960) and the Flat Ownership Law (1965) were, in a way, the legal basis enabling the densification of the urban pattern and threatening the demolition of the historic texture of the city. Through the above mentioned laws and regulations, low income groups, who could not afford to develop an independent unit on a single plot, were able to construct multi-storey buildings on the shared plots. This legal basis constituted a new legal but self-made housing production process which dominated the real estate market of Istanbul till 1980's. In this production scheme, the plot-owner agreed with a developer and shared the units constructed on that plot. The process, which serves as a finance model as well, was called "build and sell" and it was more flexible and appealing to the people without a social security than the regular finance models.

Through the 1970's, the same legal and illegal development trends prevailed. In this period, the noteworthy change was in the shape of the macroform and the speed of the spatial expansion. While the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge and its belt-ways facilitated the urban development on the Asian side, it also changed the shape of the macroform from a linear form to a compact one. The linear settlement, in East-West direction, in Istanbul along the shores started spreading towards North. The peripheral roads led to the agglomeration of the small industrial sites and formed the nuclei of new development areas.

The construction of the Bosphorus Bridge and its belt-ways which created such a radical impact on the development of the city was a dictated development operation. This important artery was not developed as a decision relating to the land use decisions in the framework of a master plan but according to a limited plan showing only the roads (Yesilirmak 2007).

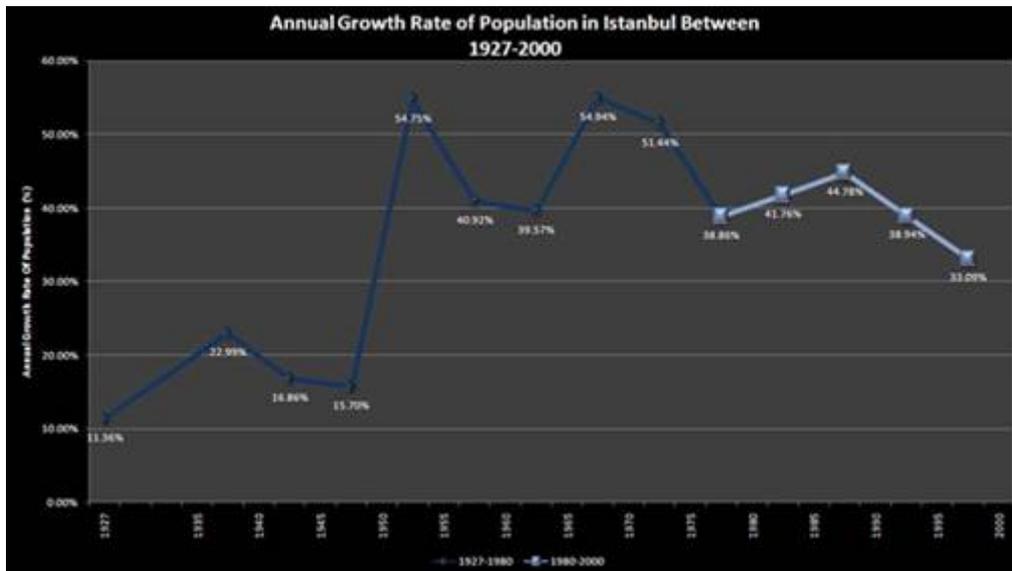
In the 1950-1980 period, oscillations took place in the democratic standing of the country. On the national scale, while the political system moved from one extreme to the other, 3 different interaction patterns were experienced. First one was the dictation of a chain of radical development decisions affecting the whole urban system, such as Menderes operations or the construction of the Bridge. Second one was the uncontrolled development based on "fait-accompli". It revealed a silent agreement between those producing the unauthorized units for shelter needs and the incompetent but tolerant State with insufficient housing policies and

funds. The third one was an open and legal interaction between the two parties, namely the small investors of real estate and the State. The State openly supported the “build and sell” housing production process through legislations. In the 1950-1980 period, the influence of the third parties such as private sector and the non-governmental organizations was quite negligible.

