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Doctoral Dissertation  
Doctoral Program in Urban and Regional Development (31<sup>th</sup> Cycle)

# **The Conservation of Izmir Historical City: From Traditional Plans to Entrepreneurial Governance**

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\*\*\*\*\*

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Merve Demiröz  
Turin, September, 2020

# Summary

This thesis pursues two intertwined strands of research. Firstly, it sets out to investigate what goals existing conservation planning has pursued in general, and how its development has advanced or stalled in a particular local context. Secondly, it aims to ascertain whether shifts in management modes are able to further urban conservation by embracing diverse physical, social and cultural values, or whether they have enabled the domination of conservation practise by the political or economic interests of certain groups. These questions are interrogated through a case study analysis, aiming to explore the delicate dynamics in the development of conservation plans and their relations with multi actoral and instrumental governance modes in one unique case, that of Izmir's historic city. It will contribute to understandings of how to effectively implement recommendations from international documents and literature in situations where ideals of 'participation' are challenged by tensions on the ground. Izmir represents an ideal case study since it presents a starkly different vision of the conservation of historic centres, which sets it apart from the usual urban development approach imposed on Turkish cities. From this perspective, the Izmir History Project, with its introduction of new actors and instruments into of the existing conservation planning system presents an intriguing ground on which to test the ways in which new actors and tools intertwine with the existing actors, powers, concepts, and processes of conservation. To achieve this goal, it pragmatically utilises the structural-functional approach in order to dissect governance and planning processes in the Izmir case and contrasts two periods of conservation practise through specific criteria. It builds on context analyses and interviews with a wide variety of actors, to present an example of the complex interrelations between the public and private sectors and civil society actors in conservation processes, which has led to the sidelining of conservation planning and a shift towards entrepreneurial governance modes.

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# Abbreviations

CP1: Kemeraltı 1st Stage Conservation Plan, 1/1000

CP2/1: Kemeraltı 2nd Stage, 1st Region Conservation Plan, 1/1000

CPs: Conservation Plans

CoE: Council of Europe

GRCP: General Regulatory Conservation Plan, 1/5000

ICC: Izmir Chamber of Commerce

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

IDA: Izmir Development Agency

IEDCB: The Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board

IHP: Izmir History Project

IMM: Izmir Metropolitan Municipality

IMMCO: Office of Historic Environment and Cultural Values in the IMM

HUL: Historic Urban Landscape

KM: Konak Municipality

KTCA: Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Craftsmen' Association

KUDEB: Conservation, Implementation and Controlling Bureaus

SCDIV: Society for Conservation and Developing of the Izmir Values

TARKEM: Company of Historic Kemeraltı Construction, Investment and  
Commerce

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural  
Organization

URA: Urban Renewal Area

UCA: Urban Conservation Area



*I would like to dedicate  
this thesis to Güzel  
İzmir*

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# Chapter 1

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Conservation planning plays a critical role in the management of historic cities; it can be the difference between thriving historically rooted communities in places of beauty and the loss of unique history to irresponsible development. Existing research recognises the key role played by conservation planning to safeguard urban heritage in different country contexts (e.g. Hobson, 2004; Magrin, 2015; Pendlebury, 2009). It has also been reflected in the existing international recommendations and charters on conservation for more than a half century. It has developed through modernist comprehensive urban plans and shaped its own methodologies, conceptual set and tools; subsequently the heritage notion has extended its scope from monuments to the urban scale. While it represents a separate field, it is fundamentally embedded in and moulded by the disciplines of conservation of cultural heritage and urban planning.

Considering the long-term discussions within these two disciplines over participation, there has recently also been renewed interest in how more and more actors and management instruments can play roles in the conservation of historic cities. For instance, the issue of participatory processes with multiple actors and instruments at the governance level has lately received considerable attention in the 2011 Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) Recommendations by UNESCO (Article 23, 24a, 25, 26, 27) and the subsequent literature.

Although the HUL approach has not suggested substituting conservation planning with new management modes but rather considers it one of a number of tools (Bandarin, 2015; Bandarin & Oers, 2012), changing governance structures have effects on the legitimacy of conservation planning. Inevitably, this has more impact in those countries where the planning system has not been strongly developed as a regulatory instrument and legislation on conservation has gaps, where it may lay the ground for reckless implementations.

The impacts of participation on the nature of general urban planning has long been debated, since the 1970s pluralism discussions, which could be summarised as communicative turn. This, consequently, led to the development of the family of communicative planning theories which have sought ways in which to engage more actors and tools in the planning exercise. While theories are still developing, the patterns of traditional urban plans have begun to change from their original expert-based nature to more strategic and multi-actoral processes. Notwithstanding, this



change has not only resulted in the inclusion of more and more actors from communities as is the premise of most of the theories. Some scholars have perpetually contested the impacts of entrepreneurial governance on the creation and diffusion of multi actoral planning considering the changing roles of the state, market and civil society since the 1970s. In this perspective, conservation planning has also been challenged by the aims of entrepreneurial governance, in respect to the new management modes of urban space.

A considerable literature has also grown up around the theme of community involvement and has criticised the autocratic role of experts and elites within heritage studies. Overall, these debates have also been centred on multi actoral processes in heritage making through empowering communities to actively take part in heritage management. However, the research to date has tended to focus on expert or elite domination over communities in heritage making processes rather than on the influence of external forces on management of urban space. One of the greatest challenges for historic cities is how to cope with various sets of actors who may have conflicting or overwhelming interests in urban space (Pendlebury, 2013). The increase in the variety of actors and management instruments could be also a contributing factor in the growth of the role of private sector actors who could have power to prevail over conservation processes according to solely economic benefits.

Furthermore, the research on general urban planning has not predominantly focused on 'heritage values', which are specific to conservation planning, nor do they examine how to describe, 'select' and manage such values. Whilst some research has been carried out on multiple actors in heritage management processes, there have been few empirical investigations into what has become of the role of modernist 'conservation plans' as presented as the warrant of conservation through consideration of various aspects and the particular character of historic cities. What is less clear is the nature of engagement of more managerial modes of conservation with existing conservation plans, particularly in the local contexts in which conservation has not been profoundly embedded within planning systems and legislation. Of particular concern is to what extent this increase in participants and managerial instruments could open up new heritage possibilities with communities in specific local contexts or they cause to create fuzzier conservation processes to the sake of other interests.

Therefore, this study has two aims: 1. To investigate what goals existing conservation planning has pursued and how it has developed (or not) in a local context; and 2. To ascertain whether changing modes of management guarantee urban conservation by embracing diverse physical, social and cultural values, or whether they have laid a groundwork for the domination of conservation practise by certain groups seeking economic or political gains.

Although conservation planning has developed its own conceptual framework and methodological instruments as a separate sector via international doctrine, it is widely known that it can lead to a diverse range of outcomes depending on political and cultural attitudes to conservation, and the varying heritage and planning systems of national and local contexts. For this reason, this study is built upon a

case study analysis and evaluation, aiming to explore delicate dynamics in the development of conservation plans and their relations with multi-actoral and instrumental governance modes in a particular local context. It will contribute to understanding of how to effectively implement recommendations from international documents and literature in view of ‘participation’ and tensions on the ground, at various levels of actors and instruments.

## 1.2 Rationales and Motivations of Choosing Case Study

Izmir is a third ranking city in Turkey, located in the Aegean region on the western coast (Figure 1). This is a Mediterranean port city which has forged strong connections with the western part of the world throughout its history. From the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the city’s local authorities have been predominantly drawn from social democrat backgrounds. Moreover, Izmirians have become known across Anatolia for their secular lifestyles. Thus, under the authority of the conservative Justice and Development Party which has held power in Turkey since 2002, Izmir’s local authorities have been rooted in the political opposition. Considering the extreme construction market boom driven by the ruling party’s uncontrolled urban policies and their destructive effects on the conservation sector, it can be claimed that Izmir has had a unique experience of urban management which holds it distinct from other local authorities in Turkey.

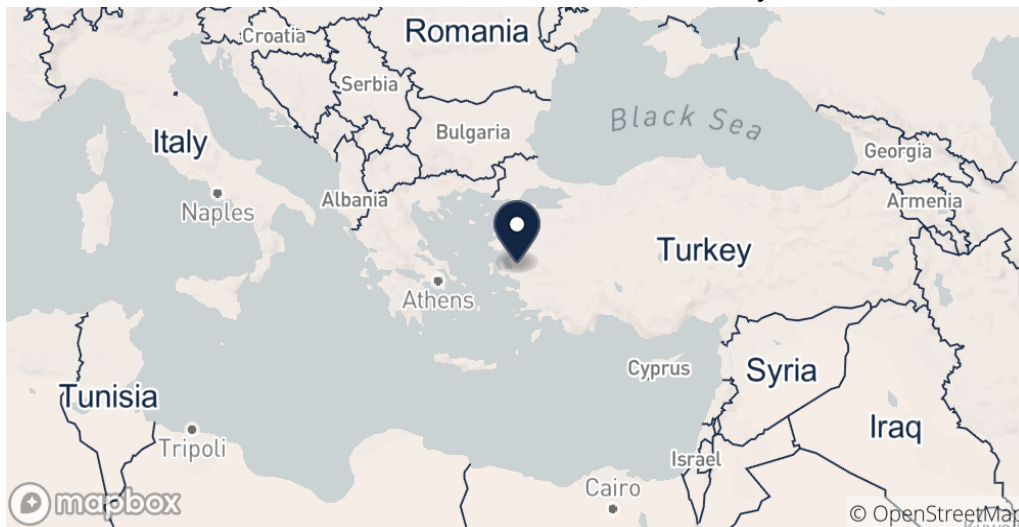


Figure 1: Location of Izmir in Turkey (Source: Open Street Maps).

Therefore, Izmir represents an ideal case study since it presents a starkly different vision of conservation of historic centres, standing apart from the usual urban development approach imposed on Turkish cities. The 2005 Urban Renewal Act in particular ushered in a new era in the conservation of historic cities in Turkey. The act opened the gates for local authorities to implement rushed and precarious renewal projects in conservation areas while, at the same time, designating them as urban renewal areas. These projects have led to widespread demolitions of historical urban fabrics and the violent displacement of inhabitants and fracturing of communities. It has also interrupted legislative gains in urban conservation

concerning the participation of communities. The Izmir case seems entirely different from the pattern which has emerged in historic cities across Turkey (e.g. Istanbul, Ankara and Diyarbakır) since the introduction of the Urban Renewal Act in 2005. In this context, such a historic city being designated both urban conservation and renewal area after the 2005 act triggered the selection of Izmir as a case study in order to observe the transformations, tensions and possibilities which have emerged in the multi actoral and multi instrumental era.

The new vision has drawn attention with the launch of the ‘Izmir History Project’ by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2013, following the urban renewal area designation in 2007. The IMM is seen as having introduced a new conservation approach by emphasising a multitude of actors and instruments in the governance and planning processes of the historic city. In fact, the entire urban renewal area, namely Izmir History Project (IHP) area, is covered by a variety of different conservation designations including urban conservation area, 1st, 2nd, 3rd degree archaeological areas, natural conservation areas and urban transformation area; it also contains around 1500 listed buildings and monuments. Izmir Historic Centre was designated an Urban Conservation Area in 1978 under the Council for Historical Real Estate and Monuments’ ruling numbered A-1373. Following this in 2002, the whole area was designated as both an urban conservation and 3rd degree archaeological area by Izmir Conservation Council of Cultural and Natural Values, No.1, under ruling numbered 9728, including 1st and 2nd degree archaeological conservation areas.

Izmir Historic City has been presented with a variety of conservation plans from the 1980s onwards, following its designation as an urban conservation area in 1978. However, the first conservation plan in 1984 lacked the features of genuine conservation planning, instead including proposed demolitions and permission for new constructions within the historical fabric. Consequently, this plan was cancelled after many objections from conservation councils and professional chambers, and the historic city entered its first ‘proper’ conservation planning period from 2002 under the General Regulatory Conservation Plan (GRCP).

In the GRCP for the whole area, approved in 2002, at 1/5000 scale, the historic city was divided into two stages as is shown in the Figure 2. The stages were delineated in order to apply 1/1000 and smaller scale plans. At the time of the field survey, valid conservation plans are available for the 1st stage area, Kemeraltı Historical Market, approved in 2005, and for the 1st region in the 2nd stage, approved in 2009 (Table 1). However, for the 2nd region 2nd district, a valid conservation plan has not yet been developed. There are also archaeological conservation area plans as can be seen in Table 1; however, the focus of this thesis is primarily on the urban conservation plans and other new planning instruments contained in the Izmir History Project.

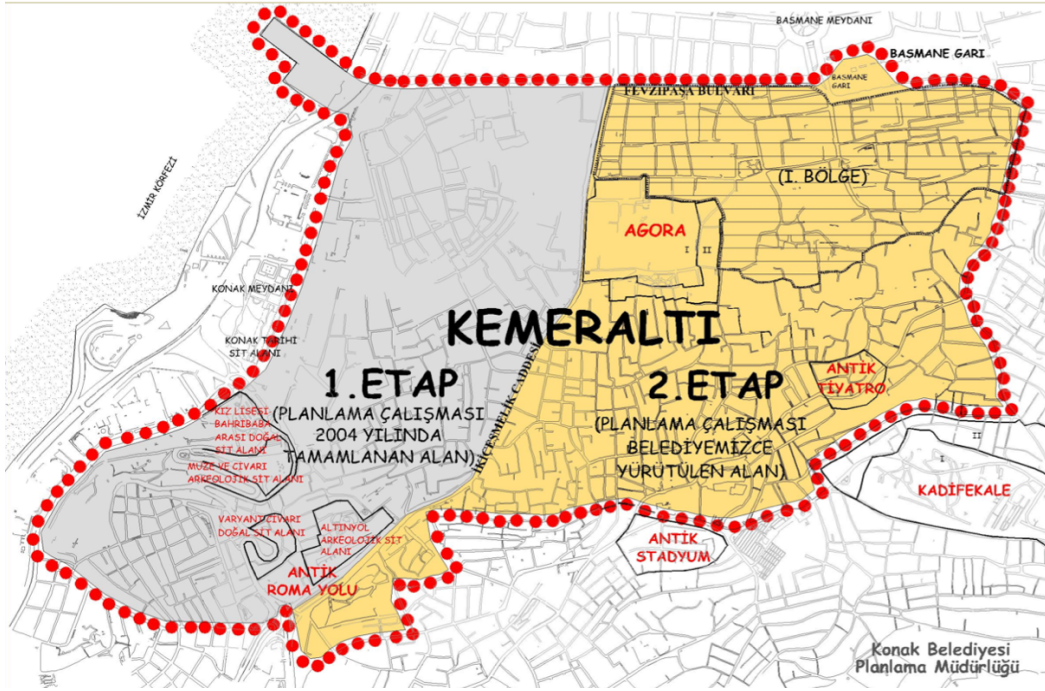


Figure 2: 1<sup>st</sup> Stage and 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage Planning Boundaries (Source: KM Archive, 2017).

The Izmir History Project covers 254 Ha and includes the entire urban conservation and renewal area. It is rooted in the motivation to accelerate conservation and renewal in the historic city. Subsequently, the conservation sector entered a new phase with new and different types of instruments and varying actors besides traditional conservation plans. Izmir History Project serves as a strong example which will allow this thesis to probe how new governance modes have interacted with existing conservation planning policies and governance, and to what extent these new processes have opened up new heritage meanings to communities or have been exploited to the benefit of different actors.

Table 1: Valid Conservation Plans in Izmir Historic Centre

Plans	Controlling Authority	Decision Number	Approving Authority	Decision No	Approval Date
<b>Kemeraltı Konak General Regulatory Conservation Plan, 1/5000</b>	Izmir #1 Conservation council	10138	Izmir Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) Council	0585	2002
<b>Revision of Kemeraltı Konak General Regulatory Conservation Plan, 1/5000</b>	Izmir #1 Conservation council + IMM Council	2958 01.2360	IMM Council	-	2008
<b>Kemeraltı 1<sup>st</sup> Stage Conservation Plan, 1/1000</b>	Izmir #1 Conservation council + Konak Municipality Council	732 4889/5336	IMM Council	05.1020	2005

<b>Agora and Surroundings [Archaeological] Conservation Plan, 1/1000</b>	Izmir #1 Conservation council + Konak Municipality Council	645 50/98	IMM Council	05.702	2005
<b>Kemeralti 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage, 1<sup>st</sup> Part Conservation Plan, 1/1000</b>	Izmir #1 Conservation council + Konak Municipality Council	3827 55/2009	IMM Council	01.273	2009
<b>The Red Castle, Theater and Surroundings [Archaeological] Conservation Plan, 1/1000</b>	Izmir #1 Conservation council	2958	IMM Council	01.684	2008

While conservation planning mechanisms already exist and are being completed for the 2nd stage 2nd district, the Izmir History Project has necessitated an explicit re-conceptualisation of existing processes. By introducing new types of planning instruments, it redraws the map of familiar conservation planning systems and governance processes. In fact, the new project was a part of the prevailing political agenda of the current mayor of Izmir, which emphasises ‘governance, participation and project-oriented approaches’, along with two other flagship urban projects in the city: the Izmir Coast and Izmir Sea Projects.

In the Izmir Historical City, conservation plans introduced the use of the participation concept from 2000 onwards; it furthermore became a distinctive feature of the Izmir History Project (IHP) along with the multiplication of actors, underlining of community involvement and introduction of a Public-Private Partnership, TARKEM, in conservation and regeneration processes. It is also claimed by the Coordinator of the IHP that ‘‘Izmir History Project was born as a result of awareness based on former conservation experiences in the historic city. It was impossible to carry out conservation and regeneration only through the efforts of local authorities; what we need is to increase the number and types of actors involved in these processes’’. Following this, the introduction of a Public-Private Partnership became one of the major changes to conservation processes which emerged as part of the Izmir History Project.

Hence, the second motivation stems from this engagement of the Izmir History Project with new actors and instruments outside of the existing conservation planning system. The ways in which new actors and tools intertwine with the existing actors, powers, concepts, and processes of conservation provides fruitful ground to test who the multi-actoral-instrumental system works for and how they work together.

### 1.3 Research Questions

This research commenced with this question:

- What are the challenges of new multi actoral and multi instrumental governance modes for conservation of historic cities and how they engage with existing conservation planning systems in particular contexts?

Considering the main question, this study chose the Izmir Historic City as a Case Study. This case study will be examined through the lens of the following questions:

- How have the existing conservation plans been developed in the Izmir Historic City?
- How has the Izmir History Project has been triggered and how it has transformed existing management systems?
- What are the changing patterns of the conservation plans and the new management modes in terms of planning and governance processes?
- What is the legitimacy of conservation planning in recent processes?
- To what extent do participation processes truly embrace the bottom-up approach and go beyond the top-down and expert-led approach to conservation?

### 1.4 Methodology and Design of the Research

The main objective of this study is to analyse and evaluate different governance and planning periods in Izmir. To achieve this goal, it pragmatically utilises the structural-functional approach in order to dissect governance and planning processes. As suggested by Potts et.al (2014), ‘structures in planning systems may include the social and institutional networks that carry out typical roles within the planning system being analysed... and functions are the traits that describe how structural aspects of a particular governance system work or how the system is stabilised...’. This approach takes into account the complexity of planning, interactions, and influencing factors in the governance structure, conceiving of the planning system:

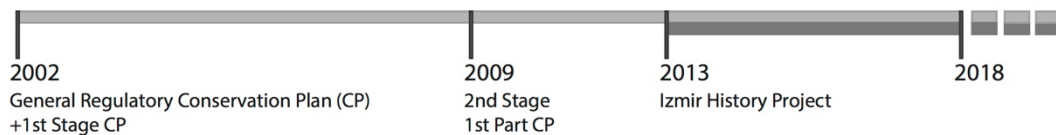
*‘as a whole and cumulative influence of the broad political, social, economic and cultural contexts of the system; the configuration of institutions around key planning tasks; the internal organisation of institutions; the way in which institutions interact; the role of institutions in the planning process’ (Potts et al., 2014).*

Furthermore, it is suggested that any analysis of governance within complex planning systems must concern ‘how the system is structured and organised, and also the way in which the structures in the system function’(ibid).

This approach offers a fruitful angle from which to scrutinise how planning and governance structures have changed in the wake of the Izmir History Project’s

arrival within the conservation system of the Izmir Historic City and how the altered structure also led to changes in function. To do this, the structural-functional model proposes some criteria; however, this study has tailored these criteria according to the characteristics of conservation planning and the Izmir context. Hence, it conducts analysis of the case study by examining actors, legislative frameworks, visions and objective settings, analyses and research, strategy development, implementation and monitoring as key structural features, and participant decision-making capacity, connectivity and knowledge use as functional characteristics of the system. The input of heritage values in the planning process sets the conservation plans apart from general urban planning. This is why the case study analysis also focuses on particularities characterising certain heritage values.

This set of criteria is applied to analyse and compare two different periods: the period solely defined by conservation plans (2002-onwards) and the period defined by both conservation plans and the instruments of Izmir History Project (Figure 3). It draws upon the content analyses of the planning and project documents of conservation plans and the Izmir History Project. Further, a set of semi-structured interviews were conducted with a wide variety of actors. Thus, the methods of content analysis and interviews allowed for the comparison and evaluation of the structure and functions of the system and investigation of how they ‘work’ together. The details of the methodology used to analyse the case study is explained in greater detail in the fifth chapter.



**Figure 3: Chronology of the CPs and IHP; and Time Period of the Research**

In this frame, the research design is outlined below:

Chapter 2 begins with a literature review on the birth, nature and development of conservation planning. To do so, conservation planning is investigated from its roots through its blossoming into a necessary tool, and the expansion of conservation thought from monumental to urban scales. This is followed by a discussion of the nature of conservation plans according to their content and methodological instruments. The grounds and knowledge systems of conservation planning having been established; it will be further explored how the trajectories of the current debates have been covered in conservation literature. In this context, the impacts of the historic urban landscape approach on conservation planning are highlighted. The challenges of the current discussion are underlined in respect to entrepreneurial urbanism/heritage and vague recommendations on community participation.

In Chapter 3, the conservation experiences of the Palermo Historic Centre are reviewed so as to gain insights about the well-known approach of traditional Italian conservation plan. It also looks at the patterns, potential and drawbacks of how the

current conservation concepts and practices have been scattered through the historic centre by drawn upon a set of semi-structured interviews (n=5; conducted in July 2018).

Chapter 4 reviews the Turkish Experience of the development of conservation through legislative systems and institutional structures. This allows the positioning of this country context within the international development of conservation planning and shows the nuances of Turkey in terms of urban conservation. Mapping the country context also acknowledges how the conservation of Izmir Historic City is linked to the advancements and shifts in the legislative framework of conservation and the institutional structure of the country context. Furthermore, the second part of Chapter 4 is setting the scene through the urban history and conservation past of the Izmir Historic City until the 2002 General Regulatory Conservation Plan. The guiding questions will be how the historic city has been formed and how it has evolved to today's urban structure, and which types of planning and/or conservation instruments have been used to direct these changes. This chapter draws upon existing literature, former planning reports and documents on Izmir Historic City.

Chapter 5 makes an empirical analysis of the case study through in-depth examination of conservation plans and the current Izmir History Project. By introducing a detailed methodology in the first section, this chapter covers the 'structural analysis' of planning and governance in Izmir Historic City. To do so, certain criteria are defined to dissect the structures as outlined above: actors, legislative frameworks, visions and objectives, analyses, strategies, governance and implementation and monitoring. Each parameter is compared through how they developed differently in conservation plans and in the Izmir History Project. This chapter also questions the role and legitimacy of the existing conservation plans when the new governance modes of Izmir History Project became engaged in the process.

Chapter 6 progresses the discussion on how the governance and planning system functions in the Izmir Historic City through the decision-making capacity of participants, and through connectivity within and amongst the public, private and third sectors. These discussions are framed in thematic subsections built upon the interpretive analysis of interviews conducted with a wide variety of actors. The findings present the contributions and challenges of new mode of governance and planning system in Izmir Historic City.

Chapter 7 presents the conclusions through an interweaving of the discussions from the literature, the Turkish context and Izmir History City.



# Chapter 2

## **2. Grounds, Content and Trajectories of Conservation Planning**

This chapter aims to frame the literature on theories, approaches, and concepts of conservation planning in the international arena with reference to their genesis and evolution (Section 2.1) and trajectories of present and future (Section 2.2). Firstly, the roots of the urban heritage concept as the main subject of conservation planning will be presented in Section 2.1.1. This comes along with questions such as ‘How, when and where did conservation planning emerge as a separate field?’ and ‘What actually is a conservation plan?’. That is investigated through its development, content, methodological instruments and processes in Section 2.1.2. The answer does not have a static definition; thus, the chapter searches for how the scope of conservation planning evolved over time, through international documents and their reflections in the conservation literature.

The conservation plan, traditionally practised as a type of comprehensive master plan, has recently seen its primary role in urban conservation challenged by the introduction of new approaches such as Historic Urban Landscape (HUL). Section 2.2.1 explores what the latest approaches introduce to the urban conservation field and what the role of traditional conservation plans will be within the new modes of heritage management. The possible challenges that could emerge from new approaches are questioned and examined in Section 2.2.2. They entail links between new proposed modes of heritage management and conventional and recent types of entrepreneurial urban governance practices. The possible challenges also include blurry descriptions of community or civil society groups within the heritage-making processes, through recurrent recommendations for their engagement.

The overall discussion in this chapter contributes to shedding light on the development and process of urban conservation experiences in the case studies of Izmir and Palermo Historic Cities. By way of concluding remarks, Section 2.3 will examine how this literature framing presents a theoretical underpinning for understanding the practices of urban conservation in historic cities.

## **2.1 The Paths towards Conservation Planning**

### **2.1.1 Roots of the Concept of Conservation of Urban Heritage**

To date, numerous studies have investigated how conservation thought emerged and developed through the ways in which the literature has embraced different scales, meanings and layers from monuments to the ‘urban’. Previous research on conservation has claimed that the practice of conservation planning is based on the development of architectural conservation (Pendlebury, Hamza, & Sharr, 2014) and deployment of specific instruments like morphological and townscape analyses (Larkham, 1996; Rodwell, 2008). Architectural conservation could be seen as a ‘product of modernity’, rooted in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment (Pendlebury, 2009). In the nineteenth century, while urban development was causing dramatic changes in city centres through industrialisation, and calls for conservation were echoing across Europe, the ‘two antagonists’ approach dominated the conservation movement. This approach was developed by French architect Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879); English art critic John Ruskin (1819–1900); and English artist, writer, and socialist William Morris (1834–1896). Viollet-le-Duc was a supporter of stylistic restoration, which aimed to restore historical artefacts into their original completeness, whereas Ruskin and Morris, whom Miele (1996) described as ‘the first conservation militants in the UK’, supported the conservation of historical traces of the times by respecting their authenticity (Hobson, 2004).

William Morris and other followers of his approach founded England’s breakthrough preservation association, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), which embraced anti-restoration thinking. Its crucial role was to bring together the body of thought opposed to stylistic restoration and establish a manifesto, which contained ideas still, considered valid as modern conservation principles. According to Pendlebury (2009), its formation implied it to be a ‘political movement’ and a ‘campaigning body’. Furthermore, its role extended beyond fighting stylistic restoration to become a supporting body for conservation, resisting demolitions of historical buildings. In modernist conservation thinking, which referred to the SPAB and the works of Ruskin and Morris, prominent issues which came to the fore were authenticity and honesty on materiality. Although Ruskin and Morris lacked architectural backgrounds, during the twentieth century architectural conservation developed as a distinct profession which drew upon the scientific methods of authenticity and materiality. These issues were to be developed further in international charters and recommendations: the main concepts of modern conservation (Pendlebury, 2009).

The expansion of conservation from monuments and architectural works to the urban scale also took place under the influence of some key figures. For example,

the growing interest in the historic city can be seen in the writings of Camillo Sitte<sup>1</sup> (1843–1903) and Gustavo Giovannoni<sup>2</sup> (1873–1947). An Austrian architect and planner, Camillo Sitte inspired urban planning studies to develop a concern for the preservation of the existing urban fabric (Veldpaus, Pereira Roders, & Colenbrander, 2013). Choay (2001) argued that Sitte can be counted as the first urban morphologist to take the existing city into account. Giovannoni was another significant figure who promoted conservation issues in Italy by underlining the importance of non-monumental architecture. One of his significant contributions was to reveal the urban fabric as an ‘interrelated whole’ and to suggest the ‘thoughtful thinning-out of buildings’ when trying to achieve modernisation within cities. He pointed out that new urban developments which need intensive traffic circulation and expansion should grow up next to the urban cores or far away, but not inside them (Piccinato, 2010). Scottish town planner Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) also made innovative contributions to the ‘evaluation of cities’ by addressing the necessity of survey and analysis. He suggested a holistic approach to the city, which should be built on surveys and analyses in order to propose plans for enhancement of inhabitants’ quality of life (Siravo, 2011). His ‘survey-analysis-plan’ method still influences the existing planning policy culture (Hobson, 2004).

As for the emergent international doctrine on conservation, the Athens Charter of Conservation on the Safeguarding of the Archaeological and Architectural Heritage, 1931,<sup>3</sup> and the *Carta Del Restauro*<sup>4</sup> of the Italian High Council of Antiquity and Fine Arts in 1932 were the first reports to focus on cultural heritage in the urban context. In particular, the Athens Charter drew attention to the importance of protecting the environments of monuments and picturesque perspectives. Between 1928 and 1956, the International Congress on Modern Architecture (*Congrès International d’Architecture Moderne* – CIAM) set the scene for the primary debates on modern cities. In particular, the 1933 Athens Charter of Urban Planning by CIAM dealt with monuments or town areas in the city: it was claimed that their preservation should be respected. According to the articles of the charter, the conditions for preservation depended on whether they represented pure expressions of former cultures, whether they caused unhealthy conditions for inhabitants, and whether they had previously been damaged by radical changes (Jokilehto, 2015). In this regard, Le Corbusier’s ‘Plan Voisin’ for Paris Historic Centre was a remarkable example of how conservation and modern idealism could come into conflict in historic cities. The plan proposed demolition of some existing neighbourhoods in the city centre, such as the Marais District, and

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<sup>1</sup> Sitte, C. (1889). *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*, City Building According to its Artistic Principles, Vienna.

<sup>2</sup> Giovannoni, G. (1913). *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova: Il quartiere del Rinascimento in Roma*, Historic Cities and New Construction: The Renaissance Quarter in Rome.

<sup>3</sup><https://www.icomos.org/en/resources/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments> retrieved on 10/04/2018.

<sup>4</sup>[https://www.unirc.it/documentazione/materiale\\_didattico/597\\_2010\\_253\\_8833.pdf](https://www.unirc.it/documentazione/materiale_didattico/597_2010_253_8833.pdf) retrieved on 10/04/2018.

the construction of new settlements in their place. The general approach of the plan considered only the preservation of significant monuments (Glendinning, 2013).

Afterwards, the Second World War caused immense devastation in cities across the world and the widespread demolition of urban heritage. Following the war, debates on the conflict between conservation and urban renewal vigorously shook up the urban planning agenda. Post-war effects caused a variety of responses in terms of the level of intervention in distinct historic cities across Europe. Rebuilding of historic cities was endorsed in some countries, to support national identity with heritage values; some historic cities witnessed partial reconstruction alongside new construction, and some saw extreme reconstruction. Extended interventions led to protests by some communities, which wanted to safeguard the monuments in European cities such as Bath (Rodwell, 2008).

One of the European countries in which the effects of the Second World War provoked the establishment of a more structured conservation approach was Italy. In 1960, a group of professionals, led by Giovanni Astengo (1915–1990), who was the author of the well-known Assisi Conservation Plan (1958), drew up the Gubbio Charter. This promoted the identification of protection areas within the existing city as a precondition for developing the modern city in the 1960s. This early charter impacted the international context, including milestone conservation documents and subsequent national progress in the field (De Pieri & Scrivano, 2004). One year later, in 1961, the charter was embraced by the National Association of Historic-Artistic Urban Cores, *Associazione Nazionale Centri Storico-Artistici*, (ANCSA), which was established as a prime association for urban conservation in Italy. The main declared purpose of ANCSA was to stimulate study, research, legislative measures, and practices to protect historical centres (Cinà, 2008). Regarding the problems of the protection of historical cities, the association asked for the necessary public intervention for land speculation, abandoned buildings, and unstable regulatory measures (Piccinato, 2010). Although it is a national association, the disseminated conceptual framework of ANCSA was to deeply influence approaches to urban conservation in respect to methodological tools for understanding the existing situation of old towns and particular features of conservation plans, rather than as a general urban planning activity. Reflections of the early ideas developed through ANCSA could be seen especially in the examples of the Bologna and Assisi preservation plans (Jokilehto, 2010).

These thoughts and endeavours on conservation culminated with the ‘Venice Charter’<sup>5</sup> by ICOMOS (1964), in which modern principles of conservation were elaborately drawn. This was considered to be a revision of the Athens Charter of 1931, and built on Italian norms such as those of the *carta* by Gustavo Giovannoni (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 289). Besides delineating the conservation principles that hinged on the concepts of authenticity and integrity, the main emphasis of the charter was to call on countries to establish legislation for safeguarding historical centres and to consider urban scale. From the 1960s onwards, the Venice Charter

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<sup>5</sup> International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites.

became the ‘keystone of modern heritage policy’ (Bandarin, 2019); it has duly inspired subsequent practices of conservation all over the world.

### **2.1.2 Development of Conservation Planning through Concepts, Methodological Instruments, and Content**

The development of the notion of the ‘urban’ in conservation thought led to a search for management tools to achieve conservation in historic cities. The solutions were centred around the integration of conservation of historic environments into the urban planning discipline. Subsequently, the issue of conservation of the historic city was appraised as an ‘urban planning problem’. On the one hand, this problem entails ‘a question to be solved’; on the other hand, it has been ‘a difficulty to overcome’ (Magrin, 2015). This engagement blossomed in the international doctrine of conservation and has been recursively underlined over the different charters, recommendations, documents, and practices. By developing as a part of urban planning, conservation plans have also gained separate features from general planning activity with its specific methodological tools and concepts. Although a common ground has been produced throughout the development of the international conservation doctrine, each national and local context has its particular experiences. As Pendlebury (2009) claims, ‘the way protection and management of historic environments occurs is through the planning system’; specifically, they depend on the different traditions of each country in terms of its own planning and conservation culture. Below, I will show how conservation plans emerged and developed as a distinct field through international documents, practices and legal-administrative measures.

In connection with the development of the Gubbio Charter and ANCSA, there were the initial attempts at urban conservation as a planning activity. For instance, the Assisi Plan (1958) by Astengo became a well-known example of an early comprehensive plan, which contributed to developing the Italian approach to urban conservation and inspired international practices, even though it could not be implemented due to administrative changes and problems (De Pieri, 2014). Although the plan was developed in line with the instructions of the general planning law (1942), the prominent aspect of the plan was its methodology for understanding and analysing the historical city, based on the in-depth study of Astengo in 1955–56. A solid analysis and evaluation of realities in the historic city was the precondition for the plan’s decisions on interventions. It followed the steps of ‘know, understand, evaluate and intervene’ as basic premises. The other aspect of the plan was that it grasped the correlation between the physical situation and socioeconomic conditions, and proposed policies and actions as responses to these interrelated problems. In this regard, it pointed to the significance of protecting the social fabric alongside its physical counterpart (Cinà, 2008). The plan considered not only the zone of the medieval historical centre, but also the area beyond its boundaries, in order to establish the visual and functional integrity of the old town. The other major advancement of the plan was also related to this integrity: taking

into account the encompassing landscape alongside the conservation of the historical centre. Astengo also promoted a permanent public planning office in the local administration to monitor the implementation of the plan, which was seen as a necessity for achieving long-term planning goals in the local context. Addressing ‘the continuous planning’ process by considering the possible necessary changes in the plan during its implementation was progressive at the time (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2015, p. 164). All the issues Astengo tried to direct in the Assisi plan are still relevant to recent challenges for conservation of historical cities.

As outlined in Section 2.1.1, the solid recognition of urban scale within the cultural heritage sector dates back to the 1960s, following significant charters on conservation and the Second World War. This recognition can be observed in the introduction of specific legislative measures in different European countries to safeguard historical centres against the effects of new developments. One of the most important was the designation of conservation areas. For example, in France, conservation areas were invoked as *secteurs sauvegardés* under the well-known Malraux Law of 1962. This law was the first attempt at legal area-based conservation to protect these areas against the destructive effects of new developments. Though the law contributed to the survival of the physical urban fabric amid the cleaning-up processes of urban renewal, these practices led to gentrification in some regions; for example, the well-known case of the Marais District of Paris (Pickard, 2002).

Likewise, in Britain, the Civic Amenities Act of 1967 was introduced for conservation areas, and the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act also carefully considered the matter of listed buildings. This led to the designation of numerous historic town centres, suburban districts, urban and rural settlements as conservation areas. In 1966, just before the related legislation, Bath, Chester, Chichester, and York were presented as pilot studies in terms of urban conservation. It is worth noting that although these pilot studies were related to the following Acts regarding urban conservation, the studies were initiated not by the government but by an individual, Duncan Sandys MP, through Private Members’ Bills (Larkham, 1996, p. 38). In general, these studies were seen as a marked transformation of the approach to historic cities in the late 1960s. The common features of the studies were their efforts to consider both the conservation of historic character and the needs of modern life. For example, they largely examined solutions for transportation issues such as motorised traffic and pedestrian areas, and new uses for buildings in the historic towns (Pendlebury, 2009).

As legislative and operational development of area-based conservation advanced in some countries as exemplified above, the international policy frameworks followed this trend in the 1970s by introducing critical conventions, declarations and recommendations. In particular, besides the 1972 World Heritage Convention, two significant documents illustrated an integrated approach to conservation, emphasising the need for combining the conservation of cultural heritage and urban planning: the Amsterdam Declaration by the Council of Europe

in 1975 and the UNESCO Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (Nairobi Recommendation) of 1976.

In the 1975 Amsterdam Declaration, the protection of architectural heritage was assigned as ‘a major objective’ of town and country planning. In this regard, planners were obliged to take into consideration the specific characteristics of each site and propose specific actions and planning rules to conserve architectural complexes. Thus, one of the tasks of planning for this integration was to reveal the characteristic values of sites by considering socioeconomic aspects. The other aim of planning was stated as allowing citizen participation during both the assessments of the inventory lists and the decision-making. This would enable conservation planners to obtain and reflect the ideas of interested parties. The declaration also recommended good coordination between experts on conservation and planning among the administrative levels. Furthermore, it suggested establishing links between conservation and planning through coordinated legislation.

Following the Amsterdam Declaration, the 1976 UNESCO Recommendation<sup>6</sup> stressed that the integration of historic areas into contemporary life was a basic factor of town planning. With this recommendation, the contents of conservation plans as a specific planning activity become clearer. By referring to the ‘safeguarding plan’, the declaration drafted the major lines of conservation planning. Parallel to the Amsterdam Declaration, it stressed the importance of activating legislation which should combine the conservation of cultural heritage and planning for each state party. Regarding the content of safeguarding plans, it emphasised the necessity of surveys and analyses, including very detailed data of architectural and wider contexts and ‘a programming operation’ (Article 21). It highlighted the importance of a multidisciplinary team to study conservation plans, containing all related disciplines, such as art historians, architects, town planners, sociologists, economists, ecologists, landscape architects, and specialists in public health and social welfare. Based on a detailed study on a historic area, approaching it as a ‘coherent whole’, these safeguarding plans should define:

*‘the areas and items to be protected; the specific conditions and restrictions applicable to them; the standards to be observed in the work of maintenance, restoration and improvements; the general conditions governing the establishment of the supply systems and services needed in urban or rural life; the conditions governing new constructions’ (Article 11).*

Besides the diversity of disciplines, the declaration suggested that responsible authorities should organise and encourage public participation in conservation. Great importance was also placed on economic measures such as financial subsidies and grants to private owners or users. Furthermore, it recommended some controls over rents and property values, and supervision to avoid excessive profit which would be in contrast to the objectives of the plan.

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<sup>6</sup>[http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.phpURL\\_ID=13133&URL\\_DO=DO\\_PRINTPAGE&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.phpURL_ID=13133&URL_DO=DO_PRINTPAGE&URL_SECTION=201.html) retrieved on 22/01/2019.



Regarding the development of the content of conservation plans, the 1987 Washington Charter<sup>7</sup> marked a milestone by explicitly introducing the objectives and methodologies of this specific type of plan. One of the salient aspects of the charter was presenting the concept of the ‘historic character of the town or urban area’. Searching for the character of a historic area includes rendering of the following elements:

- ‘Urban patterns as defined by lots and streets;
  - Relationships between buildings and green and open spaces;
  - The formal appearance, interior and exterior of buildings as defined by scale, size, style, construction, materials, colour and decoration;
  - The relationship between the town or urban area and its surrounding setting, both natural and man-made; and
  - The various functions that the town or urban area has acquired over time.’
- (Article 2).

Basically, seeking the historic character implies considering the conservation of authenticity in historic areas as well as seeking authenticity in architectural conservation. Indeed, the authenticity of a historic town entails more multidimensional analyses than architectural authenticity, including social and economic aspects alongside archaeological, historical, material, and technical ones. Like the 1976 UNESCO Recommendation, the Washington Charter stressed the need for a multidisciplinary team to study, survey, research, and document a historic town ‘before any intervention’. Following the detailed study, the conservation plan should state the conservation status of the buildings according to the survey results and respect the ‘existing spatial layout’ of the historic town regarding ‘scale and lot size’. The plan should enhance public service facilities and encourage new functions compatible with the area. Furthermore, it should link the historic areas with the wider urban context by ‘harmonious relationships’, for example with transportation and accessibility policies. As a recurrent theme from the earlier urban conservation documents, the charter emphasised the importance of public participation and coordination among legislative and administrative levels.

Thus, it can be asserted that the Washington Charter overtly drew the lines of the conservation plan as a separate field in urban planning activities. Briefly, it is described as a plan based on a specific type of survey looking for historical character and including policies and decisions for the architectural and urban context to preserve and revitalise historic areas. While the Washington Charter emphasised searching for historic character, the Burra Charter<sup>8</sup> by ICOMOS Australia asserted the concept of ‘cultural significance’ of places for urban conservation. In this context, the process of developing a conservation plan was

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<sup>7</sup> [https://www.icomos.org/charters/towns\\_e.pdf](https://www.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.pdf) retrieved on 30/01/2019.

<sup>8</sup> This was first drawn up as the Australia ICOMOS Guidelines for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, namely the Burra Charter, in 1979. After minor revisions in 1981 and 1988, it underwent major changes in 1999, and was adapted to its final version in 2013.

stated in the Burra Charter (Article 6)<sup>9</sup> as ‘i. understand significance, ii. develop policy, and iii. manage in accordance with policy’.

Hence, the first significant task of conservation planning appeared to be to acknowledge character or significance by undertaking a detailed survey and research. For example, in the Burra Charter, the understanding of significance entails analysis of ‘physical, documentary, oral and other evidence, drawing on appropriate knowledge, skills and disciplines’ (Article 26/1). How to approach a historic place so as to reveal its character or significance has been discussed in the literature through conceptual and methodological frameworks. From the conceptual perspective, alongside ‘character’ and ‘significance’, concepts such as ‘genius loci’ and ‘spirit of place’ have been interchangeably used in conservation, even if they have some nuances. According to Jive’n and Larkham (2003), utilising these concepts meticulously could offer much to the urban design and conservation fields. This could be accomplished by conceiving their context more broadly than the material concept, into the perceptions, values and experiences of communities and individuals who give meanings to a place. However, in some public policy documents and practice, these concepts imply merely the ‘physical appearance’ of a historic area rather than embracing the more diverse characteristics (Jive’n & Larkham, 2003). Jive’n and Larkham (2003) claim that better usage of these concepts should mean including peoples’ value systems in the process of revealing the character of a historic area. Basically, all these concepts are closely linked to seeking authenticity. The question of authenticity at the urban scale has always presented a complex concept, considering the strict principles of architectural conservation such as authenticity in materials and integrity. Accordingly, efforts to transport the core principles of architectural conservation to the urban scale became an important task for conservation planning, in respect to the needs for other levels of analysis, including social, economic and cultural aspects.

The excessive stress on authenticity in the conservation field was further questioned in the Nara Document on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention, Japan, 1994. Concisely, the Nara Document challenged the settled definitions of authenticity that hinged on the Western background, and suggested assessing authenticity in respect to the specificities of each cultural context. It was recommended that authenticity could be evaluated by a more diverse set of information and local factors rather than a judgement of ‘fixed international criteria’.<sup>10</sup> However, the document had some drawbacks: Jokilehto (2007) claimed that it has been used as an excuse for radical changes to historic places under the name of ‘conservation of spiritous loci’ for the specific cultural context.

From the methodological perspective, some specific instruments have been utilised and entrenched in conservation so as to reveal the authenticity of historic urban areas, encompassing the characteristics and significance of the place. These

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<sup>9</sup> In the Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999, 2013.

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf> retrieved on 21/12/2018.

methodologies were developed for understanding historic environments through analysis, studies, and research. They have been influenced by many theorists who became significant figures in the fields of urban planning, development, and design. For instance, the British architect and planner Thomas Gordon Cullen (1914–1994) suggested a visual analysis of spatial relationships in urban areas. The team 10s humanist approach led by Aldo van Eyck, Giancarlo de Carlo, and others dealt with participation and values, which led to consideration of urban planning from different angles. The other notable figure was Aldo Rossi (1931–1997), who described the city as a palimpsest and commented that analysis of the existing city and urban context should guide design processes. In terms of values, one of the key figures was Kevin Lynch (1918–1984), who tried to link psychology and urban design with a humanistic approach. His mental mapping analyses have deeply influenced the urban design and conservation disciplines, leading to the cultural mapping of places. Together, these people contributed to the respectful recognition of the existing urban fabric and historical inheritance of the city within the general design or planning process of a built environment. Besides the general influences of theorists, two main methodological streams could be mentioned for understanding the character of historic places: urban morphology and townscape analysis.

#### *2.1.2.1. Development of Methodological Instruments for Conservation Planning*

##### *Types, Features, and Usage of Urban Morphology Analyses in Conservation Planning*

Simply, urban morphology offers instruments to ‘cut open a town to see what it is made of and how it goes together as a necessary foundation for successful interventions’, just as in biological morphology (Kropf, 2011). This fits perfectly with what is recommended as the first step and basis of conservation planning: understanding the character of historic places. It allows us to follow spatial change by linking it with the other social, economic and cultural dimensions. Kropf (2011) claimed that analysing and evaluating changes and continuity in a heritage place is the key to managing historic environments; this could be achieved through urban morphology instruments. In the 1990s, when conservation planning practices became more advanced, urban morphology was increasingly suggested to be used as a methodological tool in the field so as to provide a rational basis for change management (Mageean, 1998).

Even though it was introduced as an efficient methodology to reveal the character of historic towns, urban morphology has developed as a discrete field which has been used in various different ways in the urban planning discipline. Moudon (1997) claimed that urban form, resolution and time are the three ‘fundamental components’ to establish the common ground of urban morphology as a separate research field. In this context, urban form can be understood through three principles: ‘i. main physical elements as buildings and their open spaces, lots, and streets. ii. different levels of resolution: the building/lot, the street/block, the

city, and the region. iii. historical analysis, since the elements of which it is comprised undergo continuous transformation and replacement' (Moudon, 1997).

Although there is a common ground, for different purposes, research groups have developed distinct urban morphology schools in various geographical areas. In terms of the epistemology of urban morphology, three different schools can be identified: the Italian (process typological), the British (historic-geographical), and the mathematically oriented space syntax (Scheer, 2016). Although each school has developed diverse approaches, some research studies and practices have utilised mixed methodological approaches in specific cases. For example, the French approach combined Italian typo-morphological analyses and German methods on urban morphology and deepening on urban blocks and streets. The particular aim of the French approach was to truly work on analyses of the medium between architecture and cities, namely urban design (Panerai, Castex, & Depaule, 2004).

The British school, historico-geographical, was developed after German geographers brought morphological concepts to the UK. The concept of urban morphological regions was mostly developed in the 1950s by M. R. G. Conzen<sup>11</sup> (1907–2000), who presented landscape concepts to the field; these were advanced by geographers such as Otto Schlüter. These morphological regions have specific characteristics which stand out from the others in respect to the ground or town plan (site, streets, plots and block plans of the buildings), building fabric (the three-dimensional form, particularly the age of buildings and their volume), land and building utilisation; these are all physically interconnected (Whitehand, 2010). This division of characteristics also forms 'the tripartite division of urban form', which was introduced by Conzen (Ibid). Conzen also defined the urban landscape as composed of these different characteristics, calling it an 'objectivation of the spirit' of a society and *genius loci* (Jivén & Larkham, 2003). According to Conzen, this objectivation has three different aspects: the practical, the aesthetic and the intellectual/educational (Whitehand & Gu, 2007).

The research techniques of the Italian process-typological school aimed to analyse the urban fabric in historic cities. This school developed following the Second World War, drawing its roots from the works of Saverio Muratori (1910–1973). By searching for the 'type', he described the architectural organism as the 'formal unity of cooperating, cohesive and conspiring structures, subject to transformation in space-time' (Jokilehto, 2015). He was the key figure in establishing the concept of 'type', addressing the 'matter and idea, tangible and intangible' dimensions of architecture. Later, Gianfranco Caniggia (1933–1987) developed the works of Muratori by introducing his own concepts, pushing forward scholarship in this field. The primary consideration of Caniggia's work was making Muratori's theoretical richness easy for operational levels (Vitor Oliveira, 2016).

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<sup>11</sup> The following academic activity of urban morphology in Britain was developed largely by the Urban Morphology Research Group of the School of Geography at the University of Birmingham.

Canniggia's contributions to the urban morphology field can be summarised as advancing Muratori's concepts of type, typology, structure, tissue, series and seriality; founding the methodology of processual typology, recognition of the domus courtyard substratum as the matrix in Roman planning, the difference between basic and specialised building, the theory of medievalisation, and 'the method of interpretation by phases of a city's history in connection with basic typological processes' (Cataldi, 2003). Together with other concepts, the typological process is an important methodology for understanding urban history, which is an essential part of using urban morphology to reveal the historic character of places. It basically aims to demonstrate diachronic change – that is, 'a succession of types in the same cultural area'; and synchronic change – that is, 'a succession of types in several cultural areas in the same space of time' (Vitor Oliveira, Monteiro, & Partanen, 2015). The clear methodological process of the typological school embraces analysis and interpretation of typology as a cultural approach, not as a static model (Cataldi, Maffei, & Vaccaro, 2002). This also suits how Caniggia and Maffei (1979) defined type as 'a cultural entity rooted in, and specific to, the local process of cultural development' (Vitor Oliveira et al., 2015).

The third school of urban morphology, space syntax, brought a more mathematical approach to the field by using the graph theory and rational ways to understand space. The main impetus for the development of 'space syntax' was to explore how spatial design would impact social problems in housing units in the United Kingdom; the founders of the approach were Bill Hillier and his research team in the Bartlett School of Architecture at University College, London. Hillier and Hanson (1984) mainly suggested that the theory should be 'reflective' of the relationship between social aspects and space (Vitor Oliveira, 2016). The key factor for space syntax research is taking into consideration the spatial configuration. The axial map, which consists of the axial lines and the longest line from the arbitrary point in the spatial map, became the main tool to represent this spatial configuration. The axial lines can also be converted to graphs, which are composed of a definite number of nodes, called vertices in the system, and the links which connect them to each other (called edges). The cell concept allows for investigation of the dynamics of land and building utilisation; it also contributes to the rules of future transformation (Scheer, 2016). From the 1970s up till now, space syntax has been applied to various cases and contexts, including analysing pedestrian flows, movements, accessibility and way finding. This has allowed better practices of urban design, mostly through dialogue between the university research lab in the Bartlett School and the company Space Syntax Ltd. One of the pioneer examples of this collaboration was the Trafalgar Square Project in London, which aimed to upgrade pedestrian flows and accessibility.<sup>12</sup> Even though space syntax was not designed specifically for understanding historic character or significance, its application areas – such as the analysis of pedestrian flows, movements, and accessibility – have become beneficial for analysing, evaluating and managing

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<sup>12</sup> <https://spacesyntax.com/project/trafalgar-square/> retrieved on 23/10/2018.

cultural heritage places, as well as being used practically in conservation and regeneration projects.

The approach to morphological analysis varies in relation to the specific characteristics of sites in urban conservation. Hence, the most beneficial potential of urban morphology for planning conservation areas is that ‘uncovering the formation and change’ of a historical place can discover possibilities for the future (Whitehand, 2010). For this reason, the mixed approaches of different schools and existing knowledge on urban morphology should continue to increase in order to enhance the possibilities for balanced change management in historic cities. For example, an international movement, the ‘International Seminar on Urban Form (ISUF)’, aims to bring together the two main (geographical and architectural) schools of urban morphology, along with other things. This offers fruitful advancements for understanding historic urban areas (Whitehand, 2010). Integration between technological developments and more interaction between urban morphology as an academic subject and practice provide potential for the future of conservation of heritage places.

### Features and Usage of Townscape Analyses in Conservation Planning

Another methodological line to survey, document and study historic cities is Townscape. Although it has been strongly linked to understanding the character of historic places, the main aim of the emergence of ‘townscape’ did not directly address conservation issues. It arose from a collective effort of some significant figures concerned with planning, urban design and architecture approaches, following the spread of CIAM ideas, garden city movements, English new towns and the effects of post-Second World War reconstruction in England. The important figures who paved the way for the emergence and dissemination of townscape ideas gathered around the *Architectural Review* magazine, roughly from the 1940s (Erten, 2009). Along with then chief editor H. de C. Hastings, Nikolaus Pevsner, Thomas Sharp, and Gordon Cullen had leading roles in developing townscape. In substance, the promoters of townscape saw it as a ‘way of seeing the city to learn from and intervene into it’ (Erten, 2009). This way of seeing actually sought to retain cultural or historical continuity while intervening in the city, in contradiction to the ideas developed within the Garden City Movement and New Towns programme. This type of new urbanism was to cause decentralisation and low-density settlement sprawl, consequently leaving the city in a situation that was against the very ideas of the townscape movement. The townscape idea suggested a compact, dense, socially inclusive city in which modernisation and conservation were not in contrast but in harmony (Erten, 2009). Within this context, it could be claimed that townscape pursues the ways in which the existing city is evaluated in order to ensure its continuity while harmonising with new development.

According to Erten (2009), Hastings associated the townscape with the picturesque theory, which was based on British Romanticism, through writings in the townscape series in *Architectural Review*. The foundation of the picturesque theory dealt with the idea of stopping the ordering of nature, and trying instead to

understand the order of nature. Thus, the basic idea of the *Architectural Review* was to bring picturesque theory into the twentieth century. Thomas Sharp, a town planner, was an important figure in spreading townscape ideas through reconstruction plans in Britain after the Second World War, for example in Exeter. Preserving the character of places was one of the significant aims of his reconstruction plans. However, Larkham (2003) noted that the concept of character in these plans was not as sophisticated as in area-based conservation after 1967, though Sharp deepened this issue in his later book *Town and Townscape*. Sharp's plans also consisted of surveys on the economic, social and demographic aspects of a city, though the townscape was criticised for excluding planning surveys and focusing predominantly on visual analyses (Erten, 2009).

Gordon Cullen was another prominent figure for townscape ideas. He expanded townscape as a 'visual analytical tool' through sketches and descriptive captions which were published first in the *Architectural Review* and in his seminal book *Townscape* in 1961 (Larkham, 2006). His sketches and illustrations of urban spaces loom especially large in urban design education and practice. By advancing techniques for depicting urban spaces, they allowed the categorisation of urban design types, and learning from them to make an intervention. In this way, Cullen contributed to spreading the townscape at an operational level which achieved continuity by respecting local character (Erten, 2009). In particular, Cullen and also Roy Worksett,<sup>13</sup> who had a critical role in applying townscape ideas to conservation, contributed to spreading townscape analyses in the conservation of historic places. Their work enabled an interaction between the disciplines of conservation, urban design, and planning (Hobson, 2004). Townscape, then, can be understood as one of the 'earliest efforts at conceptualizations' to reflect on how to combine new developments with the existing city. This way of thinking led the urban design discipline to be aware of the 'context' and develop an endeavour to warrant historical continuity in cities (Pendlebury, Erten, & Larkham, 2014). It is still vital to promote the interaction between design, planning and conservation via a well-known and common language.

#### *2.2.2.2 Content and Processes of Conservation Planning*

As the Burra Charter (1999, 2013) straightforwardly described it, in the process of conservation planning, after understanding the significance, character or distinctiveness of a place, the next steps encompass developing policy and managing the historic place according to that policy. Kerr (2013) tried to define a conservation plan in the simplest possible way:

*'it is a document which sets out what is significant in a place and, consequently, what policies are appropriate to enable that significance to be retained in its future use and development'.*

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<sup>13</sup> His book *The Character of Towns* (1969) is one of the prominent works for evaluating the character of towns in area-based conservation.