Urban Development of Istanbul: 1980-2005

In the 1980-2005 period, it was observed that the rate of increase of population slowed down, however the spatial expansion continued, especially pressuring the natural thresholds. (See Figure 3 and Figure 4)

Figure 3: Population Growth Rates (1980-2000)



Source: Produced from the data in *Census of Population, 2000*, State Institute of Statistics, Istanbul, p.41

Figure 4: Urban Development of Istanbul and Natural Thresholds



Source: Presented by Huseyin Kaptan, in the context of 18th International Urban Design and Implementations Symposium, MSGSU, Istanbul

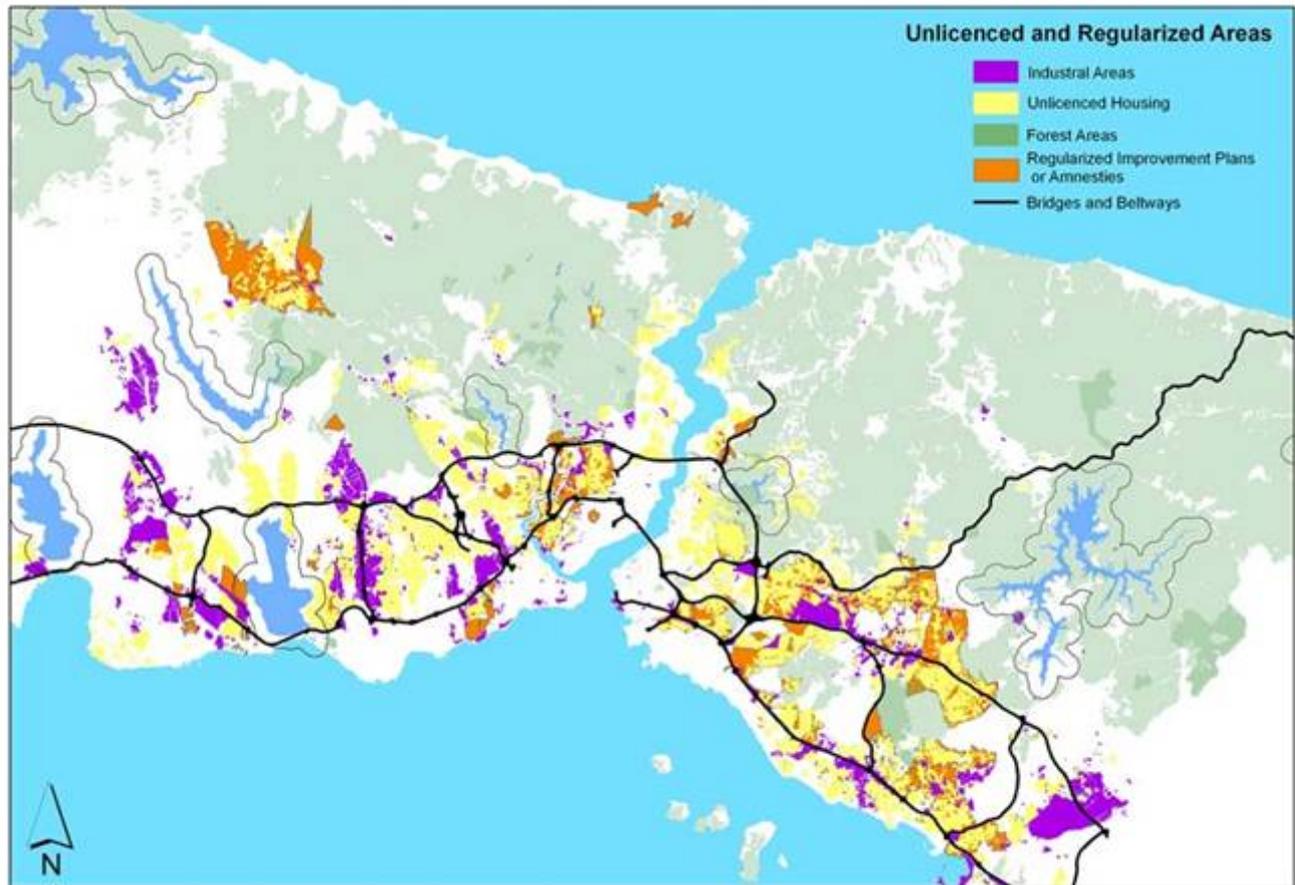
While this period, starting with the second Military Intervention, brought important changes in the political and economic structure, it was also regarded as a period of contrasting regulatory arrangements and plans which affected the urban development radically. It was surprising that the Military Intervention which interrupted the democratic evolution of the national political system, brought a radical legislation towards the enhancement of democratization on the field of planning by delegating the planning authorities to the local governments (Law of Development 1985). However granting planning rights to the peripheral municipalities, before they completed their professional and technical proficiency, accelerated the random, uncontrolled and isolated developments surrounding the city. In other words, democratization in planning and random developments were hand in hand in the peripheries of Istanbul. The new legal structure also influenced the expansion of the macroform and the ambitious district municipalities constituted the stepping stones of uncontrolled development.

Undoubtedly, the rapid growth was not confined to the ambitions of the district municipalities. The planned part of the city fortified the new development trend of the macroform as well. The macroform, which was dominated by the "build and sell" type housing production and unauthorized development surrounding the industrial nuclei before 1980's, continued the same tendencies after 1980's. It also started exhibiting satellite type patterns of industrial and residential areas. There were two processes lying behind the partially breaking of the macroform. These were the decentralization of industry proposed in the first comprehensive Master Plan of Istanbul (approved in 1980) and the new housing policies adapted by the central government encouraging the mass housing production. At this time, new players joined the decision-making process shaping up the urban development and the two party relations were replaced by multi- faced decision-making processes,. However, the new decision-making processes at times created inspiring platforms, while at others resulted in chaotic, uncertain situations.

The Master Plan of 1980 proposed industrial zones at the Eastern and Western peripheries of the city. It was aimed to decentralize the industrial zones which had grown adjacent to the historical core of the city. Esenyurt, Halkali, Gunesli, Ikitelli at the West; Kurtkoy, Dilovasi, Gebze at the East were developed consequently (The Master Plan Report of Istanbul, 1995, p.56). The decentralization process which was first met by the resistance of the small-capital groups unwilling to split away from the local and the traditional ties, was realized to a large extent in due course. However, due to the difficulties experienced in re-functionalizing the vacated areas, degradation of these areas was experienced to some extent.

The industrial nodes of Istanbul and the uncontrolled housing development areas have an intertwined structure. (See Figure 5)

Figure 5: Interwined Structure of Unauthorized Housing and Industrial Sites



Source: Produced from the Analytical Works of The Master Plan of Istanbul, 2006 (see references for details)

Decentralization of the industrial zones through the Plan decisions or the movement of the investors to the peripheries as they had difficulties to afford the rising land prices in the central areas, caused a disconnection between the employment and the residential areas. Such a change in the web of urban fabric disturbed the delicate balance of living standards of low-income groups and ended up in a social uncertainty. Therefore, the urban projects targeting to transform the functionality of the central areas vacated by the industries had to handle this social turbulence with care.

Another problematic process regarding the movement of industrial zones to the peripheries was the environmental degradation and the surrounding housing areas through randomly determined locations in the forestry and water basin areas. In fact, development in the forestry and water collection basin areas have been limited in Turkey by legislation. At the beginning of this era, also through the guidance of the World Bank financing the infrastructure processes, Istanbul Water and Sewage Administration was established as an independent institution (1981). Later on, this institution merged into the Greater Istanbul Municipality (Tekeli, 1994, p.173). This administration, added to the urban planning system as a third party, defined the protection zones to prevent the illegal developments. However, it has not been able to stop developments within Istanbul's 7 water basins and irregular housing areas add up to an area of 8 829 ha in Istanbul. (The Master Plan Report of Istanbul, 2006, p.368)

Forestry areas on the other hand were protected by a special legislation since 1956 and the Ministry of Forestry had a third-party position in the planning process for the settlements within the forests. However, especially because of 2 items of this legislation, forestry areas have been damaged after 1980. One of the items (Item 2B), provides for taking those areas which have lost forestry characteristics to outside the jurisdiction of the forestry protection and has encouraged more illegal developments. Another item on the other hand (Item 52), allows up to 6% development within the private forestry areas. Within the flexibility offered by this item, many residential compounds for higher income groups have been developed.