Part 2.2.2.1 explained the concepts and methodological tools to understand the character of a historic place. These share the generic survey logic of the usual urban plans but have some peculiarities with regard to adopting conservation principles. With this in mind, the other steps of planning – policy and management – will be sophisticated so as to thoroughly address conservation principles and the needs of the present urban environment. As outlined in the international doctrine of urban conservation, the conservation plan as a sectoral plan should integrate with the legislative and administrative systems of general planning. However, the engagement of conservation with general governance and planning is an intricate issue. As Hobson (2004) pointed out, conservation is a much more specific subject than is truly accounted for by governance and land-use planning. Hence, the rough integration of conservation into general planning settings can obscure ‘vital conservation issues’ and result in a weakening of controlling mechanisms of conservation and its theoretical concepts (Hobson, 2004). In this respect, the policies of a conservation plan should respond to the existing statutory and administrative structures of planning and conservation within which it occurs.

As Kerr (2013) claimed, ‘conservation plan’ can be used as a generic term comprising numerous different products. However, a common ground is a ‘starting point and check list’. Different contexts can require different solutions regarding the particular problems and potentials. In this regard, firstly, a successful conservation planning process should be prepared for the limitations of time and expertise; provide supervision for the project team; make estimations of resources; and analyse, evaluate, and assess the collected material.

From the organisational perspective, the planning process could be authorised by empowering a coordinating committee to establish general policies and provide a public consensus on the programmes of the plan; and, further, through a planning department, in order to adapt the committee’s decisions to conservation plans. However, given that the organisational schema and targets of conservation plans may differ, successful plans should mobilise resources and people by considering the historic area as a common good. As Siravo (2015) reported, a conservation master plan should target each actor in the planning process and distribute related roles accordingly. The planning institution cannot have the power to mobilise all the resources; in this regard, community groups and associations could be stimulated to shape the plan’s objectives, policies, and implementations. Generally speaking, the other related actors in this respect will be other government agencies, other departments in the municipality, semi-private agencies sharing an interest in the historic environment, religious groups, community organisations, trade associations of shopkeepers, artisans, small manufacturers, the owners of cafés and restaurants, employers in the area, property owners, developers, businesses, banks, and insurance companies. Moreover, international organisations, NGOs, and donors in related fields such as infrastructure and housing can play a role, to improve living or working conditions in historic centres (Siravo, 2015).

From the beginning, the practice of conservation planning has been directed towards the conservation of the character of given historic environments by



retaining social and cultural values alongside physical ones (Pickard, 2002; Zancheti & Jokilehto, 1997). Therefore, the assessment of character or significance through the diverse values of historic places is the first and key step according to which the policies of a conservation plan will be developed. The policies must firstly ensure the conservation of the character of the place and identify restrictions accordingly. Amongst others, the 1999 edition and the updated 2013 edition of the Burra Charter systematically explained the conservation planning process and policies. According to this prescriptive guideline, policies must address ‘the needs, resources, opportunities, actions, external constraints and physical conditions’ of places. The plan must develop policies by encompassing future uses, management and change based on cultural, socioeconomic and physical aspects of the local context. Besides the interrelation of socioeconomic and physical aspects, planning decisions and proposals should also consider how to integrate historical urban environments with the wider city. To do so, an integrated conservation master plan would include decisions about the infrastructure, services, open and built-up spaces, and land-use pattern within the historic places; these should be compatible with the existing situation and planning proposals for the entire city. The decisions should consider the existing ownership pattern, tenants, and land uses, integrating proposals with socioeconomic realities, upgrading infrastructure, and improving public services, transportation policies and development actions in a holistic way (Siravo, 2015).

Since the international watershed documents on urban conservation in the 1970s, the participation of society in developing policy and management phases has been highlighted. Theory on urban conservation has also underlined the significance of community in the conservation process, since it is society that ascribes meanings to cultural heritage. A plan should not be considered a frozen document but a dynamic process, always responsive to participatory decisions. As is indicated in the international doctrine and numerous research studies, participatory processes are obligatory for achieving this goal. However, conducting proper participatory processes has often been seen as a time-consuming activity for administrative bodies. Participation has also become a challenge amid complex community patterns and risks loss of efficiency due to power imbalances within administration processes.

As Kerr (2013) pointed out, political willingness and the legibility of the plan for a large spectrum of people are also critical for properly implementing the policies of a conservation plan, as are conservation expertise and training. A plan should therefore be ‘precise, clear, unambiguous, relevant, capable of being conducted, free of propaganda’ (Kerr, 2013).

## **2.2 Trajectories of Urban Conservation: From Urban Master Plans to a More Entrepreneurial Approach**

From the outset, conservation planning emerged as a sector with principles based on the rational urban planning usually associated with the twentieth century.

As charted above, the sector has developed its own methodological instruments and conceptual repertoire. As the academic debate increasingly turned against the autocratic practices of rational urban planning and architecture, ‘pluralism/inclusiveness’ arguments began to echo through planning theory and practice. This term was also associated with the ‘communicative turn’. As a response to these critiques, mostly in the 1980s and 1990s, a family of communicative planning theories (Forester, 1989, 1993; Healey, 1992, 1997; Innes, 1996; Sager, 1994) have arisen which draw upon Habermas’s theory of communicative action (Mattila, 2016).

Planning theory literature since the communicative turn is complex and beyond the focus of this study. However, the main argument could be recapped as the top-down nature of the rational mind behind planning action, and the suggestion to introduce more voices from other actors rather than the domination of experts. In doing so, planning decisions could be made as a result of communicative action by enabling the participation of diverse actors in planning processes. However, the diverse actor constellation has featured an increasing private sector presence, particularly from the 1980s onwards, as neoliberalism began to prevail within governance processes. In their recent critique, Allmendinger and Haughton (2013) argued that neoliberal governmentality has caused a blurring of boundaries in governance and planning by breaking down old rigidities. This altered the nature of planning from its focus on ‘visionary’ imaginations of the impossible to more pragmatic negotiations for the sake of market policies (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2013).

Although the role of participation has still provoked lively debate in the conservation field from many perspectives within planning, management and heritage studies, the above research revealed that the significance of ‘public opinion’ has shaped conservation practice for a long time in some parts of the world. Sometimes this has happened without stimulation by the state, and sometimes through the role of experts highlighting the significance of participation within international conservation doctrine or practices. Alongside the international charters and documents, the Italian architect Giancarlo De Carlo was a pivotal figure in drawing attention to citizen involvement and consensus when conducting planning and architectural design, as in the well-known example of Urbino (De Carlo, 1972; cited in Bandarin & Oers, 2012). Also, Pendlebury (2009) noted that in the UK, in the beginning, the trigger for conservation did not come from the state itself but from concerned citizens. The state was simply a witness of conservation struggles flourishing within the community, mainly among ‘cultural elites’; it would then develop into the supplier of the ‘comprehensive planning system’ (Pendlebury, 2009)

Besides introducing the participation issue into the planning and conservation processes, pluralism/inclusiveness debates also impacted the concepts that govern the practice of conservation. From the 1960s onwards, appreciation of ‘plurality’, ‘heterogeneity’, and ‘diversity’ started to grow through ideas of postmodernism within the disciplines of urban planning and architecture. As explained above, this

was also the period in which, in some countries, conservation thought was developing through legislation and institutionalisation. For example, the UK saw there a rising number of designations of conservation areas and registrations of cultural heritage properties (Pendlebury, 2009). Ironically, this increase led to a reduction in emphasis on authenticity, the concept which had been developed from the moment when conservation with modernist features emerged onto the scene. The number of conservation practices increased, and demolitions of cultural heritage buildings decreased within this period. Nonetheless, the lack of attention to ‘authenticity’ resulted in the concept of ‘facadism’: numerous buildings with renovated facades which damaged the original character of the buildings (Pendlebury, 2009).

The period in which pluralist ideas boomed in conservation and planning was also the era in which state power became decentralised to allow more private sector intervention within the economy; every sector has been affected by this phenomenon. Jokilehto (2010) claims that changing economic conditions since the 1970s, from central management to more decentralised market-centred economies, influenced the conception of urban master plans towards more strategic plans. However, the existing legislative framework of conservation has remained rooted in the ‘modern movement’, which is based on central management. To date, there have been a considerable number of modern conservation plans which have had positive effects on historic cities; along with the aforementioned existing legislative framework, largely in the western context but also covering various other parts of the world.

According to Jokilehto (2010), the international doctrine of urban conservation has always been the result of conjuncture rather than reason. The market-oriented approaches of governments and local authorities triggered a rise in the use of strategic plans; however, the planning of historic centres has remained under the control of the earlier planning approach which has been unable to adapt to the challenges of the contemporary period. Furthermore, Jokilehto (2010) has noted that the missing point in international doctrine on heritage is that its central focus remains on ‘architecture’ within its content and language, preventing it from gaining a grasp on the complex dynamics of the ‘urban’ ‘which is beyond the architecture’ (Jokilehto, 2010). The Historic Urban Landscape Recommendations (2011) by UNESCO have emerged as one of the most influential recent responses by an international organisation to the problem of the ‘urban’ within the conservation of heritage.

### **2.2.1 The Current International Agenda: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach**

Bandarin (2015) claimed that urban planning as a rational and comprehensive discipline which flourished in the twentieth century has become insufficient for managing complex urban entities in recent times. The centralised societies of the twentieth century transformed into ‘the progressive decentralisation of social

decision-making processes, complex and unpredictable development trends, and inevitable domination of the global market processes in the economy and social change' (Bandarin, 2015). In this vein, he states that urban planning has become one of many instruments in the management of urban areas and has been replaced by diverse management and design tools. Following the same trend in urban planning, historic cities have no longer been managed by the mere tools of 'urban conservation'. The historic city cannot be separated from the wider urban context under the name of 'protection', with the monumental perspective expanding to that of the historic city, as in the approaches of the early twentieth century (Ibid). Bandarin and Oers (2012) claimed that poor integration between heritage conservation and urban development has caused isolated disciplinary camps within urban heritage management. Moreover, the integrated conservation suggested in the 1976 recommendations and further guidelines and documents has not been successfully realised on the ground. Therefore, the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach emerged as a consequence of gradual disillusionment with the traditional urban conservation approach.

The HUL approach was first sketched out in the UNESCO Vienna Memorandum on Historic Urban Landscape (2005), which was the result of an international conference on the subject of 'World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture'. The Memorandum claimed its focus as the impacts of contemporary development on the overall urban landscape. It defined historic urban landscapes as:

*'The historic urban landscape, building on the 1976 'UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas', refers to ensembles of any group of buildings, structures and open spaces, in their natural and ecological context, including archaeological and palaeontological sites, constituting human settlements in an urban environment over a relevant period of time, the cohesion and value of which are recognised from the archaeological, architectural, prehistoric, historic, scientific, aesthetic, socio-cultural or ecological point of view. This landscape has shaped modern society and has great value for our understanding of how we live today' (Article 7).*

*The historic urban landscape is embedded with current and past social expressions and developments that are place-based. It is composed of character-defining elements that include land uses and patterns, spatial organisation, visual relationships, topography and soils, vegetation, and all elements of the technical infrastructure, including small scale objects and details of construction. (Article 8) (Vienna Memorandum, UNESCO, 2005)<sup>14</sup>.*

This first attempt at a definition was progressed and made more complex by the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (2011). Here, the Historic Urban Landscape is outlined as 'the result of a historical layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of "historic centre" or "ensemble" to include the broader urban context and its geographical

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<sup>14</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-15ga-inf7e.pdf>, retrieved on 21/12/2018.

setting'.<sup>15</sup> This new definition underlined the shift to a more territorial dimension of heritage by suggesting a true conception of the dynamic and holistic features of landscape concepts. By taking this approach, Bandarin (2015) pointed out that the very ideas of HUL are rooted in the theories of Landscape Urbanism and Ecological Urbanism. Approaching historic cities with concepts of landscape would enrich the content and scope beyond the cities' boundaries. It would allow certain overarching methodologies to be discarded in favour of an approach which embraced a variety of disciplines and could contribute to development of the city in ways distinct from traditional methods of architecture and urban planning. Furthermore, the HUL approach suggests the use of the concept of 'urban heritage' rather than the concept of the 'historic city/centre/area', believing that this will stimulate more flexible, open-ended and people-driven approaches to conservation.

A major impetus behind the HUL approach is to connect the historic city with the 'wider context' and development issues, allowing historic cities to be viewed outside of their 'zoning schemes', since in today's world there are no longer unified social and economic or isolated spatial zones. Thus, the HUL approach appreciates cultural heritage not as 'expenditure', deemed after necessary investment for development has been made, but as a 'driver of a fast and innovative development process'(Bandarin, 2019). Culture has also appeared as a significant driver for urban development in recent international policy frameworks, namely the New Urban Agenda by Habitat III (UN, 2016)<sup>16</sup> and the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2015), with the aim of achieving sustainable development through effective actions. This refers to the universal recognition of cultural heritage in the increasingly popular sustainable development discourse. As Pendlebury and Strange (2011) noted, historic environments had undergone a marginalisation process in the 2000s, not seeming relevant to the rising sustainability agenda regarding, for example, social inclusion and a lower-carbon society (Sykes & Ludwig, 2015). In this sense, Bologna presents a good example of integration between its historic centre and wider city context through sustainable development objectives and urban planning tools. The historic city of Bologna has been integrated with the entire context of urban policies and actions regarding accessibility, public transport, car sharing, electric vehicles, parking, enhancement of public spaces, and waste collection (Bonfantini, 2015). For example, since 2012, the city has organised T-Days at the weekends in which certain streets forming T-shapes are open only for pedestrian and cyclists to enjoy the historic centre for leisure. This created a lively accessible area for citizens and visitors to experience much of the historic centre by walking, cycling, and using public spaces vigorously. However, as Bonfantini (2015) underlined, these types of activities, which contribute to implementing the HUL approach, have been limited to certain practices; they have not been harnessed by legal and administrative measures. He

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<sup>15</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf>, retrieved on 23/12/2018.

<sup>16</sup> <http://habitat3.org/wp-content/uploads/NUA-English.pdf> retrieved on 12/10/2019.

further noticed that the legal and administrative levels are not ready to fully adopt new approaches and concepts in conservation, as in the case of Bologna in Italy, and in most other countries.

Rey Pérez and González Martínez (2018) recognised that all the cases in the HUL guidebook begin with two main ideas: combining urban conservation with sustainability and regeneration, and involving citizens in the identification and management of heritage. Although, as explained in the previous section, the participation of citizens in conservation processes has always been mentioned in international doctrine, the HUL Approach appreciated community as a central part of the conservation of cultural heritage. This built upon the fact that HUL basically describes heritage through ‘attributes’ and ‘values’. Veldpaus (2015) suggests that ‘while attributes are “what” is valued (tangible or intangible), values are the reason “why” attributes are considered to be heritage’. Thus, the HUL approach extends beyond the understanding of value from the notion itself, to the attributes of value as created by humans. According to Veldpaus (2015), in this way landscape would be ‘a platform for integrating any or all attributes and values’. This basic difference – to understand attributes and values distinctly – requires enabling more and more people to engage with the identification, assessment, and decision-making process of conservation. This appears to be closely linked to what Ginzarly et al. (2019) identify as notions that have been developed to go beyond a tangible and technical focus in conservation: the ‘value-based approach, all-inclusive approach, landscape approach, integrated approach, holistic approach, people-centred approach and bottom-up approach’. Collectively, these make up a concept of ‘making heritage fully part of the local community’ (Ginzarly et al., 2019). Although engaging more people and perspectives in the heritage management process can have complex challenges at the practical level, Pereira Roders (2019), by examining different local cases implementing HUL approaches, noticed that the level of participation is evolving: ‘ranging from being informed or consulted to influencing and leading the decision making processes’.

Overall, the general message of the HUL approach is putting urban heritage into the sustainable urban development agenda by enlarging its scope to diverse layered landscape concepts, and empowering the other actors, rather than merely the public sector, in conservation of historic areas. In this regard, many research studies and guidelines define conservation recursively as a ‘management of change’ in historic environments (Pereira Roders & Hudson, 2011; World Heritage Training and Research Institute for the Asia and the Pacific Region, 2016). To apply these new concepts for the management of change, a guidebook was presented in 2016 proposing six critical criteria for the implementation of the HUL approach:

1. Undertaking comprehensive surveys and mapping of the city’s natural, cultural and human resources.
2. Reaching consensus using participatory planning and stakeholder consultations on what values to protect for transmission to future generations and to determine the attributes that carry these values.

3. Assessing vulnerability of these attributes to socioeconomic stresses and impacts of climate change.
4. Integrating urban heritage values and their vulnerability status into the wider framework of city development, which shall provide indications of areas of heritage sensitivity that require careful attention to planning, design and implementation of development projects.
5. Prioritising actions for conservation and development.
6. Establishing the appropriate partnerships and local management frameworks for each identified project for conservation and development, as well as developing mechanisms for the coordination of the various activities between different actors, both public and private.<sup>17</sup>

Being the first local government to sign the pilot programme of the HUL approach by UNESCO in 2013, the city of Ballarat in Australia presents a good example for observing the initial challenges and potentials of HUL by applying the six above-mentioned steps on the ground. Due to the extensive use of the Burra Charter by ICOMOS Australia, urban conservation in Australia has been developed and fostered effectively through regulatory tools and practices. However, these regulations and practices have mostly focused on the tangible elements of historic environments, even though social values have already been recognised by the related heritage guidelines and documents. The HUL approach, with its prominent emphasis on the people-centred and value-based approach, was appealing for the city of Ballarat due to its potential for more community-driven management of cultural heritage. Therefore, the first and second critical steps of the HUL guidebook, which mention comprehensive survey and conservation processes with the full participation of citizens, have been comprehensively applied in the context of Ballarat. Perhaps the most meritorious contribution of the new approach has been its stimulating influence on innovative ways to involve the community within the survey and decision-making processes. Social media, crowdsourcing, 3D mapping, and public websites<sup>18</sup> have been effectively utilised to achieve operative civic engagement through the efforts of the new partnerships triggered by the new HUL application amongst research groups, universities, and local government. Research on 3D and 4D mapping and usage of augmented reality for collaborative platforms is still underway. Through the use of innovative techniques and collaborative platforms, citizens have been able to reflect on ‘what is valued’ and ‘what is distinctive’ about their place. Furthermore, cultural mapping and 3D mapping have enabled people to conceive visually the possible results of proposed designs, and actively provide decision support to local governments. Moreover, an interdisciplinary research team has been gathering together the dispersed data on

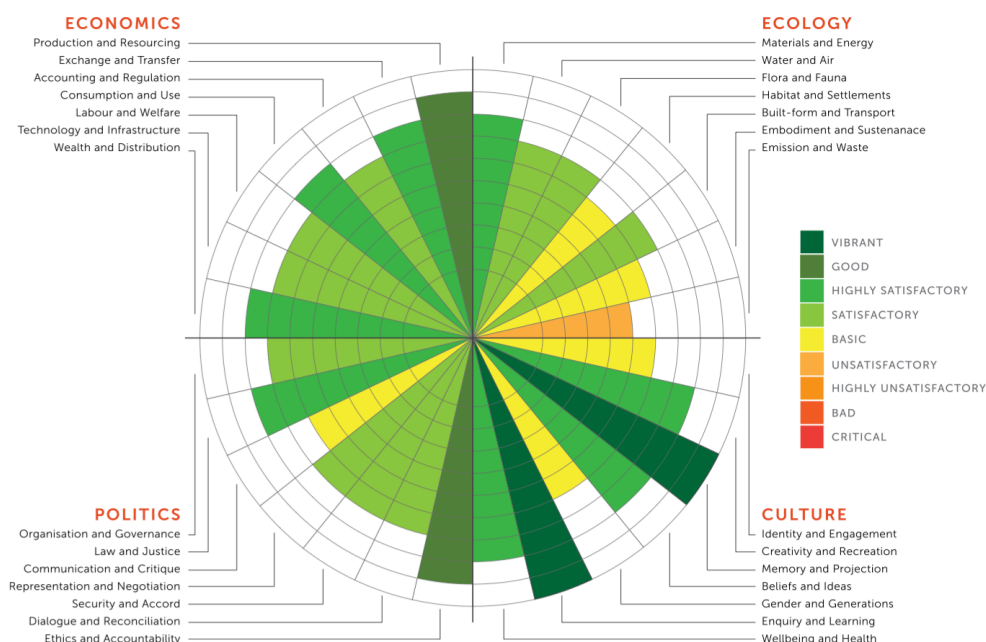
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<sup>17</sup>The HUL Guidebook, Managing heritage in dynamic and constantly changing urban environments: A practical guide to UNESCO’s Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape. <http://historicurbanlandscape.com/themes/196/userfiles/download/2016/6/7/wirey5prpznidqx.pdf> retrieved on 13/01/2019.

<sup>18</sup> See the lively examples of online tools for participation and decision-support systems: <http://www.hulballarat.org.au/>, <http://www.visualisingballarat.org.au/>

the city of Ballarat for use in surveys and documentation to understand the significance of the historic city. Another significant influence of this collaboration was conducting an open decision-making process for communities (Ballarat Heritage Plan, 2017).

According to Fayad and Buckley (2019), the most challenging part of applying HUL has been assessment and action on vulnerability, which is related to the third and fourth steps of the HUL guidebook. The challenge is because it was a totally new concept for the practitioners and researchers in the programme and minimal evidence was found to guide decisions and monitor impacts. In this regard, the circle of sustainability developed by the United Nations Global Compact Cities Programme was adapted to Ballarat's HUL programme, as shown in Figure 4 which contains indicators for assessing performance, sustainability, and vulnerabilities. In the new heritage plan, it is stated that this tool will be used to monitor implementation of the actions and guide future interventions.<sup>19</sup>



**Figure 4: Circles of Sustainability for Ballarat's Historic Urban Landscape Program (Source: Ballarat Heritage Plan, 2017).**

To set priorities, as suggested in the fifth critical step of the guidebook, and compile all the integration processes of the HUL programme, the city of Ballarat generated the Ballarat Strategy Report (2015)<sup>20</sup>; a new heritage plan called 'Our People, Culture and Place: A plan to sustain Ballarat's heritage 2017–2030'; and a series of local area plans. The new heritage plan integrated the outcomes of citizen participation, strategic reports, and what has been developed so far in the HUL

<sup>19</sup> Our People, Culture and Place, A plan to sustain Ballarat's heritage 2017–2030, [http://www.hulballarat.org.au/cb\\_pages/files/Our%20People%2C%20Culture%20and%20Place%20A%20plan%20to%20sustain%20Ballarat's%20heritage%202017-2030%20desktop%20version.pdf](http://www.hulballarat.org.au/cb_pages/files/Our%20People%2C%20Culture%20and%20Place%20A%20plan%20to%20sustain%20Ballarat's%20heritage%202017-2030%20desktop%20version.pdf)

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.ballarat.vic.gov.au/sites/default/files/201904/Ballarat%20Strategy%202040.pdf> retrieved on 10/12/2019.



Programme. In this frame, it is a plan which sets out the actions for conservation: it is meant to be action-oriented, targeting not merely the things but people and places. Importantly, the plan has three priority areas: regeneration, celebrating and inspiring with Ballarat's stories, and management of change and safeguarding heritage. The actions indicated in the plan emerged from what had been interactively collected in the collaborative planning phases. Telling stories about Ballarat motivated people to involve themselves in the processes and contribute to making places more vibrant and open to new experiences and discoveries. The sixth step of the guidebook, which recommends working with partners and building capacity, has become a vital matter for application of the HUL programme in Ballarat. Partnerships have been achieved through the willing and leading role of the local government (City of Ballarat) with the World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for the Asia and the Pacific Region (WHITRAP, UNESCO), universities and research teams, and international networks of HUL. In this regard, Rey Pérez and González Martínez (2018) also claimed that the principal role of the local government and universities is a keystone for HUL application in the case of Ballarat. New skills and new resources have of course been required, and organisational structure and capacity building in the local government have been transformed (Fayad & Buckley, 2019).

In particular, the new heritage plan and all other new levels of participation of different actors in the HUL programme have prompted the question of how they integrated with or altered the existing regulatory systems. In the new heritage plan, one part is dedicated to explaining this integration. It is claimed that the former regulatory system, through the planning schemes before the HUL programme launched in 2013, had already taken sufficient measures to protect the tangible heritage of Ballarat. However, it required some additions in order to include intangible aspects or social values derived from the outcomes of participatory processes in the HUL programme. Furthermore, another missing point in the existing planning schemes and heritage overlays was regulatory tools for protection of heritage assets; this is about the inclusion of vulnerability and sustainability indicators. It is reported that by adding the relevant information, new actions can address adaptive re-uses, retrofitting, mixed-uses and the compact urban centre by responding to sustainability and vulnerability analyses. Therefore, it could be asserted that the new HUL programme has not aimed to replace existing planning schemes but to add to them other layers coming out from the new heritage plan. As a result of all the new HUL experience undertaken to date, Fayad and Buckley (2019) highlighted that new processes in the Ballarat Strategy and Heritage Plan have presented 'new ways of talking about, thinking about, promoting and listening about heritage based on the HUL's ... lens, a focus on change, and linking with the social and economic goals of the city'.

The HUL recommendation is introduced as an additional tool and a road map which could be adapted to the local context. The Ballarat experience so far has supported how the HUL approach could boost heritage conservation with willing local actors and an atmosphere where the tools for conservation planning have

already been empowered through the controlling regulatory system. Nevertheless, the regulatory measures for urban conservation are not always as well developed in other national and local contexts as in Australia and Ballarat. Although it is mentioned in the guidebook that the approach is not intended to alter existing doctrine or conservation approaches, it could be claimed that the overarching discourse focuses on the ‘management’ of HUL rather than planning. In this context, the role and type of existing conservation planning, which has been a major subject of urban conservation doctrine throughout its development, is not so explicit. In the HUL recommendation (2011), when describing the tools of the approach, the roles of ‘knowledge and planning tools’ are described as helping ‘to protect integrity and authenticity of the attributes of urban heritage, to recognise cultural significance and diversity and provide for the monitoring and management of change to improve the quality of life and of space’. Moreover, those tools should contain documentation and mapping of heritage, social and environmental impact assessments to support decision-making processes within a framework of sustainable development (Article 24(b), UNESCO, 2011). This implies the role of planning to ensure authenticity and integrity, and including documentation and impact assessments to support the process. Instead of expounding the process of integration of conservation plans with the new approach and emphasising the position of planning for the management of historic cities, the HUL approach hints at a more open governance mode. According to Lo Piccolo and Todaro (2014), UNESCO has increasingly paid attention to the conflict between conservation and development and focused on ‘management’ as a solution within other documents than the HUL Recommendations; for example, those about places in the World Heritage List. By including the latest advancements in the management of historic places in the UNESCO World Heritage List, they interpret this process as a shift ‘from planning to management’. They argue that the performative approaches of management would have difficulties integrating with the conformational nature of urban and regional planning in different local contexts. In this frame, instead of having the leading role, management plans in the WHL context became a collection of already existing policies and actions as shaped by the planning tools (Lo Piccolo & Todaro, 2014).

Rey Pérez and González Martínez (2018) also pointed out that the importance of authenticity, which as a task is assigned to planning tools, has been diminished in the HUL Recommendations. They suggested that the authenticity concept could offer much for the vague parts of the recommendation regarding assessment for limits to change. In this sense, authenticity is no longer a concept merely considering the material dimension; instead, it focuses on the shared vision of society. If it could come to the fore, this new framework for the definition of authenticity could have the potential to conduct the management process according to the ‘complex contemporary character’ of authenticity (Rey Pérez & González Martínez, 2018). Hence, it could be noted that the concepts and position of conservation planning in the new HUL approach are not clear, and most likely it will be integrated differently in different contexts according to their regulatory and

governance systems. In some cases, there could be a potential to enhance the scope of the planning system; or there could be a threat to make the planning tools inadaptable and inactive for new processes. In this regard, in the drafting phase of the HUL recommendations, Gabrielli (2010) interpreted the HUL approach as an opportunity to bring back the ‘design’ aspect of urban planning, which has started to disappear. Proclaiming the potential of the HUL approach, Gabrielli (2010) noted that urban planning is still necessary for historic cities. Even if architectural projects are appreciated as triggers of development and conservation, they do not play a role in establishing the holistic vision of an urban plan. An architectural project cannot have control over the effects of individual projects on the different parts and projects of the historic city. Furthermore, Gabrielli (2010) pointed out that the HUL approach could create new possibilities regarding the relationship between urban planning and heritage. He suggested a median position for historic cities, embracing both conservation and innovation, as can also be observed in the works of Giancarlo de Carlo. De Carlo also promoted transformation and innovative activities by putting forward certain control techniques for integrating them more harmoniously with the historic character of a given area. He exemplified this approach by inserting a university campus into the historic context of Urbino. Likewise, Van Oers (2015) underlined the potential contribution of the HUL approach to urban conservation, claiming that the HUL journey is about ‘making the planning framework a true instrument of 21st century forward-looking, proactive, and inclusive and participative decision making’. In this vein, the new practitioner of urban conservation should be able to ‘guide people and interest groups, orchestrating processes, understanding different viewpoints, making them heard and practical to broader audiences’ (Van Oers, 2015).