The above-mentioned luxury residential nodes, which have grown aggressively after 1990, have further increased after the Marmara earthquake of 1999 due to the move of the high income families who have doubts about the structural strength of their residences in central Istanbul and willing to relocate in the northern areas where the ground is geologically stronger. The main players of this development are the district municipalities which have used their planning authorities irresponsibly and the private sector representatives who are involved in the lobbying activities in the Ministry of Forestry. The other players are; the private sector increasing their profit margins by moving out of the central city, the media groups receiving tremendous amounts of revenues through the real estate advertisements encouraging the demanders by a new life style close to the nature and also triggering the fear of earthquake. The expense of losing ecological assets seems to be disregarded in this intense process of transformation.

Another process influencing the development of urban macroform in the post-1980 era is the large scale housing production. The legal tools of the large scale housing have been defined by the Mass Housing Law (passed in 1981, revised in 1984). This legislation regulates the institutional structure of Mass Housing and the appropriated funding. The Chairmanship of Mass Housing set up by this lawⁱⁱ has been authorized in the planning and project generation of Mass Housing Areas. In this fashion, The Chairmanship of Mass Housing, as an institution of Central Government, has also joined the housing production process of Istanbul as a third party. This procedure which may be viewed as positive regarding the State's involvement in the housing production for the lower income groups but it is criticized for the recent policies of the Chairmanship of Mass Housing to maximize the profit margins. Furthermore the lack of coordination between the Chairmanship of Mass Housing and the local governments causes developments that fragment the urban system.

Other players in the large scale housing production besides Chairmanship of Mass Housing are, companies set up within the system of greater Municipality of Istanbul and the private capital enterprises. Relatively speaking, the municipality companies invest within the framework of the Plan and the urban development trends. On the other hand, private groups in order to lower the land cost and increase the profitability steer to the peripheral municipalities which behave more flexible in using the planning authority.

The steep rate of profits in the real estate sector is one of the main drives of the capital moving away from manufacturing to the non-industrial sector. The private and the privatized banks get involved with this system as a third party through offering credit for individuals for housing. This three-player structure, disregarding the urban development principles has become even stronger through the establishment of the mortgage system.

Another process which has increased the impact of the private sector on urban development is the process of privatization which has been a financial instrument of the liberal policies since 1980. Thereby, many publicly-owned manufacturing, service and storage areas located at the center of the cities ended up at the hands of the private sector. These operations which were seen as easy financing methods for the public sector are noteworthy from the

considerations of controlling the urban development and losing the final plots of land which could have been useful for accommodating nonprofit social functions.

The other players in the urban development are institutions authorized on issuing permits on the development of the areas for other functions rather than the industrial and residential sites. According to Item 4 and 9 of the Development Law, the planning authority on exceptional cases (such as tourism, preservation areas, Bosphorus Special Preservation Area) is transferred to the relevant ministry or administration (www.bayindirlik.gov.tr). Since there is a lack of coordination between the local and the central governmental institutions brought into the planning process as third parties together with the Greater and Town municipalities of Istanbul, conflicts or authorization is experienced and the general conformity of the master plan has been neglected.

The planning system, which does not provide the proper coordination instruments, is criticized for yielding a fragmented structure because it has granted planning rights to a numerous central government institutions, based on the above mentioned items of the law. However, the importance of the independent Preservation Councils reporting to the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, on realizing the importance of the natural and cultural assets to the plans, cannot be denied. In a city like Istanbul, which has acquired world cultural heritage, the awareness of preservation matters and the accompanying legislation is only after 1980. Actually, there was a preservation approach at single unit basis previously, which was expanded to historical, natural and archeological sites in the last 30 years. However, the passing of the legislation on "Preservation of Sites of Cultural and Natural Values" and the structuring of "High Council of Cultural and Natural Assets" with bureaucrats and academicians took place after 1983. In the same period, a series of legal and administrative arrangements were made to preserve the shores of Bosphorus (Tekeli, 1994, pp.186-187) In this fashion, preservation councils were added to the planning system as a third party. This three-legged structure, albeit slowing down the planning process, was a positive step in preserving the natural and cultural assets.