Since the introduction of HUL, many researchers have also underlined the confrontations between the international/universal/global framework and local contexts in the implementation phases. Ginzarly et al., (2019) highlights the massive differences in legal and institutional systems in different states, especially in the global South, where the public participation intrinsic to HUL can be challenging within the existing policy and regulatory systems. It is also argued that though heritage is defined within the national system, its management occurs in the local context. Thus, alongside the universal and local paradox, national and local differences are another layer of complexity. In this regard, the implementation and interpretation of HUL chiefly depend on ‘local management frameworks and level of coordination’ amongst the local actors (Ginzarly et al., 2019). In the same vein, Pereira Roders (2019) maintains that ‘HUL is not one approach but as many approaches as different contexts demand’. According to her, to some this flexibility is positive and to others it is negative; however, the most significant effect is that cities can discover the model that fits best to their ‘sustainable urban development and management of resources where heritage planning and urban conservation are key indicators’ (Pereira Roders, 2019).

Even though HUL has heralded a new approach to ‘reconnect’ the urban conservation field to the current development era, the context-dependent and vague

nature of HUL for management processes could cause some challenges in certain cases. This may be especially the case when it faces an already existing regulatory system for urban conservation, chiefly based on comprehensive planning. As Sykes and Ludwig (2015) highlighted, the discursive shift in urban conservation has appeared with ‘much confusion and dissonance, making practical application in a rational planning environment a challenge’. Rey Perez and Martinez also recognised this issue with HUL and underlined the significance of critical assessment, considering ‘the rising importance of what has been referred to as “the urban atmosphere” and “ambience” in new entrepreneurial models of city governance’ (Rey Pérez & González Martínez, 2018). The other significant challenge can be the fuzziness of community participation in the process in terms of the role distribution of civil society, the market, and the state. In this regard, Hill and Talaka (2016) claimed that the general pro-development nature of the HUL approach could result in the prioritising of market-focused outcomes within contexts where strong planning and conservation systems have not been developed (Hill & Tanaka, 2016).

### **2.2.2 Challenges of Conservation Planning in Historic Cities**

The prominent issues in current conservation discussions, dealt with by previous research, could be grouped into two major aspects: ‘the relations of historic cities with wider complex urban contexts and development’ and ‘approaching heritage values from different perspectives, aiming to empower communities and consider local specificities more in heritage-making processes’. Both issues have profound implications for the nature of conservation planning, regarding both its aims and its scope. The Historic Urban Landscape approach announces ‘the end of planning’, and accordingly conventional urban conservation, to make room for more development-engaged multi-layered management processes for urban heritage. More inclusive, pluralist, and multiple approaches could open new possibilities and meanings for heritage, which expert-led professional practices, or any other planning policy, might never achieve. However, whilst ‘traditional’ conservation plans lose their efficiency, the noteworthy question is what will replace them in order to make legal and regulatory conservation policies. Ambiguous concepts of inclusion, with more and more actors, development, and heritage meanings, could entail more progressive planning than before. Otherwise, in the era of weakened planning, capitalist – or neoliberal – networks of relations may overwhelm conservation of heritage, whether for the sake of economic benefits or accommodation of the social and cultural realms of urban heritage. This can be evaluated through discussions of entrepreneurial city or entrepreneurial urban governance, embedded in former and current experiences and community dimensions as the overarching rhetoric of recent theory and practice.

### *2.2.2.1 Entrepreneurial Urban Governance and Entrepreneurial Heritage*

'Entrepreneurialism' as a mode of urban governance and organisation dates back to the 1970s and 1980s, when the crisis of Fordism occurred. Since then, the traditional nature of administration has shifted to flexibilisation of the public sector by supplementing components of urban governance. In his seminal paper, Harvey (1989) defined this as a shift 'from managerialism to entrepreneurialism'. As Peck (2014) points out, this paper remains prominent since it sheds light on a 'tipping point' in history. Likewise, one of the noteworthy state theorists who also advanced the concept of the 'entrepreneurial city', Jessop (1996), identified this transition as 'from welfare to workfare'. In the entrepreneurial era, unlike 'government', 'governance' involves working across boundaries within the public sector or between the public sector and the private or voluntary sectors. It centres attention on a set of actors and coalitions that are drawn both from and beyond the formal institutions of government. A key concern is 'processes of networking and partnership' (Stoker, 2000 cited in Astleithner et al., 2004). Therefore, in this framework, as Painter (1998) claimed, 'urban politics is no longer ... a process of hierarchical government in which decisions by local politicians are translated straightforwardly by public bodies into social and economic change, rather it involves a complex process of negotiation, coalition formation, indirect influence, multi-institution working and public and private partnership'. However, as Hall and Hubbard (1998) claimed, the pluralist position of actors in this complex process implies elite domination, due to the fact that access to local politics is unequal, which advantages certain groups.

Since the 1980s, a great deal of research into urban planning and geography has focused on the effects of entrepreneurialism and the entrepreneurial city (e.g. Hall & Hubbard, 1996; MacLeod, 2002; Ward, 2003). Collectively, these studies outline a critical role for the market in which it 'becomes intertwined in more complex ways with the planning role of the state' (Ward, 2003). In like manner, Painter (1998) explains the keys to the entrepreneurial city as the 'promotion of economic competitiveness, place marketing to attract inward investment and support for the development of indigenous private sector firms'. Biddulph (2011) has further identified how the entrepreneurial city is scattered through 'flagship projects, iconic architecture, reimagining and rebranding initiatives, the privatisation of public space and evidence of gentrification' by focusing on a 'marketable urban experience'. These toolkits of the entrepreneurial city are chiefly linked with approaching the city as a 'growth machine' (Molotch, 1976); the aim being to make urban images more attractive to local and global investment (Crossa, 2009). In turn, cities have become places to be 'sold, promoted and marketed' like products (Ibid). The revitalisation of historic cities has been prominently felt in place marketing through urban competitiveness amongst local governments. In the era of competitive cities, local governments have recognised the role of urban heritage in boosting cities' images and tourism. In terms of tourism, historic urban cores have become centres

of attention due to ‘their history, architectural heritage, inimitable cultural assets and qualities, and clusters of amenities’ (Hoffman, Fainstein, & Judd, 2003).

Fragmentation of government has also given new significance to the ‘local level’ across national contexts. As Healey et al. (2002) have observed, ‘by the late 1990s ... there has been more emphasis on initiatives to promote integration at the local level, joining up the activities of traditionally separate departmental programmes and co-ordinating activities within local strategies and community plans which are meant for the well-being of their communities’. In this sense, local governments – namely, municipalities – have the significant role in the formation of entrepreneurial cities. This role has been mostly undertaken by means of municipal real-estate speculations, risk-taking for investments through public-private partnerships by protecting the investment via regulatory instruments, and huge interventions in particular places within a city rather than equally distributing resources across the territory (Harvey, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 1996). According to scholars of neoliberalisation, local regulations have played their roles by evolving with the variegated national and global neoliberal political economy (Brenner, Peck, & Theodore, 2010; Peck & Tickell, 2002) In this frame, cities have developed reactions at the local level in response to the external influences of neoliberalism. Hall and Hubbard (1996) also pointed out that changing modes from city government to entrepreneurial governance can be grasped at all levels, illustrating the unstable nature of ‘social, economic and political processes which are operating at both the global and local level’.

The concept of ‘entrepreneurial urbanism’ is still valid and provides a useful lens through which to investigate urban governance at different spatial scales but with altered faces. As Peck (2014) writes in his recent review of entrepreneurial urbanism, ‘entrepreneurialism currently shows itself within different patterns, the version of the “capitalist game” that was entrepreneurial urbanism shows signs of being played out, even if it continues to be played in somewhat new and superficially “creative” ways’ (Peck, 2014). Lauer mann (2016) also agrees on the usefulness of the concept ‘entrepreneurial city’ to understand recent urban governance practices. He claims that ‘a label like entrepreneurial’ can offer a more precise explanation to sort out urban governance practices which are ‘correlated but not identical to neoliberalism’. In fact, recent entrepreneurial cities have more ‘diversified portfolios’ than can be solely understood by ‘a fracturing of a neoliberal project’ (Lauer mann, 2016, p. 8). These encompass the grasping of the internal political logics of municipalities, since ‘the entrepreneur’ within the entrepreneurial city is the municipal government. Within this context, in entrepreneurial governance, municipalities have developed more ‘experimental’ types of urban policy than merely considering ‘growth’. These experimental policies have been expanded to address recent concepts such as those of the smart city, the resilient city, climate action, and the creative city, rather than merely acting through municipal speculation. Thus, the municipalities has not been only motivated by growth machines/coalitions or urban regimes, but has involved a more diverse set of interventions. Interurban competitiveness, one of the common characteristics of

the entrepreneurial city, is also currently experienced in a 'more diplomatic manner by pursuing both competitive and cooperative inter urban relationships' (Ibid). In other words, even if the entrepreneurial city still provides a crucial toolkit to understand how different urban governances work, the diversified and multiple manners of its usage should be more broadly investigated, shedding light on local dynamics.

There also seems to be evidence to indicate that the creativity discourse, which was developed by Richard Florida, is one of the current aspects of the entrepreneurial city. In regard to recent changes in entrepreneurial urban governance, it is also significant to observe the changes of the discourse between the first and second editions of the prime reference book for the creative city concept, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2004, 2012). While the first edition aimed to present a guidebook for municipalities of entrepreneurial cities to achieve growth by adapting to the restructuring national and global economy, the second edition marked the municipality as an active driver of change rather than passively adapting to external conditions. Moreover, the second edition presented more diverse motivations to form creative cities, such as promoting their role in public health and well-being, rather than only economic reasons (Lauermann, 2016). Urban heritage and historical buildings have a significant role for creativity concepts in the entrepreneurial city, with respect to their central places and adaptable spatial features for mixed uses.

Some research has explored the usage of creativity concepts in urban heritage places through entrepreneurial urban governance. For instance, Zheng (2011) argues that creativity clusters in Shanghai led to upgraded entrepreneurial urban features in the city. Transforming urban heritage places into creative industry clusters has not resulted in shaping mechanisms to support talented people in creative sectors; it has chiefly caused rising real-estate values in these urban heritage places. This has also generated spatial fragmentation and 'deviate[d] from comprehensive planning of urban areas' (Zheng, 2011). Wang (2011) accordingly states that historic cities have been 'rediscovered' through creative activities by artists, small and independent businesses, or creative firms. However, he notes that these activities in urban heritage places are accompanied by fashionable consumption, tourism, or cultural production, while former uses of historic neighbourhoods, such as for housing or industry, are diminished (Wang, 2011).

Many recent studies have also shown that financial crises across Europe have led to other actors and instances which have influenced the link between the entrepreneurial city and the management of built heritage (Mangialardo & Micelli, 2016; Rabbiosi, 2017; Scott et al., 2018). Together, these studies indicate that governments have attempted to use economic crises as an opportunity for the regeneration of abandoned or underused heritage places. Furthermore, they support and encourage community organisations or civil society actors to make temporary use of these places. However, as Madanipour (2018) points out, this solution is obviously short-term and reckless in terms of heritage management. The rise of creative cities rhetoric (Ponzini & Rossi, 2010) and the increase in temporary reuse

have increased opportunities relating to vacant places for public governments, not only with the private sector but also with the third sector. Scott et al. (2018) also recognised how urban heritage has been used as a catalyst and opportunity in post-crash economic conditions in Ireland through entrepreneurial practices. In the current circumstances of crisis, historic urban cores have been rediscovered in terms of low property values, creating opportunities for flagship projects and place branding. Parallel to what is framed by Lauermaun (2016) as inter-urban diplomacy, the new type of entrepreneurial governance learnt from ‘international consultants, policy transfer from larger Irish cities and a wider political neoliberalisation of spatial governance and imposition of austerity’ (Scott et al., 2018). In the current entrepreneurial context, practices in heritage management present more flexible and ‘agile’ approaches than traditional conservation, to facilitate broader urban development. However, in so doing, social values have been underemphasised.

According to Scott et al. (2018), the HUL approach and many recent studies on urban conservation have recommended the engagement of civil society/communities within conservation processes in order to counter the drawbacks of entrepreneurial governance and more dynamic heritage-making processes. On one side, empowering the community/civil society offers new ways for effective and inclusive heritage management; on the other side, blurry representation of the community/civil society could obscure who is actually taking the role of the civil society within the ongoing conservation process. The next part will briefly discuss the community dimension in conservation planning.

### *2.2.2.2 The Community Dimension in Conservation (and Planning): Civil Society as an ‘All-Purpose Catchword’<sup>21</sup>*

The long-term and ongoing discussions on inclusion of the community dimension in conservation planning have been presupposed in the multiplied and complex governance modes as argued in the HUL approach, and in critiques of the monopoly role of the expert in modern conservation practices, which have also emerged in current critical heritage studies (Harrison, 2013; Smith, 2006; Watson, Steve; Waterton, 2010). In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on opening up heritage to plural and diverse meanings by including communities in heritage-making processes. Overall, these critiques have allowed inquiries into how these multiplicities of diverse meanings and values would be managed in the historic environment, which can create conflict and confrontation amongst multiple actors (Cina’, Demiröz, & Mu, 2019). Cortés-Vázquez et al. (2017) have noted that the conflict stems from power relations among actors, and in particular actors empowered by legislation and regulations to affect heritage making and governance. Overtly, it has been a great challenge for the field; as Hobson (2004) has pointed out, conservation is not a homogenous activity, and its supporters are not homogenous groups, having varying views. For instance, the

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<sup>21</sup> Wood, E. M. (1990). The uses and abuses of ‘civil society’. *Socialist Register*, 26(26), 60-84.



term 'value' in heritage is used among conservationists, but is replaced with the term 'benefit' when making justifications to others such as politicians (Pendlebury, 2009)

In this context, some authors have attempted to suggest differentiating the users of the historic environment. Piccinato (2017) suggests a definition of different groups who use or benefit from the space, making heritage places open to everyone's interpretations. He suggests particular analyses of each city, and evaluation of the previous conservation plans – and in particular, policies which affect the historic city in terms of enhancing its diversity or making it more homogeneous with other historic cities. He interrogates what has happened to historic centres after the introduction of protection measures, in terms of plans and urban projects such as pedestrianised streets and renovated facades, and changes in uses pertaining to the 'human scale'. Thus, he observes the role of aggressive tourism in this kind of recovered 'historic environment', which is really meant to reflect the identity of the city just for the tourist's gaze.

Pendlebury (2009) interprets the subject in terms of the roles of experts and communities. He asks whether the will to wrest control from experts and enlarge the role of the community is an intention; however, how this might work in political agendas has remained a question. Focusing more and more on individual values is also a threat that could result in the loss of the potential of 'shared narratives' in conservation (Pendlebury 2009). Another questionable phenomenon is whether these 'communities' want to be involved in the heritage sector (Pendlebury, Townshend, & Gilroy, 2004). According to Pendlebury (2009), in England, conservation community groups can be divided into four categories: i. those for whom conservation is the core of their activity; ii. active groups in conservation planning with 'instrumental' ends; iii. larger groups with no active role but active appreciation of conservation; and iv. the routine category for people who experience heritage in their everyday life. Thus, pluralism represents a challenge for a conservation sector which is actively provided with and led by expert knowledge.

In line with community dimensions in the conservation of historic environments, some authors have suggested engaging this with collaborative planning. According to Pendlebury (2009), collaborative planning could contribute to the debate concerning democracy in community engagement, including in relation to heritage literature. Furthermore, McClelland et al. (2013) have highlighted the value aspect, suggesting that values should be assessed amongst multiple actors through the methods of collaborative planning practices and inclusive decision-making processes.

Several studies have suggested ways to improve collaborative processes in terms of heritage and regeneration. By studying 20 years of regeneration experience in UK housing districts, Matthews (2013) claimed that instead of aiming to reach initial consensus in collaborative/communicative planning practices, planners should focus on the 'long-term'. This is due to the fact that long-term changes in the built environment help communities to understand their experience and allow

them to find new solutions to challenges. The built environment should be prioritised in the planning process over continuing negotiations to reach a consensus (Matthews, 2013). Dragouni and Fouseki (2017) reported the significance of a primary survey among stakeholders in order to reveal their expectations and values relating to a heritage place. They suggested that participatory processes in collaborative planning should develop organically based on these local values.

Moreover, Fan (2014) showed how community patterns per se could respond in negative ways to community involvement in conservation. In a context in which collaborative planning and heritage are not as developed as in the West, this can take place even if the government intentionally pushes for participation. Verdini (2015) gave examples from the Chinese context in which there were some possibilities within micro-level urban governance for participation in conservation if some variables were enhanced: the efficiency of bottom-up groups, the existence of leading pro-conservation actors, the effectiveness of online activism, and the empowerment of local residents.

Evaluating international documents and charters on heritage and comparing different cases from different country contexts, Shipley and Kovacs (2008) have suggested principles of 'good governance' for conservation of cultural heritage. They identified five criteria to evaluate governance processes: legitimacy and voice, direction, performance, accountability, and fairness. 'Legitimacy and voice' implies an orientation to collaborative planning tools that enable participation; 'direction' is the existence of related planning and management tools to support participation; 'performance' is the efficiency of the processes; 'accountability' is the transparency of all actors, particularly public bodies and institutions; and 'fairness' is concern for the equity and compatibility of legislative and statutory systems.

Regarding the shifting roles of actors, Janssen, Luiten, Renes, and Stegmeijer (2017) appropriately conceptualised the development of the position of heritage, in particular the Dutch Spatial Planning system, by drawing links with the above-mentioned trends in heritage management. In this context, they define the changing concepts of heritage within the planning system as heritage as a sector, heritage as a factor, and heritage as a vector. The 'sector' idea considers heritage as a separate part of the existing city, mostly associated with the institutional and legal heritage framework. Discovering economic impacts, marketisation of heritage, and the increase in public/private partnerships led to the development of the concept of heritage as a 'factor' within development. Recently, the relations between heritage and development aims, and expansion of the concept of heritage to a more socially constructed phenomenon rather than materiality, have led to the definition of heritage as a 'vector'. The vector approach has introduced various types of tools to heritage, such as sectoral plans for energy transition, climate change adaptation, and consideration of how the narratives and personal histories of the community link to heritage assets. This conceptualisation of heritage is not considered a concrete paradigm shift. However, they recommended viewing this as a sedimentation process which can be superimposed over previous approaches and coexist with

them. The significant point is how to cope with the multiplicity of tools and select the convenient repertoire for the given heritage place (Janssen et al., 2017).

## 2.3 Conclusion

This thesis searches for the legitimacy and relevancy of conservation plans in the current urban governance era. For this reason, the beginning of this chapter focused on conceiving the nature of conservation planning. First of all, it outlined the roots of the urban heritage context, since conservation planning emerged when conservation of heritage went beyond the monument to the urban scale. In other words, when the conservation field started to be concerned with historic cities rather than merely architectural scale, the field met with the urban planning discipline. Therefore, eventually, conservation planning appeared as a separate sector as a primary tool to manage historic cities. The following sections tried to examine the development, concepts, methodologies, content, and process of a conservation plan. Of this term, it could be said that the sector has developed its own methodological tools and concepts while being embedded in general urban planning and architectural conservation. Principally, it follows the same logic as a comprehensive urban plan; for example, doing a survey, developing policy accordingly, and managing the process. However, besides rational surveys, in comprehensive conservation plans, the surveys and documentation also seek for certain specific concepts such as character of the historic place, cultural significance, spirit of place, distinctiveness of place, or *genius loci*. All of these have nuances in definition, but roughly, they are linked to the authenticity of places from diverse perspectives. A set of analytical methodologies, such as those developed in urban morphology and townscape, has been utilised to reveal authenticity through these concepts.

These methodologies offer systematic analyses to undertake particular surveys to grapple with understanding the character or significance of a historic place. Basically, the specific survey, together with policies that take into consideration balanced conservation and development through proper change management, form the basic premise of a conservation plan. While the planning type has been largely practised as a type of comprehensive master plan regulated by national legislation on planning and conservation and concerning mostly the tangible aspects of heritage, the participation of communities has always been suggested in the universal doctrine (Section 2.1.2).

From the 1970s, an economic shift in the world economy profoundly impacted on urban practices; that is, a restructuring of the global economy was mirrored differently in each national and local context. Afterwards, the academy and practices on urban planning and conservation of cultural heritage tried to cope with the theoretical and practical implications of this shift. Inevitably, these changes have been reflected in the conservation planning which developed within both urban planning and cultural heritage studies. Both fields have been challenged by the government-to-governance transition and interrogated through the top-down nature of centralised management. For more than 40 years, urban planning theory

and practice have been trying to respond to the fluctuating economic, social and cultural outcomes of these changes by questioning the varying roles of state, private sector, and civil society.

Obviously, these changes have affected the development of conservation planning. There have been debates on state cultural policies and the domination of the market economy in conservation. These have had such results as, for instance, gentrification and heritage as commodity discussions and engagement of communities in heritage-making processes. For instance, it has always been suggested that surveys should involve people in the processes of assessing the character or significance of places. Also, in general urban planning theory, policy and management decision-making processes have usually been associated with the developing of collaborative/communicative planning features. Hence, these issues have had diffuse reflections on the international urban conservation agenda after the 1970s. The global structure has been changing and this has had effects on individual countries; therefore, the problem was how the nature of urban conservation would update its position in respect to related changes. The answer is not as easy as having one single and prescriptive response. However, the latest and more pertinent reaction of the international doctrine of the urban conservation field to ongoing transformations has been summarised in the Historic Urban Landscape Approach recommended by UNESCO.

The HUL approach also marks a shift from historic cities to historic urban landscape. Thus, it could be claimed that the HUL recommendations and subsequent documents underpinning the approach mark another transitional era: historic cities to historic urban landscape in the 2000s such as the transition from monuments to historic cities in the 1970s. Since it endorses and encapsulates a recent update to the urban conservation field, it has insightful relevance for the general discussion of this thesis. This is primarily because the HUL approach recommends new modes of governance for the management of historical cities, which have been leading the change to the role of conservation planning. The approach could offer new examples to the field through its endeavour to reconnect the historic city with the sustainable urban development framework that was discussed in Section 2.2.1. For instance, in the case of Ballarat, introducing the HUL approach to the city created a kind of stimulating energy which induced more inclusive conservation processes for communities and allowed powerful coordination between academics research institutions, international organisations, and the local government. This first pilot project of HUL shows the benefits of the approach when it harmonises with already existing powerful regulatory and planning systems for urban conservation; leading the local municipality to interact eloquently with other actors in the process. This success has derived from the activation of new kinds of collaborative planning by utilising on-going technologies, thanks to the co-operation of research groups, academics, and local governments. However, it also proves that the HUL approach is essentially context dependent, and the expected outcomes mostly depend on the former experiences and capacities of the given locality.

While proposing benefits and inspirations for more inclusive and diverse approaches to heritage management, it is argued that HUL, with its proposed new urban governance modes, could bring some challenges to the conservation field. The entrepreneurial urban governance/city toolkits and discussions of the overwhelming rhetoric of the community dimension constituted useful lenses to frame the respective challenges in Section 2.2.2. They have aided a deeper exploration of the shortcomings of government-to-governance transitions and a fuller understanding of the current role of conservation planning in governance processes. The entrepreneurial city label was consciously preferred for discussing the processes, rather than using a critical neoliberal governance perspective, since 'the entrepreneurial' provides a more diverse description of what may have been experienced within the 'local governments'. Basically, the concept allows us to dismantle the particularities and experiences of local practice in their historical and political context, rather than interpreting the processes only through the role of local governments in adapting to external economic changes. To do so, as underlined in Section 2.2.2, it is essential to grapple with scrutinising the 'municipal statecraft' of the particular contexts.

From the 1970s onwards, the entrepreneurial city has been discovered and reflected on in the literature through its aspects of growth coalitions and urban regimes, and its outcomes such as place branding, urban competitiveness, and public-private partnerships. These are still valid for examining the recent and historical urban conservation experiences of case studies. In addition to this framework, the recent faces of entrepreneurial urban governance, evolving with current more 'diversified' and 'experimental' concepts such as creative cities, smart cities, resilient cities, or climate-friendly cities, provide another group of perspectives to interpret the current phases of entrepreneurial cities. Together with the still-relevant conventional features of the entrepreneurial city, the current patterns of entrepreneurial governance cultivate the comparison of historical experiences in the case studies.

What has been experienced in Izmir Historic City with respect to urban conservation, thus far, matches perfectly with the outlined theoretical framework. The city started its conservation planning period in 1984; nevertheless, solid conservation planning practice dates back to the late 1990s. The research aims to dissect this planning period in order to understand how it has been practised by comparing it with the developed concepts within the international development of urban conservation. The first solid conservation plans have been practised as comprehensive master plans with some efforts at participation. These will be examined through survey, policy, and management processes as they are in the basic checklist of the international doctrine of urban conservation developed since the 1970s. The Palermo case will be a detailed example of a specific type of survey for a conservation plan. The analysis and survey of Palermo Historic City were undertaken by well-known experts on Italian urban conservation; these could exemplify a more detailed framework for the usage of mixed morphological methods for historic cities, and accordingly for the policies and decisions on levels

of intervention. The actions and management processes of the Palermo conservation planning period provide a fertile discussion ground regarding to what extent the implementation of the plan was accomplished or interrupted. Therefore, together with the example of Palermo, the theoretical discussions framed in Section 2.1 over the concepts, methods, contents, and processes of conservation planning will provide practical lenses to interpret the conservation planning period of the main case study: Izmir Historic City.

This thesis mainly compares and discusses the approaches used in the Izmir Conservation Plans and in the Izmir History Project, which have introduced new modes of urban governance into the historic city. The Izmir Metropolitan Municipality does not explicitly use the Historic Urban Landscape concept in the current Izmir History Processes; nor does it co-operate with the international organisations promoting the HUL approach. However, what has been offered by the introduction of this urban project since 2013 has largely shared the concepts familiarised by the HUL approach. Therefore, Section 2.2.1, which presented the HUL approach and its first successful pilot project, will shed light on the analysis of the current practices of the Izmir History Project, in respect to what could have been developed more to enhance the outcomes of the new approach.

The local government has the leading role in both the conservation planning and the Izmir History Project phases. Besides the process from the beginning, when the conservation plan had partly entrepreneurial features, the new Izmir History Project has also had discursive shifts within the changing structural and functional governance systems through the familiar concepts of entrepreneurial urban governance such as place branding, competitiveness, and partnerships. The second possible challenge, which was discussed in Part 2.2.2.2, is also associated with the overall entrepreneurial urban governance debates; however, it focuses more on the civil society/community dimension. It is argued that overwhelming suggestions over community participation could obscure the boundaries of the civil society and economic sectors when engaging with the public sector. This argument also has great relevance to Izmir, where new participatory planning process has been experiencing these blurry boundaries of actors. Within this context, the Palermo case presents another mode of governance, in which community groups have not been stimulated by the local government, but by themselves. This offers different patterns of bottom-up approaches, long after Palermo's influential and strong conservation plan, which has been practised as a comprehensive plan by the municipality.

# Chapter 3

### **3. A Basic Methodological Reference: Palermo Historic Centre Urban Conservation Experience**

This chapter aims to expose the urban conservation history of Palermo Historic Centre to provide supplementary insights linking the literature framing to the main case study area: Izmir Historic City. It approaches the case study to draw lessons from the experiences of Palermo in respect to the preservation of Italian Historic Centres. Firstly, the rationale behind selecting this case study as an example and the methodology applied will be briefly explained in Section 3.1. Since the Italian approach to urban conservation plays a significant role in this case study, Section 3.2 will outline the particularities of the national context. Section 3.3 will focus on the conservation planning history of Palermo, which begins with a series of studies including urban surveys and projects, and a journal called ‘Progettare’ and continues with the events around a conservation plan authored by Luigi Cervellati. After giving details of the particularities of this plan which is still valid as a regulatory tool today, Section 3.4 will explore Palermo’s bottom-up initiatives related to urban conservation and their recent activities in the historic centre. This narration will roughly chart to what extent a traditional conservation plan has been successful on the ground and how bottom-up community organisations have presented new ways to engage with urban conservation processes. Finally, Section 3.5 summarises the overall processes and discusses the possible lessons which could be derived from the Palermo case in order to establish links between the literature framing and the main case study area.

#### **3.1 The Choice of Palermo as a Case Study and Methodology**

The identification of Palermo as a supplementary example for this study is built upon three criteria. Firstly, the city of Palermo has a diverse urban history, and this has created a multi-cultural historic centre in which the population and users are in constant change and influence the urban space in diverse ways. This is also relevant to the main case study, Izmir, which is a multi-cultural city with diverse urban characteristics belonging to very distinctive civilisations and cultures. Prior to the first urban conservation activities, the diverse historic centre of Palermo was also



devastated for multiple reasons and neglected under the regulation of generic urban plans which mostly dealt with the construction of new urban settlements. Therefore, the first criteria will show an example of a very rich and diverse historic town degraded by a lack of effective urban planning. In the literature framing, this period would coincide with the period in which conservation of monuments, rather than area-based conservation, was the dominant focus.

While the purpose of this research is investigation of the shift from traditional conservation planning to recent modes of urban governance in conservation, it is crucial to show a notable example of a traditional 'conservation plan'. The conservation plan of Palermo presents an indicative example of the Italian approach to the preservation of historic centres in a different context than the cases in the regions of the north. Planners mainly used the characteristic methods of typomorphological analysis from the Italian school of urban morphology, as explained in Section 2.1.2. Therefore, the analyses, survey, and accordingly zonings revealed the characters of each sub-region in the historic city and categorised every single building and open space in ways that would guide the levels of interventions necessary for their conservation and regeneration. Besides the methodology used for the plan, the mayor as a political leader and special funding activated for the implementations of planning proposals and urban projects allowed successful interventions to some extent. Hence, the political, economic, and cultural contexts and their influences on the implementation of the conservation plan allow exploration of the Palermo case from various perspectives.

Accordingly, the third criterion is associated with what happened after the active conservation planning period was interrupted for various reasons in terms of conservation activities. Even though it has not been approved legally, the change in mayor led to production of a type of strategic framework for the historic city relying on a more project-based approach. The changing political figures and priorities also led to gentrification of certain regions in the historic city. It could be asserted that after the enthusiasm around the former conservation plan, the later processes led by changing local actors led to an increase in entrepreneurial city management as discussed in Section 2.2.2. So far, there has been no effort within Palermo to collaborate with the promotion of the HUL approach in the historic city and the municipality has not formally attempted to introduce any new planning or governance modes. However, the ways in which new community organizations in the different districts of the historic city have emerged, increased in number and influenced each other's work provides a very relevant example of what is delineated as a part of the Historic Urban Landscape approach. It is associated with promoting urban heritage with bottom-up and people-centred approaches. Furthermore, Palermo illustrates a case in which these initiatives have not been stimulated by local governments but emerged as grassroots initiatives. Therefore, the third criteria links to the literature frame from two directions: Palermo as an example of entrepreneurial modes of city governance, and bottom-up approaches to urban conservation as outlined in some dimensions of the HUL approach.

The methodology used to approach the Palermo case is built upon a literature review, planning documents, site observations, guided tours as part of two workshops<sup>22</sup> on Palermo Historic Centre and set-of in-depth interviews. The interviewees (n: 5) were selected in respect to their representative capacity to shed light on the above-mentioned urban conservation processes. Table 2 lists the interviewees in terms of their profiles and the roles in the conservation of Palermo Historic Centre.

**Table 2: Profile and Roles of the Interviewees for Palermo Case Study**

	Profile and Role of the interviewees
1	An academic in University of Palermo and experts worked for the Program Plan and Regulatory Conservation Plan (PPE)
2	A conservation officer/architect working for PPE in the Palermo Municipality from the beginning of the plan
3	Professor of Urban Planning and Architecture, worked as a consulter of the Palermo Atlas
4	One of the Founders of a community organization, <i>SOS Ballarò</i> and <i>Molti Volti</i>
5	One of the Founders of a community organization, <i>Comitato Vucciria</i>

### 3.2 Country Context: Italian Experience of Urban Conservation

Scattoni and Falco (2011) claim that Italian Urban Planning is worth studying in terms of its place in the international context and they state that the most significant aspect is how it has coped with the issue of ‘‘conservation of historic cities’’. Key conservation professionals such as Giancarlo de Carlo, Giovanni Astengo, Leonardo Benevolo, Bernardo Secchi; legislative advancement and public support gave birth to the distinguished Italian Historic Centre, namely, *Centro Storico*. Even if it has developed as a technical profession, as Olivetti<sup>23</sup> (1957) mentioned at a conference of the Italian Institute of Urban Planning (INU), ‘conservation is a moral and political problem as much as it is a technical one’

<sup>22</sup> The first one was the workshop of a studio course ‘Planning for Heritage in Pianificazione Territoriale, Urbanistica E Paesaggistico-Ambientale (ICAR/21), directed by Prof. Giuseppe Cinà, Politecnico di Torino on May 2018. The second one was the international workshop Palermo: Cultural Heritage, Migration and Sustainable Development by AUGÉ cultural organization on June 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Adriano Olivetti (1901-1960) was an industrialist, educated in the United States and president of a factory. He eventually became an influential figure for urban planning and architecture. He was known for his work for Ivrea (Piedmont) where he designed housing district for the workers and organized workshops for planning and architectures to implement pilot projects. He created ‘Comunità’ publishing for cultural and sociological studies. He was also president at INU, and worked in many planning activities in the southern ideas to test his ideals on ‘democratic and technologically advanced planning’ (Piccinato, 2010).

(Farinella, 2010). Considering also initial planning examples of Siena, Assisi, Urbino, Gubbio, Erice, San Gimignano and Perugia and its spread to Bologna, Florence, Pavia, it could be claimed that the conservation of historic cities has maintained a profound influence on the general Italian urban planning along its development (Magrin, 2015).

Although previous legislation existed on the planning issue, the first noteworthy legislation on planning emerged with the 1942 Town Planning Act and its later modifications. Thanks to the supporting efforts of the INU and subsequent enhancements of the former act, the urban planning discipline was developed and spread through regional and municipal plans<sup>24</sup> (Colavitti, Usai, & Bonfiglioli, 2013). One of the most significant improvements in terms of urban conservation was the introduction of the Rehabilitation Plans, *Piani Recupero*, in 1978 (Law No. 457). On the planning side, the Complex Programs, *Programmi Complessi*, introduced in 1992, enlarged the vision of planning activities from public housing supply to the more complex issues. Under these programs, the coordination of public and private activities developed in detailed ways which influenced the management of heritage (Colavitti, 2018).

While examining the governance system and urban planning in Italy, it is crucial to mention the role of regions. The regions, which were decentralized in 1970, have had responsibility of urban planning at various scales for urban planning that was formerly affiliated more to central government (Piccinato, 2010). Furthermore, the direct election of mayors put the urban planning field in a more political context from 1993 onwards. In this context, the mayor could play a key role and become responsible for the decline or growth of cities. From this point on, the state was in charge of the general planning framework and regions could adopt their own policies (Piccinato, 2010). In this way, along with the European Structural Funds which provided incentives, regions became more powerful and somewhat autonomous in urban planning. Furthermore, the introduction of territorial governance in 2001 brought forth another regulatory change in urban planning which gave a major role to local levels in compliance with general European Policies (Piccinato, 2010). In terms of territorial governance, states and regions have ‘the full power to issue the related laws’ (Colavitti et al., 2013).

Recent regional legislation, the Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code, *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio*, (D. Leg. No: 42/2004), covered conservation objectives. The dominant aspects of this regulation were to promote a ‘landscape’ concept with new functions. Hence, landscape plans, *Piano Paesaggistico*, became significant instruments in maintaining territorial transformation and coordinating other plans in the regions. It also gave importance to environmental sustainability and cultural heritage. Moreover, the regulation led to brought together formerly separate regulations about cultural heritage and landscape after the first attempted consolidating statute, *Testo Unico*, in 1999 (Colavitti, 2018).

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<sup>24</sup> In order to get insights for the roots and developments of Italian Town Planning see: Astengo, G. (1952) Town and Regional Planning in Italy. *Town Planning Review*, 23 (2), pp. 166-181.

The current debate in the Italian urban planning has covered the issues of combining spatial planning and economic development. For this reason, new administrative levels were introduced such as the metropolitan municipalities, *citta metropolitane*. Furthermore, recent improvements in the field have been mostly focused on environmental sustainability, smart cities and peripheral areas. In this frame, conservation of historic cities has been side-lined by the main planning goals. This new period has also witnessed the increasing public-private partnerships. However, the European economic crisis has affected the financial condition of the private sector.

### 3.3 Brief Introduction to Palermo through the History

Historically, Palermo was a port city which was famous for international trade and ruled by many different civilisations. A small settlement of Phoenicians grew alongside the main port, *La Cala*, with its fortifications, in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The fortification divided the city into two parts, the old town, *paleapoli*, and the new town, *Neapoli*. In the Arabic Period, between 827 and 1091, the city developed and became wealthy as a central town in the region. Furthermore, a castle and city walls were built in order to protect the city in this period (Giordano, 2010). The Normans invaded Sicily in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and wrested control from its Arab rulers. A Norman Kingdom was established on the island, and Sicily became once again the centre of the Norman Power in this region. The Normans made Palermo an important trade centre in the Mediterranean opening towards Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. Then, under the rule of the Spanish Kingdom, several interventions were made in the urban fabric, such as enlargement of the city walls and changes in the coastline. In 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the city of Palermo spread out of the city walls and this period is referred to as the Belle Époque of the city (Giordano, 2010).

In today's urban structure, the old city of Palermo simply shows the medieval urban plan characteristics framed by the city walls. The inner road continues on the route of the former city walls. This medieval sector has two main axes perpendicular to each other, which divide the old town into four neighbourhoods: *Albergheria*, *Capo*, *Vucciria* and *La Kalsa* (Figure 6). These two clear axes became perceivable reference points for orientation inside the organic morphology of the neighbourhoods with their narrow streets and irregular squares. The two axes intersect where the *Quattro Canti* is located as a symbolic heart of the old city of Palermo (Figure 5). These narrow streets are mostly composed of four or five storey buildings.



Figure 5: View to the junction of *Quattro Canti* (Source: Author, 2018).

The historical city of Palermo is an emblematic symbol of multiculturalism with Norman, Moorish, Baroque, Renaissance, and Neo-classical buildings laid out in the labyrinthine plan of the old town. Palermo's cultural density draws not only from the unity of the physical and historical layers but also from its social complexity. It was the city of elites, artists, artisans and royal families springing from the many different invaders and rulers of Palermo. At the end of 19th century, when tourism began to emerge, Palermo was recognised as a tourist destination by North-European aristocrats. As also reported by Goethe, Palermo was a crucial stop on the Grand Tour. It was also the time in which Palermo began to benefit from the agricultural products of large lemon and orange plantations outside of the city in the *Conca d'Oro* (Cannarozzo, 1996).



Figure 6: Palermo Cadastral Map in 1877 (Source: Comune di Palermo Archive, 2018)

The birth of the criminal organisations, the Mafia, as a mode of self-governance occurred synchronously with the decrease in the artistic and economic power of Palermo. At the beginning of 20th century, the Mafia enlarged its scope from the rural agricultural land to the construction sector in parallel with the expansion of the city. This had significant impact of the management of the city due to the influence of the Mafia on political figures. The construction-oriented policies of the Mafia led to the city's expansion into the surrounding countryside and a plan proposal. This 1968 plan also included the old town, with destructive proposals for the historic city. However, these proposals could not be implemented because of other priorities and the changing political structure of the time (Söderström, 2010).

In today's old town, the primary cause for a significant number of decaying buildings is the impact of bombings during the Second World War. Due to its location, and as an important naval port, Palermo suffered devastating attacks during the Second World War. Following the war, the city was identified by two specific characteristics: as the capital of an autonomous Italian Region, Sicily, and as the international capital of the mafia (Cannarozzo, 1996). Palermo became the regional capital in 1947 and began to attract flows of migration from other parts of the region. In the same years, the mafia expanded their influence on the political regime, holding the two places in the city council and mostly taking control of the public works undertaken by the administration. In this way, the urban space in the city experienced a transition from use value to exchange value thanks to the mafia driven city building regime. Due to the effects of the war and neglect in some parts due to prioritisation of the new development areas, today only a small local population lives in Palermo old town. Most of the inhabitants suffer from the

unemployment and the city is infamous for its underground economy and black market (Söderström, 2010).

### **3.4 Urban Conservation Experience in Palermo: Notable Traditional Planning Approaches**

For the multi-cultural, multi-layered Palermo historic centre, the Second World War also wrought huge changes to the physical fabric of the city. After the Second World War, a new Regulatory Plan was approved for the new development areas and the historic centre in the 1960s. However, the plan did not include conservation policies and did not take into consideration the rich historical fabric of Palermo. In respect to the existing fabric, the plan proposed demolitions of the historical buildings and reconstructions. Criticism of events in the Palermo historic centre emerged from the other parts of Italy. Thanks to the new development areas with which the plan's proposals were mostly concerned and the conjuncture necessary to tackle with the new construction areas in the northern part of the city, the historic centre continued without many interventions (Interview with an Academic in Palermo, 2018).

Following this, due to the change in mayor and dominant political party, the conservation of the historic centre became a significant issue for the city in the 1980s. The first activities covered some parts of the historic city with the project proposals of Giancarlo de Carlo and his team. In turn, these endeavours created another era of conservation in Palermo which started with preparation of a conservation plan, the *Piano Particolareggiato Esecutivo* (PPE) by Cervellati, Benevolo and Insolera from the 1990s. This plan is still valid today; however, activities within the historic centre have varied and extended the scope of this plan.

#### **3.4.1 Urban Conservation Founding Ground: The Program Plan of Historic Centre**

Giuseppe Samonà, Giancarlo De Carlo, Umberto Di Cristina and Anna Maria Sciarra Borzi were commissioned by the Palermo Municipality to develop an overall proposal for the recovery of the historic centre in 1979 (Progettare, 1984). The study started as '*Piano Programma*', the Program Plan, in which the central research revolved around city reading and portrayal, and developing interventions based on the systematic methodology of morphological analysis in the historic city (Figure 7). According to the authors of the plan, the morphological analyses would have provided a guide for intervention strategies and implementation methods (Abbate, 2002). This study was accepted as an innovative approach to conservation of historic cities within the Italian context.

The overall aim became to transform the historic city into a 'contemporary space' in respect to meeting real needs with proper adjustments. Whilst Samonà tended to work on the whole historic city, De Carlo took the approach of dividing the area into parts in order to be able to work on both urban and architectural scales.

Samonà's approach included contexts and morphological systems, iconology and comic-strip design, while De Carlo was concerned with the common definitions of the context and roles. 'Contexts' here implies characteristic divisions in the historic city and 'roles' refers to new functions.

The morphological description is based both on the classification of streets and the location of cultural assets with particular architectural and historical value. This two-dimensional morphological study was completed in the third dimension by the analysis of the building volumes. The streets constituted the spine of the contexts and allowed identification of the main characteristics of the relations between the parts. Cultural values were classified in closed and open architectural spatial systems such as palaces, churches, convent complexes and listed buildings.

In addition to this, the keywords of the work were 'wide-spread centrality, solidarity between buildings and streets and the porosity of the urban fabric' (Progettare, 1984). In these terms, 'routes' had a vital potential impact by allowing the transition between public and private spaces. These pedestrian routes were shown in the plan along streets, across squares, *piazze*, courtyards and even in private buildings by linking them with public spaces (Daidone, 2017).

Following this, the morphological analyses tried to enrich the traditional subdivision of the historic centre into four districts, *Mandamenti*, divided by the cross of *Cassaro-Maquedde* streets. Hence, the proposal was to subdivide the whole historic centre into eleven character areas, corresponding to the interpretation of some spatial configurations by the authors (Abbate, 2002).

As a whole, indications of intervention, norms and methods of implementation for each character area were analytically specified as design briefs in the operational document of the Program Plan, published in *Progettare* (special issue n.1, 1984). The briefs were composed of two parts: i. written illustration of the criteria for redevelopment of the closed and open spatial systems for each character area, ii. graphic translation of all the critical observations, judgments and choices expressed in the written part. This graphic part should accompany the written one to make the analytical conceptual criteria clearer (Abbate, 2002).

The set of proposed implementations of the Program Plan entailed the formulation of its fundamental methodological principles. In general, the Program Plan took the approach that, besides the renovation of the historical structure, new constructions with re-uses according to the methodological principles should be developed for the regeneration of the historic city. This is evident in the pilot project of Piano Programme in the Albergheria-Ballarò area, designed by a team directed by De Carlo between 1979-1982. The project proposed predominantly residential uses on the upper floors and re-uses as axillary services on the ground floors through links to market features (Daidone, 2017).



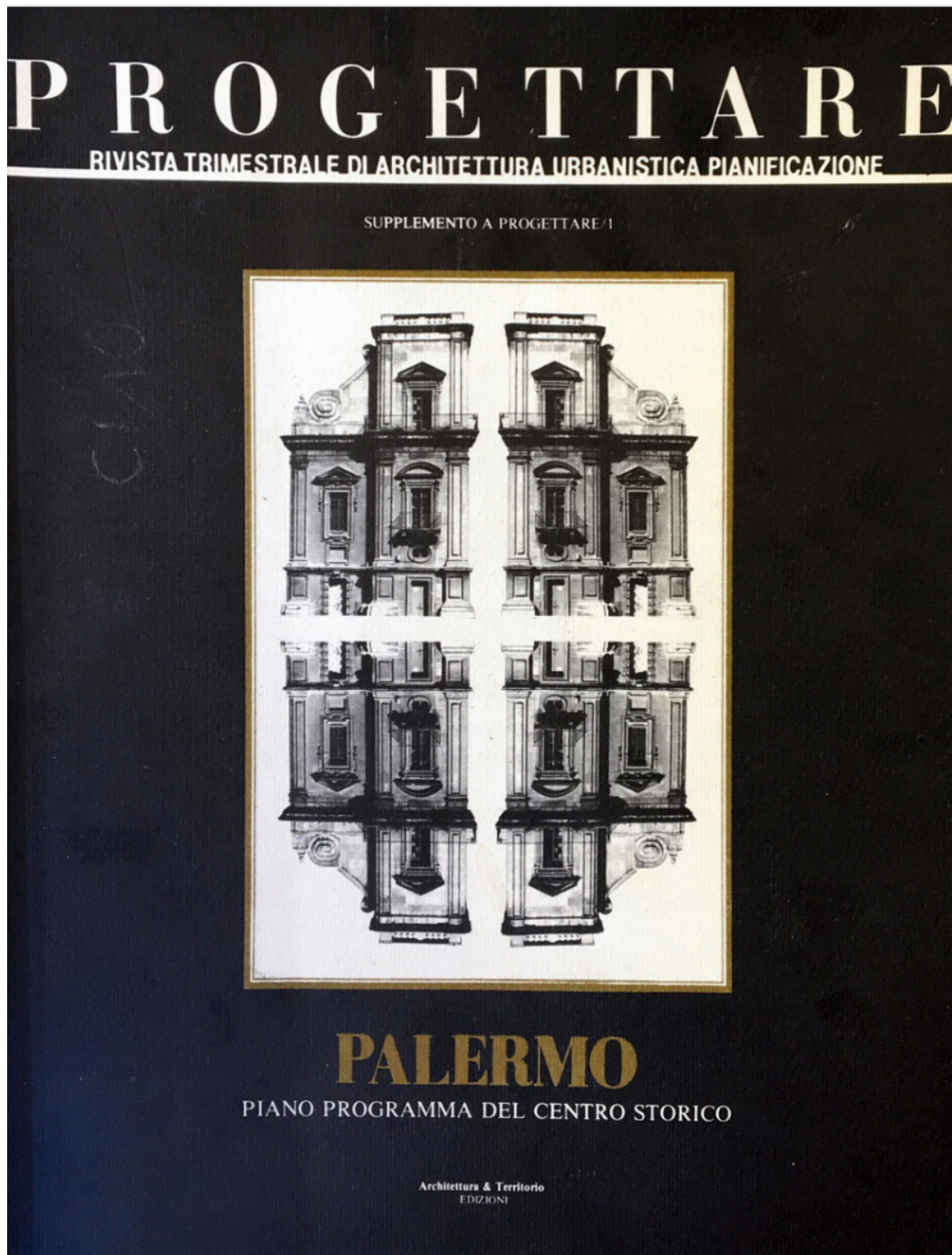


Figure 7: Report from the Program Plan of Palermo Historic Centre (Source: Progettare, 1984).

### 3.4.2 A Notable Example of a Holistic Conservation Plan: *Piano Particolareggiato Esecutivo* (PPE)

The new political regime in Palermo led to another wave of conservation activities in the historic centre after 1985. Leoluca Orlando, as the new mayor, showed a will to demonstrate to the public how new approaches could have positive impacts on the historic centre. This was also in part a political gesture to demonstrate innovative strategies in urban management. Therefore, by following *il Piano Programme* by Giancarlo de Carlo and his project team, implemented only in a few

areas, the Executive Detailed Conservation Plan, il *Piano Particolareggiato Esecutivo* (PPE) commissioned the well-known Italian conservation experts: Pierluigi Cervellati, who was the preservationist associated with the Bologna Conservation Plan, the architectural historian Leonardo Benevolo who used morphological analyses for Bologna Historic Centre, and architect Italo Insolera by the municipality (Parametro, 1990). However, the Palermo context had very different aspects to those encountered in the Bologna experience. Bologna has a curvilinear, organic urban structure whereas Palermo has a medieval urban fabric with long cardo and decumanus streets. Furthermore, the city has a very different political, cultural and economic atmosphere, along with a diverse cultural history with Arabic, Norman and Spanish influences.

The new local government also viewed the historic centre as a new area for expansion, promoting tourism as a driver of economic development and putting the architecturally rich historic urban core at the centre of attention. The planning team submitted the plan, the *Piano Particolareggiato Esecutivo* (PPE), in 1988, and it was approved in 1993.

The PPE targeted a 240-ha area of Palermo Historic Centre with strategies and specific actions for the entire planning area. However, the six areas already planned by the team of Giancarlo de Carlo in the Program Plan, such as *Albergheria* district, were outside of its scope. Without these parts, like stamps within the overall planning area, the PPE was divided into 16 zones. The PPE is composed of written documents such as the planning report, the codes of implementations and annexes such as maps with fourteen categories from the 1/25000 to 1/500 scale.

It is based on morphological analyses of the formation and transformation of the historical centre. The approach to the existing city emerged from a reading of existing layers. It had two principal objectives: giving specific indications on the modes of interventions that could be implemented on buildings belonging to both public and private owners and describing tasks for the municipality in the regeneration of the most degraded areas, in order to improve the overall physical and social conditions, with particular attention to its history and its original formation.

The design guidelines of the plan are mainly based on the study and identification of 'typological categories' based on particular functions, construction techniques and architectural characteristics (Figure 8). Any building within the plan has a typological character. According to the typologies such as palaces, religious buildings, fortifications etc. and existing situation of the buildings, the PPE provides guidelines for the levels of interventions such as restoration, renovation, philological restoration, typological restoration, and maintenance (Figure 9). Furthermore, the new uses have to respect the typological category of the buildings.

In terms of construction techniques, the buildings demonstrated a diverse variety including those constructed after the Giarrusso Plan in 1896, and those built with modern techniques, besides the traditional buildings. Several studies were published to guide the conservation works in the Palermo Historic Centre. Amongst others, The Guide to the Regeneration of the Historic Center of Palermo, *Manuale*

*del recupero del centro storico di Palermo*, by Paolo Marconi and the Handbook of the practices for the safeguarding and conservation of the historic centre of Palermo, *Codice di pratica per la sicurezza e la conservazione del centro storico di Palermo*, by Antonino Giuffrè and Caterina Carocci, were the most critical (Faraci, 2018). These guides aimed to enhance the conservation techniques and methodologies of the historic centre of Palermo in terms of the traditional construction techniques, systems, materials and components of the historic structure and to provide suggestions for the improvement of the physical structure to protect against natural disasters. In addition to the importance of the physical actions, the policies of the PPE included integration of today's communities with the historic centre through respect for all the ancient layers and the additions of today (Faraci, 2018)

To produce, approve and implement the plans, there are three levels of public administration; the Municipality (*Comune di Palermo*), the Sicily Region<sup>25</sup>, and the Province. The municipality produces plans and implements the planning decisions. The region is entitled to approve the plans. If there is a project or intervention to any listed property, it should be approved by *Soprintendenze*, a conservation technical unit at the regional administrative level. So as to accomplish the actions of the plan and manage the conservation works, a specific conservation technical unit was established in the municipality, the Office for the Historic Centre, *Ufficio per il Centro Storico* (Cannarozzo, 1996). This technical office has focused on the management of the historic centre and implementation of the PPE, the effective management of municipal public works and the maintenance of public properties. It has been in charge of monitoring the conservation of listed buildings, infrastructural and artistic resources, support for residential uses and traditional production and commerce activities, mobility, social events and cultural activities in the historic centre.

It is noteworthy that the municipality were able to make most of the implementations thanks to the regional funds allocated through the region<sup>26</sup>. In 1993, the commune had a budget of 170 milliard Italian lira, and it was decided to dedicate 80 milliards to public buildings and 90 milliards to private buildings. The public funds were utilized to execute projects for restoration of monumental buildings for public uses and to upgrade the infrastructure and public spaces such as pedestrian streets and squares. The private owners of the listed buildings were able to take advantage of project grants for rehabilitations. Ultimately, along with its systematic methodology for urban analysis and intervention, one of the most significant successes of this plan became its implementations targeting public space and financial resources allowing to private owners to undertake conservation works. This system, drawn up by the conservation office, primarily aimed to protect the

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<sup>25</sup> The region of Palermo, Sicily, is an autonomous region in Italy.

<sup>26</sup> At this period, the Sicily Region introduced the new acts, L.R.15/93 and L.R.25/93, in turn, relevant funds were allocated for the conservation of historic centre and the implementations could have been commenced.

inhabitants and the traditional activities of the historic centre. The objective was to ensure a continuous process of conservation and maintenance interventions (Cosentino, 2017).

Since the PPE became valid, planning decisions have been partly completed through the restoration of monuments, palaces, partly renovated residential fabric, new spaces for tourism and provision of new public spaces. Furthermore, the improvement of the pedestrian areas amongst rehabilitated heritage buildings, commercial streets, gardens, courtyards, and alleys (Figure 10) have noticeably enhanced quality of life in some parts of the historic centre (Cosentino, 2017).

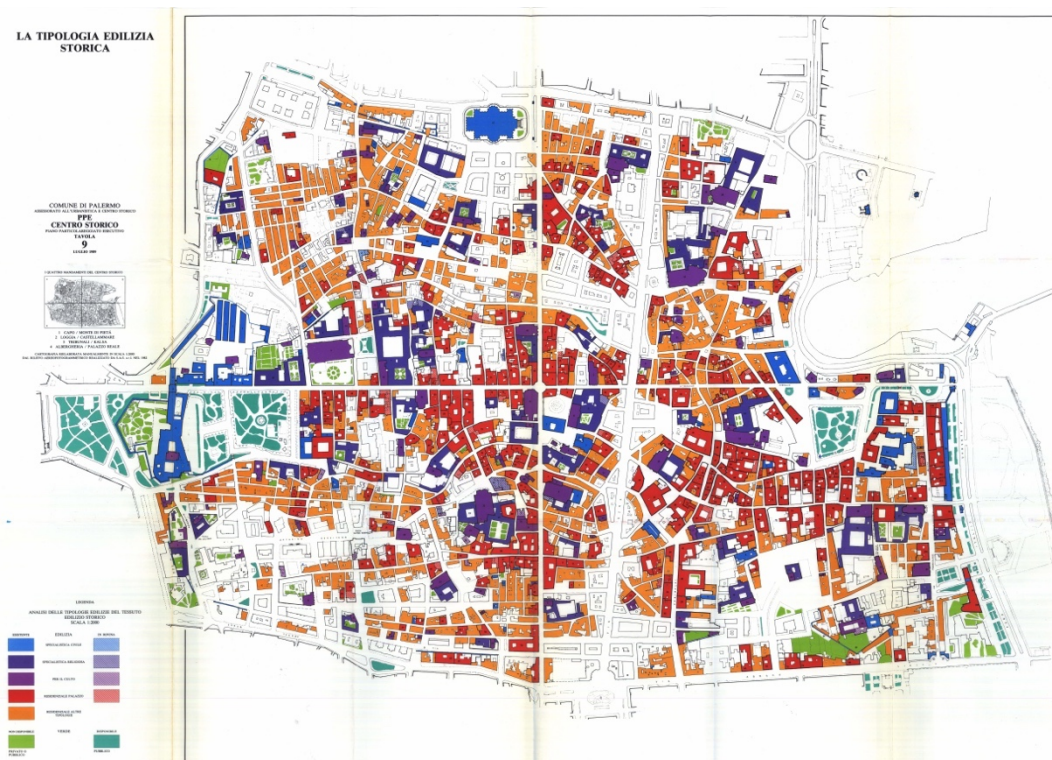


Figure 8: Typological Analyses of Palermo Historic Centre for PPE (Source: Comune di Palermo Archive, 2018).