Interestingly enough, while the preservation philosophy was more institutionalized after 1980, development amnesty legislations were also passed at this time, rapidly propagating the unauthorized developments. 6 of the development amnesties, out of the 14 total in the period between 1948 and 1988, were after 1980. Furthermore, the approach adapted by the post-1980 legislation and the social segments impacted by it changed considerably. The pre-1980 Development Amnesties targeted resolving the issue of accommodating low income groups and serving the public by legalizing unauthorized units. However, the post-1980 legislation, legalizing multi-storey buildings, justified a transfer of profits through land appreciation. The recent amnesty widened the scope of legalization to include the industrial and tourism developments. (Cavusoglu 2004, pp. 214-216)

Wide scale amnesty regulations, brought two new groups into the informal housing market as third parties. The first group was profit-seekers rather than lowest income groups without a shelter and the informal network of suppliers organizing this production scheme. The second group was, the tenants leasing these units from the suppliers or the owners. The position of these two groups, in the context of contemporary urban transformation projects, was quite different. The first group negotiated with the investors along the ownership rights and was prospect partner of the generated value. The second group, on the other hand, was helpless low income groups forced to leave their living quarters driven away by the market forces. As long as the resources are not allocated to the housing needs of the tenants living in the illegal housing areas, the urban transformation projects will continue to threaten the social cohesion.

The urban developments in the post-1980 era, creating opportunities and threats at the same time, yielded an interaction platform where many losing and gaining players were present.

This platform presented a much more democratic structure compared to the ones of the past. Especially, after the Habitat Convention held in Istanbul in 1996, the concern on the social and economic as well as spatial aspects of urban development came on the agenda. The activities of the NGO's on the urban issues intensified substantially. Many professional associations, including the chambers of architects and city planners, have reacted to a wide range of subjects, from the distortion of the skyline of the city to destiny of the low income groups suffering from the spatial rearrangement of the city. These reactions were embodied in strengthening of public standing against these developments and opening lawsuits. In other words, NGO's which were added to the urban system as a third party contributed to transform the conspiring processes to accountable ones and pressures to reroute the generated values through the urban developments back to public.

The background urban developments studied in two parts point out some fundamentals forming the basis of urban projects. The most important of these are:

- There is a lack of publicly-owned estates to guide the reshaping of the urban pattern and developing leading, exemplary functions. There is also a rush to privatize the very last plots owned by the State in order to create financial resources.
- Almost all legal and illegally-acquired plots have shared ownerships. Therefore, there is a considerable negotiation process to handle in the urban transformation projects proposing functional change or demolition, which should not be underestimated.
- The status of the tenants, which are not even considered as a party in the negotiation process, and their vulnerability, is a delicate matter in restoring the social peace.
- The integration of the inhabitants of the housing areas surrounding the decentralized industrial zones or the areas with redefined functions to the newly defined employment opportunities is a sensitive matter.
- The insufficient public funds for housing and infrastructure investment is the main argument in explaining the low-standard living areas. However, the public authorities have already redistributed vast assets within the scope of the development rights, disregarding to channel a part of the generated wealth into the fund requirements of urban deficiencies. The lack of the taxing and the cross-finance instruments further deteriorated the already unfair distribution of income.
- Especially in the post-1980 era, the increase in the number of participating players in the urban decision-making process was a positive change, but as the coordination tools were insufficient, a chaotic multi-voice situation resulted.
- Preservation of historical and natural assets, with the contribution of independent councils and NGO's was positive but inadequate.

If the urban projects growing in number, scope and in socio-environmental impact, are to succeed without the social equilibrium disturbed, the basic grounds of these projects, which are substantially different than those in the West, should be comprehended properly.

Typologies of Urban Projects

When the recent projects developed in Istanbul are examined, 4 groups can be defined from a point of view considering the involvement of various actors and the interaction patterns, namely; imposed projects, macroform stretching projects, benefit-for-all projects and community based projects.

Imposed Projects

The imposed projects mostly emerge due to the decentralization of the existing functions on the State-owned manufacturing and Service areas. Two targets of the public authorities are apparent in these projects. Firstly, production of "prestigious projects" at the city centers in a

visible fashion so that the image and competitive position of the city is elevated, secondly to finance the public debt with the high income received from the sale of these areas. In order to maximize the revenues from sales, the authorities refrain from extensive bargaining on behalf of the public and they even tolerate having the planning regulations degenerated.