Figure 9: An example for PPE including the typology of buildings and modes of interventions (Source: Comune di Palermo Archive, 2018).



Figure 10: An example from pedestrian streets (Source: Author, 2018).

The actions of this plan in respect to historical buildings can be generally categorized into three groups. The first type of actions has focused on reconstructions such as the Church of San Giovanni Decollato. In these types of interventions, restoration works aim to reconstruct the original structure of buildings depending on the building typology by erasing additions from the subsequent periods. The second type included infills of new constructed buildings in the historical fabric (Figure 11). The new designed buildings inserted into the historical texture have followed the original urban morphology and shown respect to plot sizes, proportions and the height of buildings. The project for the new court of justice has become emblematic for this type of intervention. The third group consisted of the re-use of historical places which could have been ruins or monuments. The symbolic example of this type was the re-use of the church of Santa Maria allo Spasimo (Cangelosi & Barone, 2009).



Figure 11: An example of Infill in the historical fabric (Source: Author, 2018).

After the two decades of the PPE, a significant portion of the historic centre is still untouched, and the buildings suffer from a lack of maintenance. There are a lot of projects such as car-parking areas and transportation solutions for the historic city which could not yet be implemented. 40 % of the historic centre has been subject to intervention thanks to the regional funds following the planning proposals. In addition, several projects have been developed after the political change in the local government, such as the new traffic scheme by French architect Dominique Perrault and the waterfront projects. The local government of the 2000s has mostly conducted the implementations with a focus on the economic side of the

projects which could not prevent gentrification. For this reason, most of the interventions have been concentrated in the Kalsa Neighbourhood in which gentrification has already taken root (Interviewee, an academic from University of Palermo, 2018).

According to an interviewee from the Office of Historic Centre in the municipality, after the regional funds were interrupted, the actions within the historic centre took another direction. Some actions for conservation and regeneration are taking place with the support of the private sector, however it is not 'social planning' like before. There are still a lot of places which require regeneration. However, there has not been sufficient funding, new holistic planning and project schemes or implementation powers from the municipality side.

### **3.5 Current Activities in Conservation Process: Creativity Concepts and Community Organizations**

After the momentum of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s in conservation and regeneration works in Palermo, it could be claimed that the recent period has seen a slackening of progress. All interviewees agreed that the deadlock in conservation could be linked to the financial limitations of regional funds regarding heritage preservation. Although the PPE was approved in 1993, it is still valid for the regulation of cultural heritage assets and the conservation of the historic centre. However, current practices in conservation and regeneration have tended to be conducted in more disorganised ways.

Based on the Palermo Atlas<sup>27</sup>, Prof. Maurizio Carta, a former consular of the municipality (2009-2011), developed a proposal for a strategic plan for the historic city. The proposal provided a general framework and introduced several specific projects in the pilot part of the historic city. Being involved also in the implementations of the urban projects for the historic centre, Carta proposed a more 'flexible and strategic' approach to the conservation issue. Carta stated his vision for the historic centre in the interview (2018);

*'The PPE is too conservative a plan. In the period in which it was approved, it was important to preserve our historical centre from deep decay and demolitions. However, today, the plan is not sufficient to lead more complex processes of development and urban transformation. So, we are going to imagine new paths by combining the needs of a new regulatory plan with 'city-forming/incremental approach' by taking into account of historic centre as a complex process.'*

Apparently, the former consular Carta has been asking for partnerships for the management of the historic centre, rather than traditional master plans which in his point of view demand too many financial resources to implement. However, today

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<sup>27</sup>[https://issuu.com/mcarta/docs/atlante\\_del\\_centro\\_storico\\_book\\_lt](https://issuu.com/mcarta/docs/atlante_del_centro_storico_book_lt) retrieved on 18/07/2018.

new partnerships could produce economic value and profit by stimulating private interests to become or provide the sources. The actors could be community or private actors such as developers and entrepreneurs (Personal Interview with Prof. Carta, 2018).

Prof. Carta also sparked a vision for Palermo as ‘a creative port city’ by developing new concepts such as the liquid port, permeable port and stiff port. The term ‘creativity’ has been excessively used to describe the strategies and actions for the historic centre in the works of Carta and his team, who have been very active in designing projects and developing conceptual schemes for the historic city. Recently, Carta et al. wrote a manifesto titled ‘Creative Heritage’ during the European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018 ‘in order to collect the ideas on the potentialities that brings together cultural heritage, urbanism and creativity’(Carta, Schröder, Lino, & Hartmann, 2017). The team also engaged with the ‘The Hannover Creative Heritage Agenda’, in which it is declared that ‘heritage and creativity’ is ‘active tool for sustainable development’. To achieve this engagement four operative tools were suggested as ‘creative heritage labs, covenant for creative heritage, creative heritage agencies, creative heritage economy. Basically, the main aim is to establish ‘project-oriented, economic-driven and management-based’ local agencies that propose opportunities for partnerships<sup>28</sup>. This also compatible with the general approach of the team by rejecting the ‘master plans’ and embracing ‘city-forming’ paradigm as developed in many books written by Carta<sup>29</sup>.

As is discussed in the previous part, the creativity discourse could be one of the current strategies of entrepreneurial urbanism as a means of place-marketing and heritage-making for certain social groups. M. Scott et al. (2018) noticed the increasing use of flexible rather than traditional urban planning approaches, the significance of flagship projects and place branding, and different governance modes presented as more dynamic and ‘agile’ than previous local government arrangements.

As also discussed by the interviewees, changing political figures, as well as economic and political transitions, have undermined the public administration’s power to undertake implementations. There are an increasing number of public-private partnerships in the historic centre, largely for the re-uses of historical buildings.

Besides the dominance of flexibility and creativity discourse, the number of cultural associations concerning heritage are currently rising and becoming active in the re-use of cultural heritage in urban life of Palermo Historic Centre (Figure 12). Universities, cultural associations and professionals can also be considered

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<sup>28</sup>[https://www.schroeder.staedtebau.uni-hannover.de/fileadmin/staedtebau/Aktuell/PDF/Hannover\\_Creative\\_Heritage\\_Agenda\\_6.pdf](https://www.schroeder.staedtebau.uni-hannover.de/fileadmin/staedtebau/Aktuell/PDF/Hannover_Creative_Heritage_Agenda_6.pdf) retrieved on 23/12/2018.

<sup>29</sup> For some example of the books: Reimagining Urbanism, 2015; The Augmented City, 2017; Recyclical Urbanism, 2017, and Creative city (2007).

[https://issuu.com/mcarta/docs/maurizio\\_carta\\_booklet\\_2018\\_light](https://issuu.com/mcarta/docs/maurizio_carta_booklet_2018_light)



components of the network. Overall, they aim to strengthen the lifestyle, links, craft, commerce and dynamism in the old town.



**Figure 12: An example from the current intervention to the historic city by community organizations (Source: Author, 2018).**

They point out the necessity of consideration of all inhabitants and users coming from the different communities and their active integration into the heritage making process of the city (Figure 13). The activities of these emergent local cultural organisations have focused on communication, increasing awareness of current problems, rehabilitation and design in the historic city.

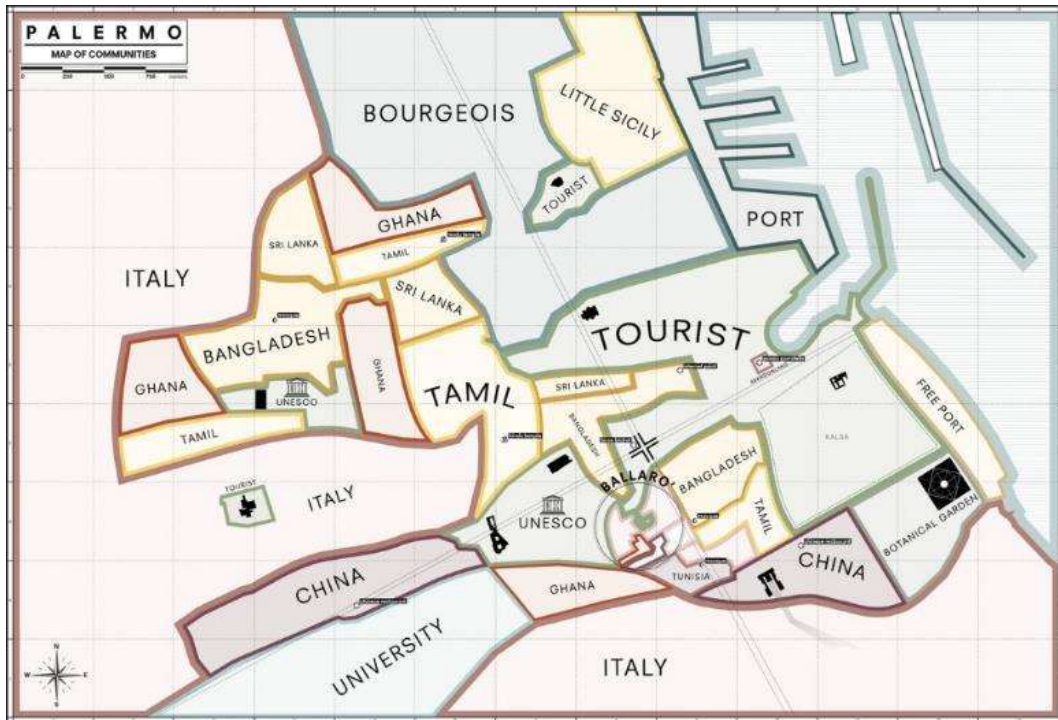


Figure 13: Thematic Map for Current Neighbourhoods in Palermo (Source: Palermo Atlas by OMA, 2018).

The types of groups active in urban regeneration and cultural heritage vary according to their aims and content. One includes the groups formed to increase attention to the beauty of Palermo's heritage or consciousness about degraded and hidden values, such as *Amo Palermo* and *Palermo Indignata*. They used social media to disseminate information on heritage. The other, potentially very interesting type of community group includes *SOS Ballarò*, *Comitato Vucciria* and community groups in Danisinni Neighbourhood.

*SOS Ballarò* was the first example of this type of group. According to the interviewee from *SOS Ballarò* community organisation, firstly a great collaboration of people related to the neighbourhoods created a synergy after they founded the *Multi-Volti* initiative that aimed to be a cultural gathering spot for the Ballarò. The *Multi-Volti* initiative runs according to a circular economy - profitable activities such as multi-cultural restaurants support the non-profit cultural activities in the neighbourhood. Inhabitants, associations, organisations, commercial actors, and others interested in the neighbourhood created an assembly called *SOS Ballarò*, with the idea of a permanent assembly in which they could hold weekly discussions about the problems of the neighbourhoods. At the same time, they could introduce their problems and proposals to the municipality by organising dialogue meetings. In this way, they could work in collaboration with the municipality. Nonetheless, the organisation has not always achieved their requests from the municipality due to budget limitations or the other urgent activities on the part of the municipality. Their significant innovations for the Ballarò District, which is one of the most degraded areas in the historic centre, have been mostly visible in the emancipation of public spaces with some artistic interventions with the help of the organisation's members, inhabitants and artists (Figure 14). The activities in Ballaró and the

increasing interest in the area also among the municipality has triggered establishment of other community groups in other neighbourhoods of the historic centre.



Figure 14: The intervention to a square by the SOS Ballarò, 2018 (Source: Author, 2018).

For instance, The Comitato Vucciria was founded in 2017 after SOS Ballarò in Vucciria District. The interviewee from this organisation, who was one of the founders and an architect working in Palermo Historic Centre, claimed that the stimulation to create an assembly stemmed from their awareness of disturbance of lifestyles and degraded areas in the neighbourhood. The assembly consists of about a hundred participants. They are organised into small thematic groups. There are for example groups which focus on mobility, architectural or social problems. Their target is to assess and discuss the problems in a public assembly to which they invite also the municipality. Their aim is not just to be critical about the physical and social problems of the neighbourhoods but also create solutions together with public bodies.

In 2015, Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Cefalù and Monreale were nominated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The nomination has also given momentum to Palermo as an attractive touristic and event city by drawing attention to its unique urban heritage. To promote tourism and UNESCO activities there are also groups invested in urban heritage such as the Sicily Team of UNESCO Youth Associations. The increasing numbers, variations and networks of these civil society groups are promising. Despite this, generally speaking, their contributions remain temporary solutions to the Palermo Historic Centre. Real problems are still significant. However, as an interviewee from the Comune di

Novara argued, these initiatives could stimulate more and more bottom-up conservation activities in the historic city.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

Until the first urban conservation practices were initiated in the 1980s, the historic centre of Palermo, which has been formed by different civilisations and cultures through its unique history, was neglected within the political and economic conjuncture of the city. As framed in Chapter 2, conservation planning is a specific type of sectoral plan which builds upon local and national planning and conservation cultures. Therefore, the progress of the preservation of historic cities with specific methodological instruments and practices in the Italian context and the recognition of the historic centre by the new mayor converged to inspire a notable conservation planning period in the city. Significant lessons can be derived from the critical role of documentation, analysis, survey and evaluation of the existing urban fabric which played a critical role in revealing the authenticity and integrity of the historic centre. Although it is intrinsically context-dependent, the planners used the Italian type of urban morphological analysis methods, which culminated in the illustration of character areas for each zone and finally proposed a hierarchical conservation plan encompassing 1/25000 to 1/500 scales and detailed guides for building renovations. Besides the political will and availability of conservation experts to initiate the planning phase, the allocation of regional funding became one of the most significant drivers for the implementation of conservation plans. One could criticise the urban conservation level of the Palermo Historic Centre by comparing it to other Italian Historic Centres; nonetheless, what has been achieved could be deemed progressive advancement in respect to its characteristics. The key to this success was allowing private owners to access rehabilitation grants and providing urban projects through the public sector to enhance public spaces for all. Therefore, Palermo presents an example of a conservation plan which, if supported by national legislation, political will and financial resources, could inspire public enthusiasm for long-term planning goals based on detailed analysis and surveys.

Although the conservation plan (PPE) still regulates the historic city, cuts in financial grants to the region and changing political leaders has undermined the initial enthusiasm for implementing the planning proposals. There are still multiple urban projects in the PPE which have not been implemented yet. The approaches which followed aimed to apply a more strategic method to urban conservation; while a strategic plan was prepared for the historic city, it has so far remained only a recommendation set. Furthermore, some urban projects which were completed after changes in political and planning leadership led to gentrification in some districts such as Kalsa Neighbourhood. According to all 5 interviewees, the municipality has not carried out appropriate actions for the rehabilitation of the historic city and instead has created gentrified and tourist-focused districts in some parts of the city, while in others obvious physical and economic degradation

occurred. While some interviewees also argued that punctual and small interventions without efficient planning action could not solve the holistic problems of the historic city, there have still been several noteworthy community organisations emerging in the historic centre to reclaim their urban spaces. They mostly aim to expose the existing problems of urban space and create bottom-up solutions to contribute to the regeneration of such space. Accordingly, they represent the ways in which the people-centred dimension of the HUL approach could be grounded in such a diverse historic environment. The general features of the initiatives, of various scales and number, have largely emerged from the problematic parts of the historic centre such as Ballaro and Vucciria Districts. In contrast to the entrepreneurial urban governance by the local government, involving partnerships with the private sector, making the city competitive by enhancing tourist spots and new phases of entrepreneurial features using current discursive trends like ‘creativity’ and ‘fluidity’ to promote new projects, the new community organisations are raising their ‘cries and demands’<sup>30</sup> from their districts to draw attention to recent problems and find diverse ways to use urban heritage.

The overall discussion and phases of Palermo Historic Centre raises some implications which contribute to a deeper understanding of Izmir Historic City. For instance, it is significant to see what circumstances led to the preparation of a successful conservation plan and what the significant points are for its accomplishment, such as allocation of grants through attention to public interest and stimulation of existing knowledge capacity with the municipality in a leading role. And, ultimately, the new community organisations have shown the possibilities of empowered communities with the impetus for enhancing their livelihoods by using the historic centre in alternative ways. These could stimulate public action and serve as a reminder of the ways in which community can reclaim their right to the city.

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<sup>30</sup> Lefebvrian concept developed in his study *‘Le droit à la ville’*, 1968 (Purcell, 2002).

# Chapter 4

## **4. Setting the Scene: Urban Conservation in Turkey and the Planning History of Izmir**

This chapter aims to outline the background of urban conservation in Turkey and a brief urban and planning history of the main case study areas. Before going into a detailed empirical analysis of Izmir's urban conservation governance in Chapters 5 and 6 it is necessary to set the scene to understand the context within which the cases of Izmir's conservation planning and Izmir History Project have emerged. Therefore, firstly, Section 3.1 will investigate the development of urban conservation through its legislative and institutional framework. In parallel to the narration of the development of urban conservation in the international literature in Chapter 2 and the experiences of Izmir Historic City, this will be divided into three chronological periods. Section 3.1.1 will briefly explore the roots of urban conservation in Turkey by considering its transition from monumental to urban scales. Next, Section 3.1.2 will explore the period in which conservation came together with urban planning to develop progressive tools in the Turkish context. Section 3.1.3 will look critically at the impacts of the Urban Planning Act imposed in 2005 and resulting processes which stalled improvements in urban conservation at the country level.

Section 3.2 aims to give brief information about the urban history of Izmir and the city's planning past, up until the city's first comprehensive plan was prepared in the early 2000s. The general characteristics of Izmir in terms of its urban history will be examined in Section 3.2.1. Following this, Section 3.2.2 will trace the particularities and conservation attitudes of the first general urban plans of Izmir from the establishment of the Turkish Republic until the introduction of the 1984 conservation master plan, the city's first. Section 3.2.3 will identify the conservation approach, and the impacts on Izmir's historical urban fabric, of the 1984 plan. In general, section 3.2 has built upon a literature review and general site observation field survey in order to sketch the local context. The main empirical focus of the case study will be explored in Chapter 5 and 6. Finally, Section 3.3 will make concluding remarks linking the national context and conservation past of the city to the structural and functional characteristics of present urban governance.

## 4.1 Development of Urban Conservation through Legislation and Policies

As established in the literature review in Chapter 2, the development of conservation planning is highly dependent on the legislative framework and planning system of the country. Furthermore, as Hobson (2004) stated, ‘while conservation is a framework of policies and controls, more fundamentally it is also a reflection of deeper cultural attitudes to the past’, it is also associated with how communities and countries treat the past. Turkey has developed a national conservation approach largely influenced by western countries at the legislative level, with its own particularities in experience. Şahin Güçhan and Kurul (2009) have argued that the legal framework in Turkey has been structured in line with international conservation standards but that the country's institutional arrangements were unable to keep up with the legal advancements. Therefore, it is crucial to outline the development of Turkish Conservation Planning through related legislative frameworks and policies and link them with the developments in Izmir Historic City.

### 4.1.1 The Urban Scale in Architectural Conservation: From the Ancient Immobile Regulation to the Conservation Act

The development of urban conservation in the Turkish planning system can be explicitly understood by charting the institutionalisation and legal framework of both the conservation of cultural heritage and the urban planning system. This entails seeking the roots of conservation in the Ottoman Period (Dinler, 2019). The first ancient monument regulations on movable and immovable antiquities date back to the late periods of the Ottoman Empire, when there was no body of controlling institutions. These initial endeavours were followed by regulations of Turkey's magnificent monumental architecture, and the first institution for antiquities established in Istanbul in 1917. This was known as the Istanbul Ancient Monument Conservation Council, (*İstanbul Asar-ı Atika Encümen-i Daimisi*). This institution continued to take charge of antiquities management until the foundation of The High Council for Historical Real Estate<sup>31</sup> (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*) and Monuments in Republican Turkey in 1951 (Madran, 1996).

There was, meanwhile, the Building Law (*Ebniye Kanunu*), which became valid in 1882 and encouraged the construction of masonry buildings, instead of the traditional timber frame structures of the Ottomans, widening of roads, and defining the lengths of streets and buildings. The Building Law and its predecessors, a series of Building Regulations (*Ebniye Nizamnameleri*) can be counted as producing the urban planning adjustments between 1848 and 1882 (Şahin Güçhan & Kurul, 2009).

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<sup>31</sup> High Council hereafter.



These resulted in alterations to some of the Ottoman cities composed of narrow, organic and dead-end streets. The Building Law was valid, with comprehensive additions to its scope, until the approval of the Development Law No. 6785 (*6785 Sayılı İmar Kanunu*) in 1957. However, the ideas and modern concepts of cultural heritage then being debated in the western world were not on the agenda of the late Ottoman and the Early Republican Period in Turkey (Dinçer, 2010b).

After the foundation of the Republic, the development of the institutionalisation and legal framework of urban planning was accelerated in order to allow practices suitable for construction of modern Turkish cities. Municipality Law No. 1580 (*1580 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu*) adopted in 1930, obliged municipalities to develop a spatial plan and fulfil the duty of protecting monuments. Furthermore, a significant decision invoked by Municipality Highways/Roads and Buildings Law No: 2290, (*Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*), 1933, delineated a buffer zone around monuments (Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, 2009). The decision was controversial due to the fact that it caused a disconnection between the monuments and their nearby urban fabric. Nevertheless, it gained widespread acceptance among the municipalities and was practiced in many Turkish cities in this period. At that time, the conservation of cultural heritage was considered limited to safeguarding monumental architecture within the flourishing planning system (Dinçer, 2010b).

The modern plans were largely introduced by European planners who brought their experience in urban planning and conservation to Turkish cities. Thereafter, urban plans were rapidly prepared and implemented in order to establish the new Republic's modern image, beginning with major cities. During the period of intensive development of new Turkish cities, the only valid regulation directly relating to conservation was inherited from the Ottoman Period; namely, the Ancient Monument Regulation (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*), 1906. Finally, the first comprehensive legislation became valid under the Historic Artefacts Act in 1973. When the Venice Charter eloquently called on the conservation field to zoom out from the single building architectural scale to the urban scale in 1964, Turkish cities were in the midst of a large-scale immigration flow from rural to urban areas. Therefore, the urgent requirements of urban planning remained those of housing supply and the enhancement of urban infrastructure for development areas, with no room for conservation (Dinçer, 2010a).

The increasing population also had effects on historic centres in terms of physical and social aspects. The original property owners of the traditional houses had moved to the new residential areas in the suburbs and the abandoned large houses were to be rented room by room to the newcomers who could not afford to construct squatter housing, *gecekondu*, on the outskirts of the cities. In addition to the occupation of single houses by the low-income immigrants, upper-income newcomers contributed to the loss of the traditional urban fabric by constructing new apartments compatible with the modern needs. The introduction of the Flat Ownership Act (*Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu*) in 1965 led to the construction sector expanding, which accelerated the process of loss of traditional urban fabric (Dinçer, 2010a).

The Distribution Styles and Technical Procedures of Development and Transportation Plans and Licenses of Experts Whom are Working in Related Jobs (1969) was the first legal document which mentioned conservation within the planning system and brought the issues of conservation to the urban context. In the second article of the regulation, the protocol area was defined and described as an existing housing fabric in which the building pattern must be preserved; hence the article delineated the draft for the concept of conservation areas in Turkey, namely *sit alanı*. A further significant improvement came in 1972 with the addition of the sixth article to Development Law No. 6785 (*6785 Sayılı İmar Kanunu*). This addition suggested that other elements of urban tissue, such as streets, fountains and squares, must be preserved alongside monumental buildings and architectural masterpieces. Consequently, the notion of conservation in the legislation went beyond the scope of the monumental scale (Dinçer, 2010a).

This progress was followed by the validation of the Historic Artefacts Act No. 1710 (*1710 Sayılı Eski Eserler Kanunu*) in 1973, which defined immovable cultural heritage and outlined a methodology for how to preserve cultural heritage (Madran, 2009). Describing the categorisations of cultural heritage, the act covered civil architectural buildings rather than solely monuments. Despite its progress in opening up the definitions of heritage, the act was criticized for being too narrow in its definition of conservation areas within the urban context. It included historic, natural and archaeological conservation areas but did not define urban conservation areas in historic cities (ibid).

#### **4.1.2 A Period of Advancement for Conservation Planning**

The most crucial international advancements in urban conservation, outlined in Chapter 2, mostly took place from the 1970s onwards, and included the Amsterdam Declaration by the Council of Europe in 1975, the Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas by UNESCO in 1976-79 and the Washington Charter by ICOMOS in 1987. These documents represented the beginning of a fundamental integration of conservation awareness into urban planning tools. In the Turkish context, this integration would later begin through the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Act No.2863<sup>32</sup> (*2863 Sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*).

This act, validated in 1983, established both conservation regulations and their corresponding institutional structure. It also outlined the responsibilities of the High Council, previously delineated elsewhere, and broadened the scope of heritage from historical artefacts to social, economic, cultural and natural values. A year prior to this Turkey had also become a signatory to the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage; the country would further sign up to the 1985 Council of Europe Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe in 1989 (Şahin Güçhan & Kurul, 2009).

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<sup>32</sup> Hereafter the Conservation Act.

Although these developments represented a broadening of conservation thinking, this largely failed to filter down to consecration planning practise, a flaw which Gülersoy Zeren et. al (2008) attribute to financial and technical limitations and lack of knowledge among conservation institutions.

This period also saw transformations in the structure of local governance, under the influence of localism, which had its own impacts on the Turkish conservation context. In 1985, Development Act No: 3194 (3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu), widened the role of local government to include new dimensions of urban management, including responsibility for urban conservation.

Partially as a result of these developments, the following period, from the 1990s to the early 2000s, saw a blossoming in awareness and practise of urban conservation in Turkey. An accompanying international trend of investment in historic centres as sites for tourism and luxury consumption inspired a growing consciousness of the potential economic benefits of urban regeneration. This increasing interest led to 2004 additions to the Conservation Act, which can be argued to represent the most advanced legislative development in Turkish urban conservation. These changes consolidated conservation practises through new tools, concepts, arrangements and resources.

The Conservation Act today remains the main legislative framework for conservation practise. Further amendments and alterations have taken place since 2004 but the focus on progressive conservation concepts and institutional and financial tools has endured, as demonstrated by the Act's definition of an urban conservation area: 'the area consisting of cultural and natural components having architectural, local, historical, aesthetical and artistic values which are more meaningful together than their individual existence'.<sup>33</sup> Once an area is declared an urban conservation area, no further plans can be implemented until municipalities, governorships or other local bodies have completed a conservation plan, which must be prepared within three years<sup>34</sup>.

The Act further provides guidelines and a tool kit for preparation of these conservation plans. Firstly, any conservation plan must draw on analysis of local '...archaeological, historical, natural, architectural, demographic, cultural, socio-economic, ownership and housing data'<sup>35</sup>, and on a participatory site management process. Plans are expected to include '...targets, tools, strategies and planning decisions on regeneration of the social and economic conditions, conservation principles, terms of uses, restrictions for the development, renewal projects, and

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<sup>33</sup> Principle Decision No. 681, 25.01.2017, (emphasis authors'), <https://teftis.ktb.gov.tr/TR-174602/681-nolu-ilke-karari-kentsel-sitler-koruma-ve-kullanma-.html> retrieved on 30/11/2019).

<sup>34</sup> Amendment No. 5226/8, 2004 to Conservation Act No: 2863, 1983, Article 17, <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2863.pdf> retrieved on 09/09/2019.

<sup>35</sup> Regulation on the Principles and Procedures of the Preparation, Presentation, Implementation, Monitoring, Authorship of Conservation Plans and Site Design Projects, Article 4, 2005, <https://teftis.ktb.gov.tr/TR-14430/koruma-amacli-imar-planlari-ve-cevre-duzenleme-projeler-.html>; retrieved on 01/11/2019.

their implementation stages and programs...<sup>36</sup> and these are required to consider the needs of inhabitants and other users of the space. These guidelines prepare the ground for conservation plans based on sensitivity to living communities as a part of urban heritage, while also allowing both for renewal and changes to the use of physical heritage as necessary for its preservation.