The most important prototypes of this typology are Galata, Haydarpaşa Port Projects and Dubai Towers, Zorlu Center Projects in Zincirlikuyu. The port projects fortify the concept of “cruise port” and allow structures which are unacceptable within the legislations regarding shorelines and hence provide exemplary cases for the other ports in the city and around the country (Kahraman, 2006, p.100). Furthermore, reserving these areas, where densely populated residential areas meet the seashore, for the use of a limited group lead to the isolation of large masses of the citizens and distort the fair use of a public space. Zincirlikuyu projects, on the other hand, lie on one of the main arteries of the city and hence could have taken a critical and integrative role of regulating the intense flows as well as enhancing the role as a public space. However, such a critical public space has been left to the initiative of the private sector without a negotiation or a pre-condition on the design or the use of land.

The projects which are generated through design competitions are partly considered under the group of imposed projects in this study. Since mostly the competing projects are design-oriented, they overlook the social integration and employment issues. However, most of the decentralized industrial zones, where these problems are most intensely experienced, have been subject to design competition processes (completed or ongoing), such as the sites of Kucuk Cekmece, Karadeniz Mining Sites, Kartal, Maltepe, Ikitelli and Beylikduzu. The Jury of the design project competitions are mostly formed from architects. Based on the comments of the Chambers of related professions, City and Regional Planners and the Landscape Architects are also invited to the Juries but they remain in minority. Implementation of projects, with the proper tools to relieve the masses of inhabitants with an unpredictable future in the vacated industrial zones, requires a multi-disciplined approach beyond a solo design consideration.

Macroform Stretching Projects

The macroform stretching projects are mostly located outside the planning and infrastructural scopes of the existing macroform on considerably large scale plots. The first examples of this typology became visible in 1950's and Levent Mass Housing project is such a prototype. The plot was first sold by the Treasury Department to an individual owner and transferred later to the Municipality. The Real Estate and The Credit Bank (RECB), as a public bank, undertook the project in four phases. A total of 1374 units were constructed in different styles. (Tekeli, İlhan P. 159) A more comprehensive undertaking of the RECB was the project of Atakoy, consisting of some 12 000 units. The site was originally a State-owned industrial site which was sold to the Bank in 1955. (Tekeli, p.160) Atakoy project, including the recreational and tourism uses, offered an upper-middle class life style rather than a solo residential purpose. With the new attractive life styles offered, both Levent and Atakoy constituted attraction nodes stretching the macroform and changing the equilibrium of the housing market. The development of Atakoy continued in the 1980's. However, the transformation of the RECB from its original socially supporting purpose to a profit-centered institution converted the project into a densely populated neighborhood targeting higher income groups.

The wide scale housing project development efforts of RECB in the peripheries of the city continued throughout 1990's in cooperation with the Chairmanship of Mass Housing. One of the widest applications of this cooperation is the Bahcesehir project. In this project, some of 16 000 units have been planned in a 470 ha area, 40km. from the city center. (1990) The first population registered in the Bahcesehir district was 12 915 (in 1997). It is estimated that population reached 30 000, in an area of 2500 ha, in the year 2005 (www.bahcesehir-bld.gov.tr).

The project covering 3 large farm areas (Derekoy, Kapadik and Tasalin) was been started by establishing a municipality and removing the status of a village. The attempt of the large landowners, resulting in this administrative change was further supported by the institutions of Central Government, RECB and the Chairmanship of Mass Housing and the project reached a strong financial base. The fact that the ownership of land was not split and the landowners had good relations with the public authorities enabled the rapid process of the project. However, the points of designing a profit-making project for higher income groups, deforming the current linear development scheme of the city towards north, converting an ecologically sensitive area into an attraction node and avoiding to define an accountable way of returning a part of the tremendous amounts of profits back to the public need to be criticized.

Stretching of the macroform, disrespecting the ecological balances and the plan principles, is not confined to projects generated by the large land owners, in cooperation with the governmental institutions. The projects generated by the real estate firms of varying sizes, in conjunction with the peripheral district municipalities, eager to change the socio-economic profile of their territory also generated a macroform stretching process. A typical example of such a process in Istanbul was Cekmekoy.

Cekmekoy, quite different from Bahcesehir, was an Ottoman village dating back to the 14th century. The population in 1960 was 420. It grew by receiving migration till 1980's like the other peripheral municipalities of Istanbul. However, in 1980, the villages have started selling their plots to the real estate investors. The population increased to 13 824 in 1990 and 41155 in 2000. The district, which sits on a land of about 1 500 ha, has a different socio-economic texture, together with the security-gated compounds constructed in the 1990's. Multi-storey buildings constructed by the migrants on small parcels and licenced through the amnesty legislations, the housing cooperation of the middle income groups and the gated community compounds of high income groups display an interesting mosaic of development. As in Bahcesehir, the return of the enormous profit generated to the good of the public was not organized and funds were not created even for the fundamental public needs. For instance, in Cekmekoy, primary school and the high school education have been conducted in the same building, in the morning and afternoon sessions respectively. On the other hand, the price of the residences reached 300-500 thousand US dollars (Firdin Ozgur, 2007, pp.96-108)

Benefit-for-all Projects

Benefit for all projects involved the prime players of the urban development; local government, private sector and the community. However, the benefits were limited to the projects immediate impact. The projects fitting this typology got started with the initiative-taking of the local government and develop differently based on the local conditions. These projects of strategic importance were developed with the contribution of the academic participants and the international institutions within public accountability. Pendik Municipality is one of the town municipalities leading the generation of this sort of projects.

Pendik is one of the most rapidly developing towns in recent years. The settlement of Pendik dates as far back that of Istanbul. It was a settlement placed on the Eastern defense line of Istanbul which was capital of three Empires. The population was 13 963 in 1960, 48 219 in 1980 and 384 668 in 2000, with a dramatic rise of 800%.

The adapted local development model, under the leadership of the Municipality, played an important role in the development of Pendik in recent years. Many projects were developed on different scales within the local development plan, with physical, social, cultural, economical and political dimensions. There have been employment-generating visionary

projects in the region. The most important of these projects are the project on Exhibition Fair Area, with 3 500 job opportunities and the Marina Project with 1 500 job opportunities. In both projects, built-operate-transfer model is put in use. Municipality is expecting a rent income of 1 million US dollar/year from each project. The projects will be handed over to the Municipality at the end of 30 years.

The projects of Pendik Municipality aiming at economic development are not confined to the large scale projects targeting high income groups. Projects encouraging the small entrepreneurs are also developed. These are "Supporting the Female Entrepreneur Project" (SFEP) and "Roofless Bazaar Project" (RBP).

SFEP is managed by a team representing institutions from three levels of government. These are Administration of Small and Mid-scale Industrial Development and Support (a central government institution), Greater Municipality of Istanbul and Pendik Municipality. This project is also supported by European Union through financial aid for candidate countries.

RBP is based on the principle of operating the current conventional shopping area as a modern shopping mall. It targets increasing the solidarity among the merchants to get them acting together. The partners of the project are Local Development Platform, Chamber of Merchants, Chamber of Drivers, Pendik Industrial and Businessmen Association and Pendik Bazaar Merchants Representatives. Board of Directors is elected from members representing 19 sectors. The articles of Association has been prepared in line with the project and 6 work groups have been formed, namely Budget and Finance, Education, Planning, Security, Transportation and Public Relation groups.

Pendik Municipality also adapts social policies which ease the consequences of economic crises regularly observed in Turkey. There are also Educational Programs for different age groups, Support Programs for handicapped citizens and Health Care Programs. Furthermore, support activities are undertaken jointly with other public institutions and the NGO's, additionally the coordination of these independent programs is conducted by the Pendik Municipality.

Besides the programs with economic and social development objectives, numerous projects focused on spatial development were also developed. Urban transformation projects were conducted for renewing the urban building stocks, bringing activities into degrading areas and elevating the urban life quality through activity and functionality changes. (See table 1)

Table 1: Urban Transformation Projects in Pendik

Completed Projects	
Hilal	1 284 units
Cinardere	442 units
Velibaba	842 units
Yayalar	66 units
Dolayoba	129 units
Kurtkoy	30 000 units
Seyhli	201 units
Ongoing Projects	
Kurtkoy	10 000 units
Yayalar	8 200 units
Aydos Sarmasik	600 units
Seyhli	1 700 units
TOKI	1 736 units
Kurtkoy	1 197 units
Projects Starting Soon	

Velibaba	176 units
Improvement and Development Projects	
Velibaba – Seyhli	
Providing Plots	477 units
Providing Housing Units	18 units
Providing Licences	1 443 units
TOTAL	58 511 units

Source: www.pendik.bel.tr

In the context of housing projects, Aydos Mass Housing Project is noteworthy. Within this project, transformation of housing illegally built on a farm land of 250 ha is targeted. At the first step, the status of the farm land was redefined and the ownership was transferred to the public. In the second step, the application plan was prepared and the sale to the housing cooperatives was realized. In the third phase, where infrastructure and social units were completed, the construction of the housing is continuing. 8 200 residential units are completed, the population is 41 000. (www.pendik.bel.tr) The indicators of the standard of living are above those of the average of the city (Green areas 12.55 sq.m./person; educational areas 7.18 sq.m./student and social areas 1.62 sq.m./person).