### 4.1.3 Conservation Planning Losing Authority: The 2005 Urban Renewal Act and Beyond

In 2005, the Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-Use No. 5366<sup>37</sup> (*5366 Sayılı Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun*) was validated and led to designation of urban renewal areas within areas already registered as urban conservation areas in the historic cities. The new Act's stated aim was '...to re-construct and restore districts designated as urban conservation areas...which have been degraded and risk loss of authenticity, and create residential, commercial, cultural, touristic, and social functions through conserving their cultural heritage by renewal and reusing them by bringing them to life'<sup>38</sup>. Prior to its introduction, urban conservation areas were primarily regulated by the Conservation Act. However, under this new act, planning and project phases in conservation areas were rearranged, undermining the restrictions imposed by the Conservation Act. This overturned the previous approach of balancing urban conservation and renewal through change management and long-term planning; this was replaced by an unrestricted renewal approach which has led to the implementation of many controversial and damaging projects.

The 2005 act resulted in various oppositions from academia, professional chambers and experts in the conservation field. The main objection was the conflict with the Conservation Act over the authority and policies managing conservation. Urban renewal area designations overlapped with the conservation areas, leading the intersecting areas to be excluded from the scope of the Conservation Act. After many objections and claims, Law No: 5835 made alterations to the Urban Renewal Act in 2009. In doing so, it became clear that the Urban Renewal Act and the Conservation Act could be valid together within both conservation and urban renewal areas. This has not prevented conflict between the two acts, and chaotic overlaps of management and implementations have continued in most of the historic cities designated both conservation and urban renewal areas. Much of the controversy over the applications of the Urban Renewal Act have also been generated by the process of designations of urban renewal areas, the problems of

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<sup>36</sup>Amendment No. 5226/1, 2004 to Conservation Act No: 2863, Article 3 (emphasis authors'), <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2863.pdf>; retrieved on 31/10/2019.

<sup>37</sup> Hereafter the Urban Renewal Act.

<sup>38</sup> Urban Renewal Act. No. 5366, 2005, Article 1 (emphasis authors'), <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5366.pdf>, retrieved 01/11/2019.

urgent expropriations, rent expectations of municipalities and other interest groups, as well as participation in and management of the heritage protection (Dinçer, 2011).

The projects that followed the introduction of the Urban Renewal Act have also provoked vigorous opposition, due to the destructive effects of the precarious implementations<sup>39</sup>. For instance, one of the main complaints regarded a historic area in Istanbul where Roma people used to live. The Sulukule Renewal Project was heavily criticized for its physical aspects, with the demolition of the original urban texture, and its social aspects, with the transfer of the Roma people from their neighbourhoods to mass housing districts on the outskirts of Istanbul, far away from Sulukule (T. Kuyucu & Unsal, 2010; Tuna Kuyucu, 2014). The proposals for the new housing fabric, with a principally pseudo-traditional look (Figure 15), described as Ottoman and/or Seljuk, were targeted at the upper income group. However, the re-constructed buildings were eventually given to the Syrian immigrants renting beds in shared rooms. It can be claimed that the tools developed by these centralised regulations and the attitudes of politicians to urban conservation has led to significant losses of original urban characteristics and has disconnected the historic environment from its current urban context, as shown in Sulukule and in other enforcements of the Urban Renewal Act.



Figure 15: Housing fabric in Sulukule after the Urban Renewal Project (Source: hurriyetdailynews.com).

A further controversy following the designation of urban renewal areas has stemmed from a sharp concentration in power at the municipality level. In many

<sup>39</sup> Mostly from the professionals and experts about the controversies and destructive projects driven by the Urban Renewal Act., For instance, the press release ‘titled the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality will destroy what the bombs could not have destroyed before’ by the Chamber of Urban Planners about the urban renewal designation and projects in Ankara Historic Centre, Ulus [http://www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden\\_detay.php?kod=335&tipi=3&sube=1](http://www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=335&tipi=3&sube=1).

historical urban renewal areas, municipalities have been given almost free reign to make key decisions on project implementations, without effective checks and balances from public bodies or from the community. Most drastically, municipalities have gained broad new rights to conduct expropriations of property during renewal projects. Where authorities are unable to reach compromises with property owners expropriations under Expropriation Law No. 2942 (*2942 Sayılı Kamulaştırma Yasası*) Art. 3/2 can be enforced in order to speed up renewal project implementations, as was seen in the Hacı Bayram District of Ankara and elsewhere.

Further legislative alterations which followed the Urban Renewal Act have compounded the situation, facilitating faster and less sensitive renewal projects through systematic undermining of regulations. In 2011, the Conservation Act was adapted to require conservation councils to prepare ‘Temporary Principles of Conservation and Terms of Use’, (*Geçiş Dönemi Koruma Esasları ve Kullanma Şartları*) under which projects may still be implemented until conservation plans are prepared. It further allowed for extensions to the three-year deadline for preparation of conservation plans, if there is a valid reason for not being able to meet the three-year deadline. Thus, it has effectively allowed implementations without conservation plans for an unrestricted “temporary” period, and created a legislative gap undermining requirements for any conservation plan.

While oversight remained the responsibility of conservation councils, these too were implicitly undermined by the 2011 changes, which transferred the authority to appoint council members from the Council of Higher Education, YÖK, to the central government, thus undermining the councils' independence (Mengi & Keleş, 2018). The combined effect of the Urban Renewal Act and these 2011 changes has therefore had the effect of reversing many of the gains in Turkey’s conservation framework, with observable impacts on the physical, social and economic fabric of Turkey’s historic cities.

Interventions affecting historic cities were not limited to areas defined as urban renewal areas, but other legislative frameworks were also introduced to ease the impacts of rapid change on urban space. Legislative revisions to the structure of municipalities in 2004 namely the Metropolitan Municipalities Act. No. 5216, *5216 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu*, and Municipality Act. No. 5393, *5393 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu*, allowed defining ‘urban regeneration and development areas’ to accelerate construction processes in cities. Amongst others, Bursa Doğanbey Mass Housing District exemplifies the destructive effects of this law on the authenticity of the original urban structure (Figure 16). With the development of this new high-rise mass housing district, the silhouette of the historic city changed completely (Batuman & Erkip, 2017).



Figure 16: New mass housing in Bursa Doğanbey District (Source: uncubemagazin.com).

The other controversial legislation was the 2004 Law on Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk No: 6306, *6306 Sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun*, which allowed for designation of disaster-prone areas within historic cities in order to make interventions without any obstacles (Cayli, 2016). However, the process of definition of disaster-prone areas was hasty and missing any detailed technical analysis. The most contentious example of the implementation of this law is the demolitions within Diyarbakır's historic Walled City<sup>40</sup> (Figure 17). The Diyarbakır fortress and the Hevsel Gardens on the banks of the Tigris River were included to the list of important cultural monuments by UNESCO in 2015. However, under these current centralised legislative tools, interventions on all types of built up areas including conservation areas have become relatively simple and lack relevant control mechanisms. This resulted in 'no chance of return' damage to UNESCO site Diyarbakır.

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<sup>40</sup> <https://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/turkey/140720162;>  
<https://tr.boell.org/en/2016/04/15/surici-destruction-regeneration-dialectic>  
 Retrieved on 12/11/2019.



Figure 17: Damaged buildings in the Walled-City of Diyarbakir (Source: Getty Images, 2016).

## 4.2 Main Conservation Steps of Izmir Historic City

### 4.2.1 General Character of Izmir Historic Centre throughout History

Within the boundaries of Izmir Metropolitan City, the earliest archaeological findings are located in the Bayraklı-Yeşilova District in the north-western part of the Izmir Historic City. They date back to approximately 7000 BC. After the first settlements in the Bayraklı District, the city was settled again in the surroundings of the Red Castle, *Pagos Hill*, by Alexander the Great in 334 BC, during the Hellenistic Period (Kuban, 2001). Under the orders of Alexander the Great, Izmir was established by commanders Antigonos and Lysmakhos who gave it the name Euridiea. Izmir subsequently witnessed the rule of several empires such as Luvi, Laleji, Amazons, Ionia, Aoliens, Lidias, Phriks, Caria, Persians, and Romans. The city had many typical characteristics of Hellenistic urban plans with an Acropolis, where the Red Castle/ *Kadifekale* is located, a harbour on the lower market, the Sipylos Mother Goddess Temple and a gymnasium (Kuban, 2001).

Izmir became a Roman city after the construction of a new Roman Temple in 195 BC. Strabo made the first description of Roman Izmir in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. According to these descriptions, the city was formed of an agora, a theatre, a stadium, temples, and colonnaded roads. The main Roman roads were the Golden Road/*Altınyol*, which is believed to enter the city from the vicinity of today's Basmane Train Station and pass the Agora, and the Holy Road/*Kutluyol*, which was probably in the place of today's Eşrefpaşa Street. Today, historical traces from the Roman Period are visible in major buildings such as the Agora (Figure 18), theatre and stadium. It is also known that the historic centre has a vast potential for underground archaeological deposits. After the Romans, the city was ruled by the



Byzantine Empire. However, only the Red Castle has been preserved as a Byzantine artefact.



Figure 18: Izmir Agora in today's historic city ((Source: Author, 2018).

After the Turks entered Anatolia, Izmir came under the control of the Turkish Beylics in the 11th century. During this period, Izmir was the centre of Danishmends Beylic who settled mainly around the Red Castle. Turkish beylics could not conquer the inner harbour; for this reason, this district in which Kemeraltı Historical Market is located today was known as the non-Muslim, *Gayrimüslim*, area, whereas upper places were known as the Muslim area. Ultimately, the non-Muslim sector also came under Turkish control in 1402. Afterwards, the inner harbour was filled, the Ok Castle was constructed, and the area started to be influenced by the architectural style of Turks and Ottomans (Kerimoğlu, 2013).

Starting from the end of the 16th century, Izmir gradually became a cosmopolitan urban area in the 19th century, including a large-capacity Mediterranean commercial port. Like other big Ottoman cities, Izmir was an attractive employment area for people living in Anatolian rural regions. Subsequently, the development of commerce with the western world and the influences of western industrialisation accelerated the process of urbanisation in Izmir (Atay, 2012). The intensity of trade is evident from the large numbers and concentration of khan buildings in the historic centre (Figure 19). Some of them have been retained until today.

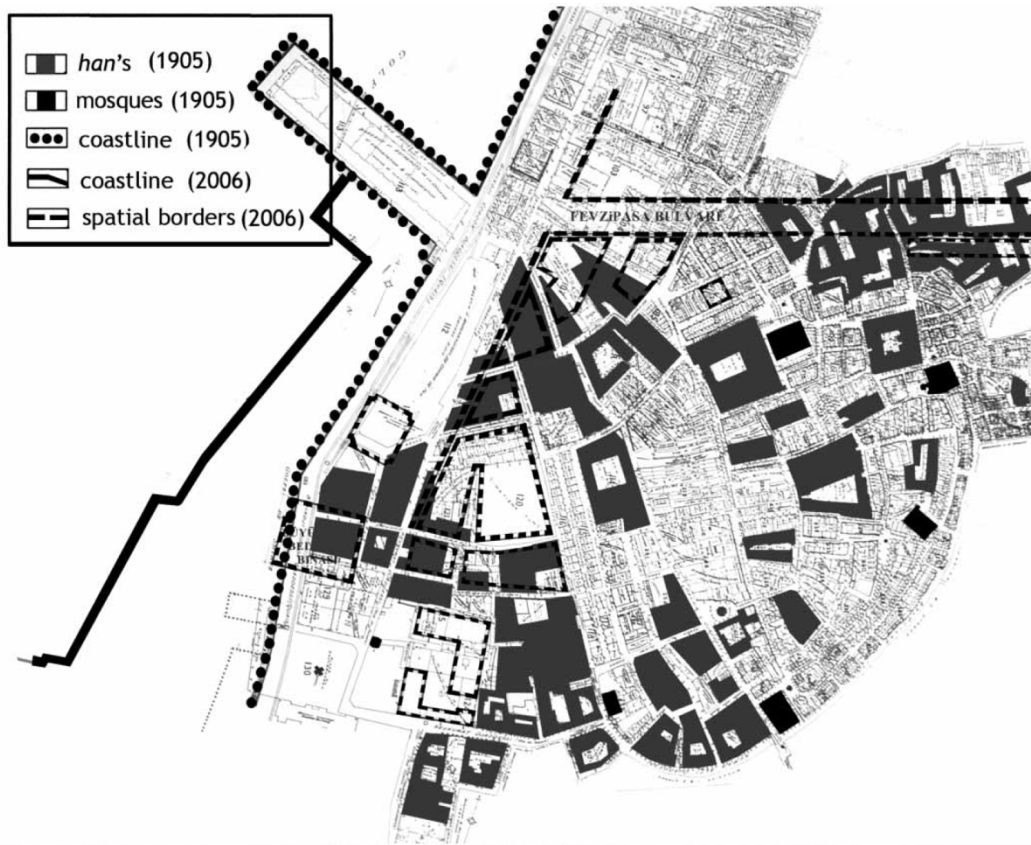


Figure 19: Khans in Kemeraltı (Source: Ecemiş Kılıç, 2008)

Unstable international relations, mostly with the Balkan communities, had some influence on the city's demographics. Indeed, according to Alpaslan (2015) the historical resources which gives information about the population could be misleading in respect to the circumstances of the minorities of the time. Minorities may have preferred to exaggerate their to protect their rights and independence. Likewise, Ottoman resources may have used similar tactics to maintain their rule over the area. The information which travellers of the time gave about the population also depended on subjective observation and estimations. However, the combined resources suggest a population of 150.000 people in the first period of the 19th century, and 250.000 in the second half of the 20th century. The demographic pattern comprised different cultural and ethnic groups. Greek, Muslim, Jewish and Levantine communities were the dominant groups. Until the 19th century, these communities lived in four separate districts. Afterwards, different communities started to live in more permeable urban neighbourhoods at the end of the 19th century (Alpaslan, 2015).

In 1838, the English-Ottoman Commerce Pact became valid. The quayside was then built in 1863. Furthermore, the railway was constructed and a station opened in Basmane District. At the end of the 19th century, Izmir was the most significant export port and the second import port of the Ottoman Empire. During the period of the Empire's decline, Izmir still attracted many commercial activities. In this period, the population was around 150,000. According to a map by an English soldier, Thomas Grave Figure 20, I: the Red Castle, II: Theatre, III: Agora, IV: Stadium), the city expanded to Cicipark in the south, and the surroundings of the

Red Castle in the south-west, towards today's Alsancak in the north and to Etiler neighbourhood in the east. In this period, the Tilkilik District was the wealthiest neighbourhood where the upper-level income group settled. Today, historical buildings with rich architectural characteristics and elements are also located in Tilkilik.



Figure 20: Thomas Grave Plan, 1836-37 (Source: Çırak et al., 2015)

Izmir did not undergo rapid development processes at the beginning of the Turkish Republic; nonetheless, the city was affected by mass rural-urban immigration in the 1950s. In this period, squatter housing/*gecekondu*s expanded as a rapid and precarious form of urbanisation in the city. Subsequently, the districts of Gümrük, Basmane, the vicinity of Cumhuriyet Square became central business districts. Alsancak, Göztepe, Güzelyalı and Karşıyaka were settled by upper-level income groups. The older settlements of Karşıyaka and Hatay Districts were settled by middle-income groups. Following the move of upper- or middle-income groups to above mentioned districts, the historic urban core eventually became a centre for low-income groups. Over this period, the city grew drastically to cover a 76000 Ha area (Kuban, 2001).

According to Kuban (2001), Izmir has never been a city with a strong eastern character, being defined by mostly Mediterranean geographic features. Hence, it is a substantial example of Anatolian dualities due to its geopolitical position between the east and west. Due to the nature of Izmir's geographic and topographic features and limitations, the spine of the Hellenistic urban plan must have been protected by the location of the harbour, and the relationships with hinterland and the sea.

Izmir has always been a port city. The character of the city was formed by the relations between urban areas and the Aegean Sea and the intense commercial character of the port. As a gate of Anatolia to the western world, with its inherent links to western countries, Izmir has always included many foreigners amongst its

population. Although Turks have occupied Izmir for about 9000 years, a big Islamic religious building complex has never been constructed. The residential fabric is scattered radially from the commercial centre surrounding the port. From the coast, the Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Turks were settled in concentric spatial circles.

The historical housing tissue constructed between the Byzantine Empire period and the 17th Century could not be retained. However, the partially protected Ottoman urban structure of this period is evident in the Khans, religious sites and other important buildings. At present, the remaining housing fabric in the historic city mostly dates back to the 19th century Ottoman Period and the Early Republican Period. Just before the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, in 1922, a great fire destroyed several traditional neighbourhoods located in the western part of today's historic centre. These neighbourhoods were largely occupied by Greek and Armenian Families. After the great fire, these areas were reconstructed according to modernist urban plans. The planners were selected and invited from Europe. The districts which survived the fire were mostly the neighbourhoods and commercial areas of the Jewish and Ottoman Communities. Hence, the district of the Red Castle/*Kadifekale* (Figure 21) and its surrounding neighbourhoods, the Agora, the ancient theatre, and the historical market, 'Kemeraltı', are the main areas which define the current historic centre of Izmir.



Figure 21: General View towards the Red Castle on Pagos Hill and the surrounding residential fabric (Source: IMM Archive, 2018).

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the traditional urban fabric saw transformation through the enlargement of roads and abandonment by the original property owners, who were replaced by migrant communities or temporary tenants. Today, apart from lively historical market/bazaar, *Kemeraltı*, and monuments or archaeological sites like the Agora and the Red Castle, there are still several neighbourhoods with historical urban and architectural patterns. They have been largely populated by Kurdish immigrants from the eastern part of Turkey and Syrian refugees. Temporary accommodation is also very characteristic of the

historic city, especially in some districts such as Basmane. The changing users have transformed local urban spaces according to their needs and daily habits in the residential area. Nevertheless, the majority of the buildings are in poor physical conditions and suffer from high vacancy rates. Furthermore, some micro-scale projects have been executed by the local municipality, such as street rehabilitations in a few streets, restoration of several major buildings and re-use of some traditional mansions for different functions, as will be examined in greater detail in the following chapter.

Izmir Historic City was designated an urban renewal area in 2007. The urban renewal area includes different types of protection status such as urban conservation area, 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> degree archaeological conservation areas, and natural conservation areas. The wider urban renewal area is at the same time a composite of urban conservation and 3<sup>rd</sup> degree archaeological conservation areas, each of which have different types of conservation plans (Figure 22).

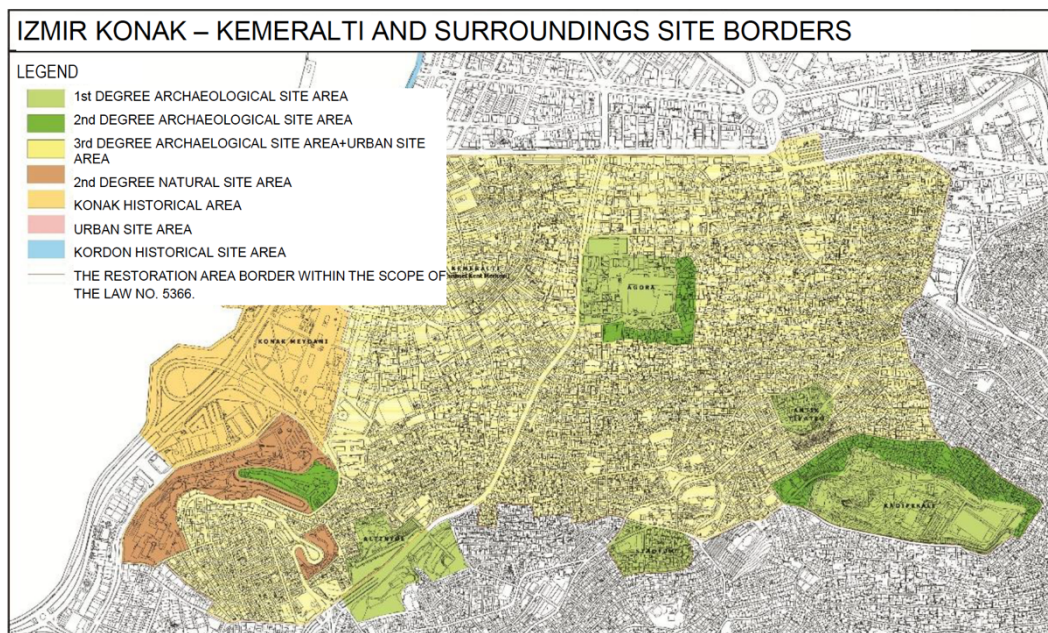


Figure 22: The Conservation Areas (Source: IMM Archive, 2018).

#### 4.2.2 Conservation Attitudes of Central Urban Plans in Izmir

In the atmosphere of the foundation of the Turkish Republic, there was widespread enthusiasm towards the goal of constructing modern cities to reflect the new image of the nation-state. Izmir, as the third most significant city of the republic, following Ankara and Istanbul, was also at the centre of the focus of new urban planning activities. Therefore, modernist European urbanists were invited to Izmir to assist in construct this Turkish Modernist city, as also took place in other cities during this period.

#### *4.2.2.1 Dangers and Prost Plan, 1924-1925*

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, urban planning activities began with the invitation of the French Urban Planner Henri Prost in Izmir. In that period, due to his busy schedule, Henri Prost suggested two other French urbanists, René and Raymond Danger. Therefore, the planning period was initiated at the same time as it was in Ankara, the capital city, in which the German Urban Planner, Lorcher, was commissioned to construct the modern capital of Turkey after the war of independence.

In consultation with Prost, the Danger brothers' plan was approved in 1924 – 1925 (Figure 23). This plan targeted the area which was devastated by the effects of the Great Fire in 1922. The Dangers and Prost Plan embraced a formalist approach which was widely embraced in the Beaux-Arts Ecole of this period. Thus, the plan suggested radial boulevards, connected roads with a linear green system, and public functions such as the libraries and university buildings. These boulevards were linked to the round or polygonal shaped squares that can be observed in today's urban morphology in Izmir. After the design and interventions, the new modernist neighbourhood was constructed near the elementary school in the centre and in surrounding housing areas (Bilsel, 2009). The main impact of this plan was on the Great Fire Area, not directly on the traditional centre.

One of the significant features of this plan was the ownership model used. The new model was achieved by the amalgamation of former lots and produced a new ownership pattern in the new neighbourhoods, broadly known as Alsancak. Meanwhile, in 1931, the notable former mayor of Izmir, Dr. Behçet Uz, introduced a set of progressive public policies to the city. He invited a German Urbanist, Hermann Jansen, who was also commissioned to the second urban plan of Ankara, to provide a consultation for the Danger and Prost Plan. Jansen criticised the huge boulevards suggested in this plan, claiming that the actual economic situation of the city was not suitable for realisation of this goal. According to this criticism, the boulevards were scaled down (Bilsel, 2009).

Furthermore, the linear green systems proposed around the major roads in the former plan were altered and replaced with the Culture Park (Kultur Park), a huge park covering a 42 Ha Area in the very centre of the city. The mayor Behçet Uz and his team took the Soviet Gorki Park as an example for Kultur Park. Public uses, soft and hard floor areas, specific plantations, lakes and statues created a vibrant public space financed mostly by the activities of the International Fair. Kultur Park was accepted as a successful modernist project in the newly founded Republic of Turkey (Bilsel, 2009). Kültür Park and the related activities of the park such as an international fair have had a noticeable economic and social impact on Izmir Historic City.

A further recommendation of this plan, to move the cemeteries from the town and introduce public parks in their place was applied in Eşrefpaşa, Ballıkuyu (Karakapı), Kapılar and Namazgah districts. However, the proposal of transforming the surroundings of the Red Castle into an urban garden was not accomplished.

Instead, these areas were divided into the smaller parcels and sold to third parties by mayor Uz. The municipality also documented the area's cultural assets, including the Red Castle, Agora, theatre and Stadium for the first time in the history of Izmir.

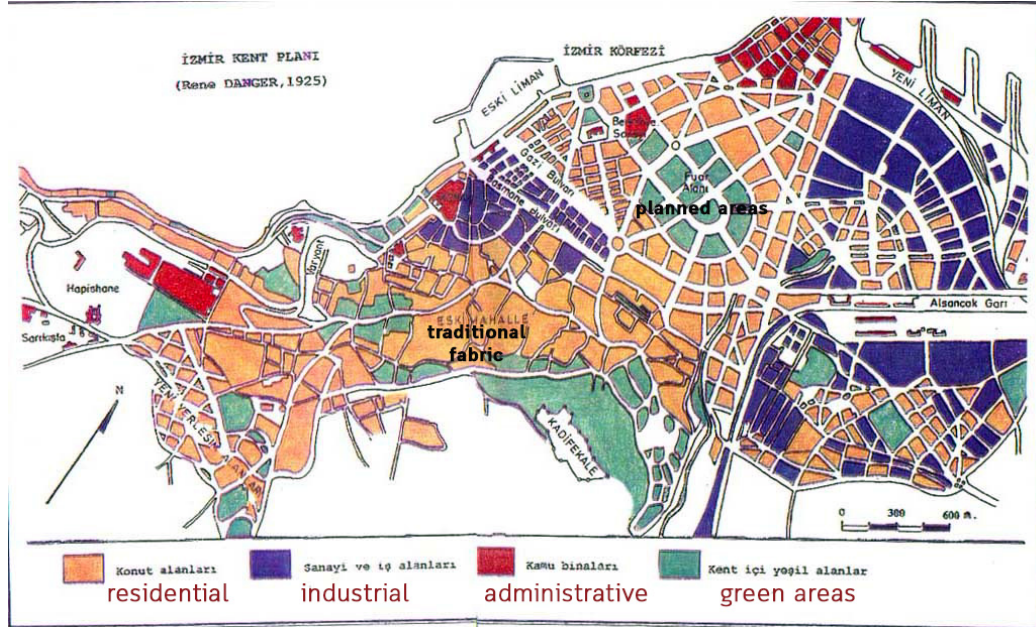


Figure 23: Danger and Prost Plan (Source: Konak Municipality Achieve, 2018)

#### 4.2.2.2 Le Corbusier Plan

Thanks to the efforts of Mayor Behcet Uz, Le Corbusier, the key figure of modernist Urbanism, visited Izmir in 1948. After one year's work, Le Corbusier submitted an urban scheme and planning report for Izmir. The plan was indicated as a primary example of the plan implementations built upon the urbanism framework by the CIAM central committee. The plan was not implemented due to the financial constraints of the post-war period, and also due to doubts for the feasibility of the plan for the conditions of Izmir. However, some impacts can be observed in the new residential areas suggested in this urban scheme (Bilsel, 2009). The plan had also some suggestions for the historical centre as a centre for arts and crafts (Planning Report, 2004).

#### 4.2.2.3 Aru-Canpolat Plan

Due to the new migration movement from the eastern to the western regions of Turkey, Izmir had undergone rapid urban growth in parallel to that of other western Turkish cities. For this reason, a new urban planning competition was opened to find solutions to the acute urban problems like emerging squatter areas and unsustainable population growth. The planning brief for the competition placed some limitations on the applicants, such as certain areas for the distribution of industrial sectors, new residential areas, and the formation of Konak Square. Konak Square was formerly surrounded by military buildings. The brief gave the condition

of the demolition of these military buildings. One of the jury members of the competition was Sir Patrick Abercrombie, the well-known English town planner.

The plan prepared by Prof. Dr. Kemal Aru and the team from Istanbul Technical University Urbanism Department won the competition. The main author, Kemal Aru, was one of the primary Turkish urbanists, educated in Vienna (Bilsel, 2009). The Plan was distinguished by its detailed analysis maps, which depended on the urban survey method.

New residential areas were located along the axis of Hatay Street in the western part of the historic centre and the western part of Karşıyaka, across the bay. These new residential areas were described as ‘small organic units embedded in natural life’. The first development zone suggested a density of 200 people per hectare, and the second zone of 100 people per hectare. This plan suggested protecting the historic Kemeraltı market in general. The 1/2000 scale plan proposed commercial uses along Fevzipaşa and Gaziler streets. In this program, the Stadium and the Red Castle surroundings were in the restricted zone for constructions. Furthermore, the Aru Plan proposed green areas in the hills of Kadifekale, to protect this area from encroaching ‘gecekondu’ squatter urbanisation.