The main principles behind the production and the successful application of urban projects in Pendik are, a transparent, accountable and democratic government and institutional structure which maintains coordination between the governmental hierarchy and the private sector. The City Council, which was established based on the Law of Municipalities (2005) and in accordance with the agreement signed with the United Nations, is one of the obvious steps of this innovative management approach. While on one hand, new management structures were put into use, on the other hand training programs were applied targeting the sustainability of the development and raising the awareness of the inhabitants.

Community-Based Projects

The community based projects target the improvement of the standards of the poorly developed zones or the earthquake-prone areas, which do not attract the immediate attention of the investors.

The projects in this category are hardly cultivated due to the scarcity of the public funds. However, in recent times positive achievements were observed in the context of social organization. One of the exemplary project in this regard is the Gulsuyu-Gulensu Project in Istanbul. In this neighborhood, which had a population of 26 540 (2003), a social reaction was triggered by the plan, approved in 2004, disregarding the social reality of the area. 7 000 petitions were filed objecting to the plan and 32 plan-cancellation cases were opened in court. This was followed by an intense process targeting to create awareness and to inform the public. Meetings were arranged to comprehend the plan and its implications better from a multi-angled perspective; additionally consultants were brought in from Academia and the professional circles. Upon this intense reaction, the Town Municipality relabeled the neighborhood as urban renewal zone on the 1/ 5 000 Master Plan. Based on the participation proposal in the plan report, participatory planning process was initiated.

In this process, first of all, residences of the neighborhood try to understand the urban planning process. It is realized that the planning process, which was formerly perceived as demolition of housing and losing the right of shelter, is in fact a set of actions targeting an improved life quality. This realization led to a wide support of the planning process. A democratic council was formed by electing representatives from each street. The representatives carried the neighborhood data and the expectations to the technical processes in this Council and brought back the outcome of the discussions to their fellow residents (Altun, Aksumer, Aykut, Konuk, 2007).

In this participatory planning process, in implementation for about a year, as a consequence of the interest of the universities and embodiment of the planning works, the Town Municipality changed the previously held careless attitude and started participating in the process. The success of the Gulsuyu-Gulensu Project, which is a genuine participatory experience, constitutes an exemplary case for the similar settlements. It constitutes an alternative transformation model presenting opportunities for the large groups of people, who are handicapped within the market dynamics.

Concluding Remarks

The development structure displayed in Istanbul in the last 50 years and the urban projects which are based on this structure point out some key concepts.

Macroform, funding of housing and the public awareness are the key concepts of developing successful urban projects to enhance the urban life quality. To guide the growth of macroform without pressuring the ecological thresholds is very important from the urban sustainability point of view. Public authorities who should be performing this guidance, should be more sensitive in privatizing the last bits of critical and strategically located plots, should expand their scope beyond the fund generation, to a wider angle foreseeing social costs.

Funding of housing, doubtlessly, brings the private sector to the urban lay out as a strong player. However, it should be kept in mind that innovative tools and cross-finance instruments, which help to re-route the generated revenues to the public benefit, reinforce the negotiating power of the public authorities.

Public awareness should not be seen as a matter which slows down the process in the rapidly-changing conditions of the developing countries and should be supported without underestimating its importance. Public awareness is the most effective means of maximizing the public benefits of different project typologies as an overwhelming determinant.

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ⁱ Irregular housing is illegally developed residential areas; these units may be retaining the unauthorized statutory position or may have been licenced through development amnesties albeit staying in poor infrastructural and unhealthy living environment.

ⁱⁱ One of the exceptional zones, where the development authority is transferred from the local governments to the Central Government institutions, based on Item 9 of the Development Law, is the mass housing areas under the jurisdiction of The Chairmanship of Mass Housing.