#### *4.2.2.4 Urban Planning and Conservation Activities from the Aru-Canpolat Plan until 1984*

Following the large-volume immigration flow, the Aru-Canpolat Plan remained inadequate to solve many urban problems and meet the needs of the new population. In 1957 and 1958, two urban planners were invited to Izmir to present their reports on the problems of the city and share their experiences. The Italian Luigi Piccinato prepared a technical report for the transportation problems of the city and the Swiss planner Alfred Bodmer introduced the concepts of regional decentralisation and regional plans to Izmir. According to the recommendations of these urban planners, Izmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau was opened to oversee urban planning affairs within the municipality. In this plan, Kemeraltı was proposed as a centre for arts and crafts, reflecting the le Corbusier Plan. Moreover, further urban planning activity took place under the development and implementation plan proposed in 1973. Until the 1984 conservation plan, this plan was able to wreak destructive impacts on the existing historical urban fabric, due to its insensitive approach to conservation. This plan had played a vital role in producing today's macro form in the city of Izmir.

In 1972, Prof. Doğan Kuban presented a report regarding the conservation of Izmir Historic City. Even though it remained only an evaluation report, the 1972 Conservation Report is a noteworthy document as it introduced area-based conservation approaches to the Izmir Historic City. Within the report, Kuban made significant identifications and assessments on why the historic city should be conserved and how this goal could be achieved. According to Kuban, rising consciousness in Turkish conservation was beginning to move beyond ideas of real ‘traditional’ structures, e.g. timber framed Ottoman houses, to encompass conservation of physical monuments from the near past. However, it also indicated



that ‘not every piece from history must be protected, but the buildings can only be included within the conservation scope if they are guaranteed to have authentic historical or aesthetic values’. It can be claimed that although his intention was to raise awareness of ‘diversity of heritage’, his focus remained on the physical fabric at the time.

Apparently, he stressed the need to make records and conduct inventory lists of historical values, considering Izmir was one of the less explored cities in respect to its values in 1972. In the report, he argued that if the government acknowledged the benefits of tourism, and allowed more detailed investigation of cultural heritage values, the notion of conservation could be developed at the national and local level. In this regard, he suggested that approaches to conservation should derive from three different aspects: culture, economy and urban planning, linking the problem to the national context (Kuban, 2001). However, he warned that while investigating the cultural values and historical character of towns has been encouraged by many in the Turkish government, when it comes to implementations there has been little enthusiasm. In his interpretation, ‘the problem of Turkish conservation is not related to entirely economic concerns, but mostly to cultural considerations’. Therefore, he suggests firstly accomplishing conservation via planning tools that will raise awareness amongst communities. He stated that upgrading tourism is not enough *per se*; conservation should be culturally internalised by communities in order for them to respect heritage and significance of historical palimpsests. At the time, he also recommended connecting conservation with wider planning decisions such as economic models and transportation accessibility.

### **4.2.3 First Practises of Conservation at the Urban Scale: 1984 Conservation Plan**

Although the Kuban report provided significant insights regarding conservation in Izmir, the first conservation plan, approved in 1984, did not completely follow these suggestions (Figure 24). Kemeraltı and its surroundings were designated as urban conservation area by order of the high council<sup>41</sup> in 1978. Furthermore, The Red Castle, Agora, stadium, Altınyol and theatre were included as first-degree archaeological sites by the Izmir High Council for Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1991<sup>42</sup>. Afterwards, the boundaries of urban conservation areas expanded and were defined as both urban conservation and 3rd degree archaeological sites in 2002 (Technical Report, 2004). After the first designation of Izmir Historic City in 1978, preparation of a conservation master plan became a requirement. Thus, the preparation process of the first conservation master plan began in 1978 and was completed in 1982. Izmir Metropolitan Municipality drew up the Kemeraltı Conservation Master Plan (KCMP) and it was approved under decision number 348 by the high council on July 27, 1984. It had more a protective

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<sup>41</sup> Decision Number: A-1373.

<sup>42</sup> Plan authors were İhsan Tutum and Muhsin Anıl.

approach than the former general urban plan of Izmir; however, it was still far removed from the urban conservation approach for the historical urban fabric (RKCMP Technical Report, 2002).

Three years after its approval, Izmir Technical Office for Measured Survey and Monuments sent a technical report to the High Council based on their investigations of the conservation plan and the site. In this report, it was noted that the conservation plan lacked a comprehensive approach to conservation of the historical urban fabric, which allows unrestricted decisions on construction of new roads or the enlargement of existing ones. Thus, the plan risked causing demolitions in the historic city. The high council, therefore, passed a decision claiming 'KCMP should be revised due to the lack of protective and comprehensive proposals and decisions for such a historic centre. For this reason, construction should not be permitted within the boundaries of the Urban Conservation Area before the interrogation of the existing conservation plan (RKCMP Technical Report, 2002).

The plan entailed several problematic issues considering the urban conservation approach to historic cities. For example, the decisions concerning transportation encouraged new constructions or enlargement of roads, underused possible links with the overall transportation scheme of the city and promoted extra car parking areas in the historic centre. The decisions about the new roads led to the demolishing of listed historic buildings along their construction routes. This also illustrated the ambiguity in the decisions of the construction restrictions on the registered buildings due to the fact that even the list of registered buildings was missing from the analysis map and technical report of the plan.

The permissions on increasing the number of storeys within the historic centre allowed mostly between 1 and 3; however, at some points, the plan expanded to allow additional floors. Moreover, it permitted construction within the boundaries of parcels which would risk loss of the existing cadastral pattern. These decisions resulted in encouraging reconstructions in the traditional urban fabric to get more construction space for mainly commercial uses. The plan disregarded also the existing land and building use patterns in the historic city. Despite all the problems raised, the decision about reinvestigation of the plan was not processed. Therefore, the high council made a recall and warning under decision number 5283 on April 28, 1995. This decision indicated that revision of conservation plan should be immediately undertaken and delivered to the high council. However, this revision would only be realised in 2000, five years after the final warning (RKCMP Technical Report, 2002).

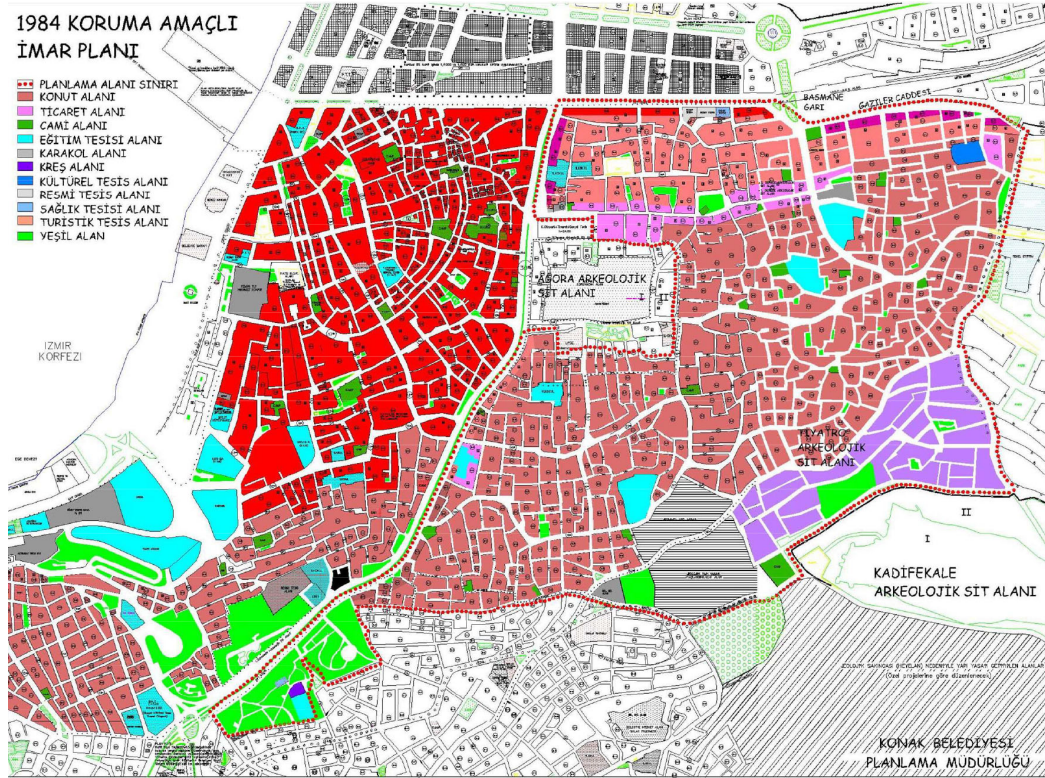


Figure 24: First Practise of Conservation at Urban Scale: First Conservation plan, 1984 (Source: Konak Municipality Archive, 2017)

After the 1984 conservation plan, there were 3 different Conservation Plans: the 1/5000 general regulatory conservation plan (GRCP), 1<sup>st</sup> stage conservation plan (CP1) and 2<sup>nd</sup> stage 2<sup>nd</sup> region conservation plan (CP2/1). Here, they are referred to as revision plans which meant revisions to the 1984 plan; however, they are explicitly new plans having no connotation with the former. These plans will be examined in detail in the following chapters on empirical analysis.

### 4.3 Conclusions

Following the 1973 ancient monuments act, urban conservation areas started to be designated in Turkey. Before this, parallel to the international development of urban conservation, the approach to conservation considered merely the monumental scale in urban planning activities. İzmir historic city was registered as urban conservation area, *sit alanı*, following the legislative and institutional development. In this era, the high council was a very significant institution for spreading conservation knowledge through the historic cities of Turkey. This also occurred in the İzmir case; thanks to the efforts of the high council, many buildings have been registered as cultural heritage assets. However, the general urban plans have not developed appropriate conservation policies. Early plans such as the Proust and Dangers plan mostly dealt with the design of new settlement areas and later plans focused more on the issues of increasing population, growth of the city and transportation schemes. Thus, as Kuban (2001) stated in his advisory report for conservation, İzmir remained one of the least recognised cities in terms of cultural

values due to the lack of investigations and listings. Specifically, the 1953 Aru-Canpolat and 1977 urban development plan had significant negative impacts on the existing urban form of the historic city. Therefore, following the urban conservation area designation, the first conservation plan became valid in Izmir Historic City in 1984. This occurred just after the introduction of the 1983 conservation act.

However, due to municipalities' lack of technical capacity and knowledge at the time, the 1984 plan did not serve adequately as a conservation plan. It did not even include an inventory list for historical buildings and caused some destructive implementations within the city. It has emerged from the literature on the conservation history of Izmir that the experts in the architecture and urban planning departments of the Izmir Universities, and the Conservation Councils, have become prominent institutions in conservation in Izmir. Otherwise, the historic city could have lost even more cultural heritage than what has already vanished. Thanks to the efforts of these experts, the conservation plan was ultimately revised in partnership with 9 Eylül University and Konak Municipality. In the later chapters, I will examine these revised conservation plans and the current urban conservation processes under the name of Izmir History Project.

The drastic changes to conservation legislation outlined in 3.1.3 allowed the emergence of the Izmir History Project by designating the historic city as an urban renewal area. Chapter 3.1.3 outlined the current processes in Turkish historic cities which have experienced precarious and unrestricted projects which have decimated the physical and social fabric of their urban heritage. It has been undertaken through the centralisation of authority in metropolitan municipalities without proper controlling mechanisms from other public bodies and bypassing public feedback mechanisms on urban renewal projects. Thus, it could be claimed that recent processes in Turkish urban conservation have allowed the implementation of projects bypassing the authority to third parties from the private sector, with the facilitative role of public sector in a short period of time, as in the Sulukule and Hacı-Bayram District cases. This represents a visibly ruthless phase of entrepreneurial urban governance through municipal authority. Even though the urban renewal project processes in Izmir have been launched as an example of an alternative approach lacking the features of typical projects in Istanbul and Ankara, the project has still shown entrepreneurial urban governance approaches as will be examined in detail in the following chapters.

# Chapter 5

## **5. Empirical Analysis of Case Study: Izmir Historical City**

The aim of this chapter is to explore the changing planning and governance structures covering urban conservation in the main case study location: Izmir Historic City (Figure 25). It aims to investigate the key structural actors and characteristics of planning and governance during two different phases of urban conservation within the historic city. While the first phase focuses on the conservation planning period from the early 2000s to 2013, the second phase examines governance processes after the introduction of the Izmir History Project in 2013 until 2019. The methodology used to approach the case study will be explained in detail in Section 5.1. This mainly entails content analyses and interview methods which this thesis builds upon in order to explore this case study.

Secondly, the actors within the entire planning and governance structure will be mapped through their roles and institutional profiles for urban conservation processes in Section 5.2. In order to do so, the actors are grouped according to their institutional types: public, private and civil society actors. This section will help to demonstrate the capacities and possible influences of each actor while explaining the governance and planning structures.

Section 5.3 analyses the key structural characteristics of the planning and governance of urban conservation. For this purpose, certain indicators were selected with a view to examine planning and governance structures during the two phases in the conservation of Izmir Historic City. The indicators, which comprise legislative frameworks, aim and objective setting, strategies and policies, analysis and research, governance of decision making and implementations, and monitoring, evaluation and review, were chosen to reveal and assess the characteristic features of conservation plans and management of historic environments which were explored in Chapter 2. These same indicators will be discussed separately in respect to the conservation planning phase (Section 5.3.1) and the Izmir History Project phase (Section 5.3.2). The findings and comparison of these two phases through these indicators will be discussed in Section 5.4.

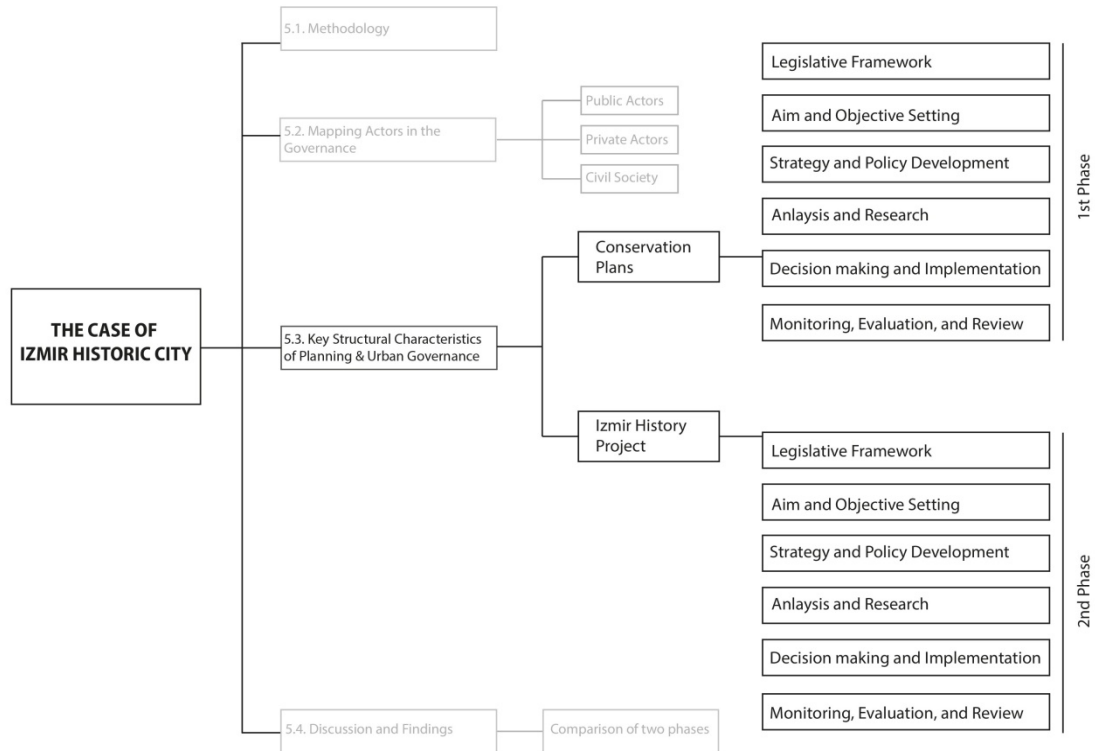


Figure 25: Organization of Chapter 5.

## 5.1 Methodology

In order to analyse and evaluate the planning and governance structure of the conservation plans and Izmir History Project, two data collection methods have been adopted. The first is a content analysis of planning and policy documents obtained from public institutions, as can be seen in Table 3. The documentary analysis also includes a review of the existing literature on the case study, local newspapers and online sources.

Table 3: Types and Resources Used in Content Analyses

Year	Type of Resource	Author/Institution	Detail of Information
2002	Plan (Map) + Planning report  Kemeraltı Konak General Regulatory Plan, 1/5000	Dokuz Eylül University, Urban and Regional Planning Department	General Physical, Socio Economic Analysis Synthesis, evaluations Strategies General Decisions
2002	Plan (Map) + Planning report +Design Guide	Dokuz Eylül University, Urban and Regional Planning Department	Detailed Physical, Socio Economic Analysis Synthesis, evaluations Strategies, Policies Planning Decisions

	Kemeraltı Konak Implementation Plan, 1 <sup>st</sup> Stage: 1/1000		
<b>2009</b>	Plan (Map) + Planning report +Design Guide  Kemeraltı 2nd Stage, 1st Part Conservation Plan, 1/1000	Konak Municipality	Detailed Physical, Socio Economic Analysis Synthesis, evaluations Strategies, Policies Planning Decisions
<b>2013- 2015</b>	Strategy design report Izmir History Project 1 <sup>st</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> edition	Prof. İlhan Tekeli + Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Office of Historic Environment and Cultural Values	Evaluation of Economic growth of Izmir Evaluation of Spatial Development of Izmir Vision Objectives Strategies
<b>2014- 2016</b>	Operation plans of 7 sub-regions Derived from Participatory Workshops	Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Office of Historic Environment and Cultural Values	Values Problems Potential of Heritages; Updates according to Dialogue Conference
<b>2016</b>	Planning Change Report + Maps For Kemeraltı Konak Implementation Plan, 1 <sup>st</sup> Stage, 1/1000 Implementation Plan + 1/500	Izmir Metropolitan Municipality	Rationale for planning changes Planning Changes in the uses and parcels

The second approach is a set of semi-structured interviews with a sample of local actors involved in the conservation of Izmir Historical City. The interviewees are from public institutions (n=12), universities (n=1), the private sector (n=3), and civil society organisations (n=7), coming to a total of 23 interviews (Table 4). The field survey was carried out from July 2017 to April 2018. Although the questions addressed to the interviewees have a common structure, they were tailored to different aspects related to the interviewee's representation sample. The common structure followed the below objectives:

- identifying the main strengths and weaknesses in the current governance of the Izmir History Project and exploring possible ways to improve;
- recognising the role of conservation plans within the existing processes;
- understanding the main constraints to efficient participation and coordination amongst actors;
- exploring how the governance, planning and implementation modes of the Izmir History Project differ from the conservation plans.

Due to the difficulty of preliminary identification of actors who were fully representative in terms of their role and insights into conservation processes, a



snowball/network sampling technique (Berg & Lune, 2014) has been used. Accordingly, ‘early key participants’ from public, private and community organisations were asked to suggest potential further interviewees. The 23 interviews each took between 40 minutes and 1 hour. With interviewee's permission, interviews were recorded and then transcribed and translated by the author. The results presented which explore current governance structures and functions are mainly derived from these interview transcripts.

**Table 4: Number and roles of actors interviewed on the Conservation Process of Izmir Historic City**

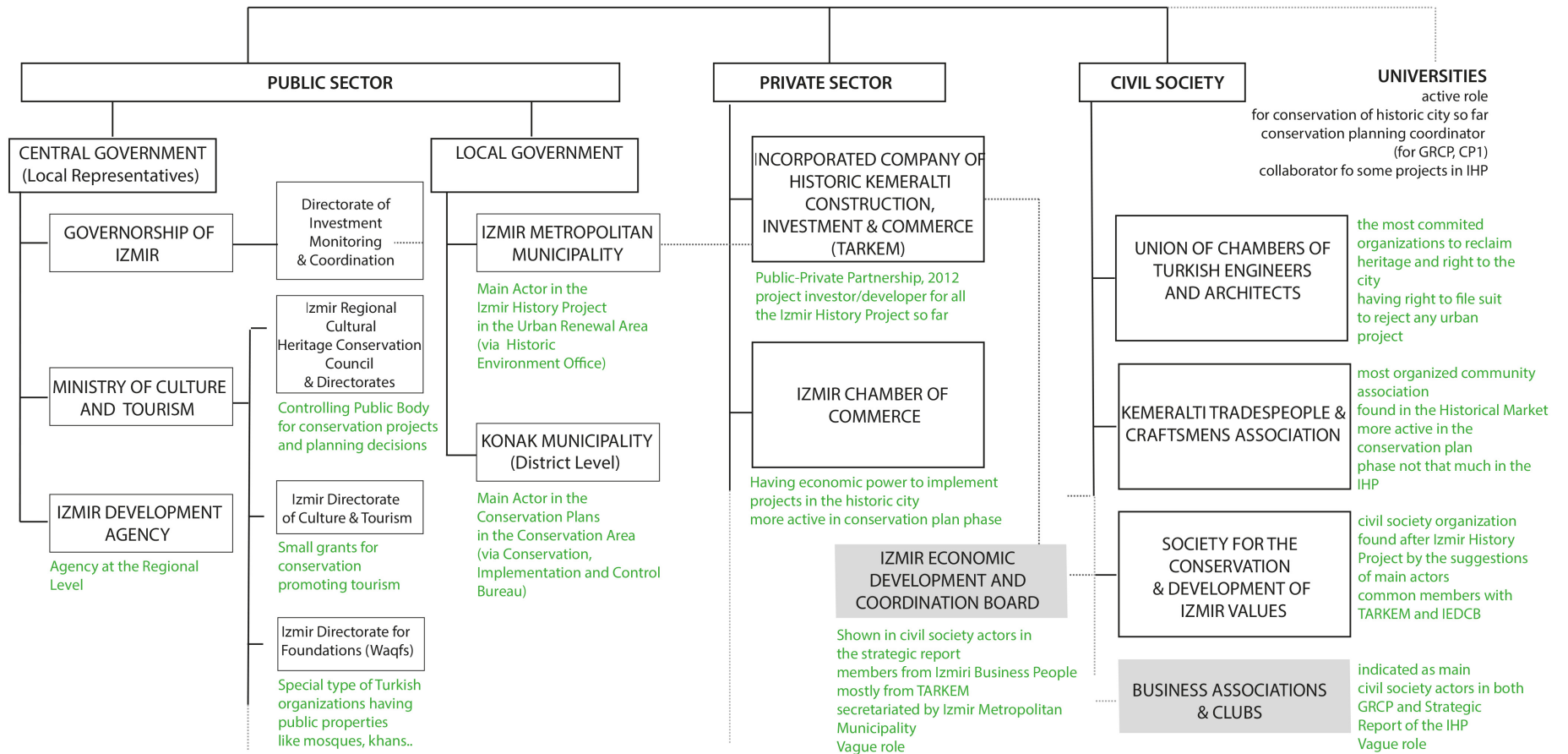
<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Institution/Representation</b>	<b>Role/Position</b>
1	Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Office of Historic Environment and Cultural Values	Head of Office Coordinator of the Izmir History Project (Architect)
2	Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Office of Historic Environment and Cultural Values	Chief of the Project Management Branch (Architect)
3	Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Office of Historic Environment and Cultural Values	Chief of the Design Branch (Architect)
4	Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Directorate of Urban Planning	Planning officer
5	Konak Municipality	Deputy Mayor
6	Konak Municipality	Planning Officer
7	Konak Municipality	Planning Officer
8	Izmir Development Agency (Public Institution at Regional Level)	Planning Officer
9	The Governorship of Izmir Directorate of Investment Monitoring and Coordination	Head of the Directorate
10	Ministry of Culture and Tourism Izmir Directorate of Culture and Tourism	Deputy Manager
11	Ministry of Culture and Tourism The Directorate of Izmir Regional Cultural Heritage Conservation councils	Conservation Officer
12	Izmir Directorate for Foundations (Waqfs)	Deputy Manager
13	Izmir Dokuz Eylül University Urban and Regional Planning Department	Academic Professor of Urban Conservation
14	Incorporated Company of Historic Kemeraltı Construction, Investment and Commerce The Public-Private Partnership	Project Coordinator
15	Izmir Chamber of Commerce Planning, Urbanism and Construction Office	Head of Office

16	Izmir Chamber of Commerce Planning, Urbanism and Construction Office	Officer
17	Chamber of Architects	Head of the chamber
18	Chamber of City Planners	Head of the chamber
19	Chamber of City Planners	General Secretariat
20	Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Merchants Association	One of the founders, member
21	Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Merchants Association + Kemeraltı Lions Club	One of the founders, member
22	Community Organizations Urban Strategy Centre, Various Activist Platforms	Activist One of the Key Figures for Conservation of the Historic City
23	Community Organizations Urban Voluntaries	Activist One of the Key Figures for Cultural Heritage Values

## 5.2 Mapping Actors within the Urban Conservation Process

The actors within the processes have been introduced through public, private and civil society sectors in the planning reports. When it comes to the Izmir History Project, one of the most underlined issues has been the increase in parties active in conservation and revitalisation projects and the empowerment of communities to participate. This emphasis has led to the creation of new connections through a public-private partnership and impacted the roles of other actors. Moreover, constantly changing legislation and institutional structuring of public administrations in the Turkish context, as outlined in Chapter 4, has also altered existing structures and the functions of some actors. Furthermore, universities have often played active roles in conservation planning and practises, and parallel to its part in planning processes, the Izmir History Project has also forged new connections between public, private sector and academic actors. Figure 26 maps the main actors in urban governance of conservation of the Izmir Historic City in respect to the groups of public, private and civil society actors and their highlighted role. .

**Figure 26:**  
**Mapping of the Main Actors in Governance of Urban Conservation**  
 (Source: Author's elaboration).



## **5.2.1 Profiles and Roles of Public Sector Actors in the Conservation Plans and Izmir History Project**

### **The Izmir Metropolitan Municipality (IMM)**

Although the General Regulatory Conservation Plan (GRCP), 1<sup>st</sup> stage conservation plan (CP1) and 2<sup>nd</sup> stage 2<sup>nd</sup> region conservation plan (CP2/1) have been conducted primarily by Konak Municipality, it is indicated in the GRCP report that both municipalities, Izmir Metropolitan and Konak Municipality, are responsible for the city, and each unit inside these municipalities has direct and indirect responsibilities for Izmir Historic City. First of all, one of the general roles of the metropolitan municipality is the role of the council in issuing approvals for conservation plans. While the preparation and approval processes of the GRCP and CP2/1 were in progress, the Office of Historic Environment and Cultural Values in Izmir Metropolitan Municipality (IMMCO) was established within the Directorate of Urban Planning of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2001. Through this advancement, the metropolitan municipality actively contributed to implementations of the projects proposed in conservation plans.

Though it depends on various dynamics such as the willingness of individual mayors, and ‘political acumen’ (Kerr, 2013) in a given local context in Turkey, the changes in the national legislative framework around conservation and related subjects in urban affairs played a significant part in the distribution of roles between the metropolitan and local municipalities. For instance, in the Izmir Case, following the designation of Izmir Historic City as an Urban Renewal Area under Law No. 5366, the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, through the Office of Historic Environment, have ultimately become the prime actor in conservation processes. Therefore, by the introduction of Izmir History Project, the Office of Historic Environment within the metropolitan municipality was appointed as the central responsible public body managing project processes from 2013 onwards. At that time, the historic environments office had already been transferred to work under the authority of the Directorate of Surveys and Projects, from the Directorate of Urban Planning inside the IMM, in 2011. Within the same directorate, the Projects Office and the Urban Design and Aesthetics Office also play a role in defining and adapting the historic environment. Along with the general branches within the Office of Historic Environment, namely the Provincial Historic Environments, Engineering, Socio-cultural, Service Procurement, and Paper Registration Branches, the Izmir History Project Execution Branch and Design Atelier are the major players regarding the Izmir History Project.

The Historic Environment Office has become the principal orchestrating body guiding and coordinating the processes of the Izmir History Project. It is also in charge of provincial conservation and archaeological areas across the entire city of Izmir; however, it is generally known as Izmir History Project Centre following the project introduction. Furthermore, the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Directorate of Urban Planning and its branches such as the Implementation-Planning Office

have played a critical supporting role in the project processes. However, it is worth noting that the Implementation-Planning Office was not included in the introductory process of the project. It has only been involved with the Izmir History Project when changes to conservation plans have been required for individual projects.

When changes in planning decisions are required, the Historic Environment Office enters into discussions with the Implementation-Planning Office to establish if there is a need to adapt the planning decisions according to proposed single projects by the İzmir History Project, and how they could be modified. Following this, the Implementation-Planning Office provides the related planning changes, *plan tadilatı*. In this way, the Historic Environment Office does not make or modify plans under its own institutional capacity. Other offices within the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality are involved in the conservation processes if the projects are related to their subject areas; these include the Transportation Office and the Technical and Infrastructure office. Figure 27 shows the organization scheme of main responsible units for Izmir Historic City within Izmir Metropolitan Municipality.

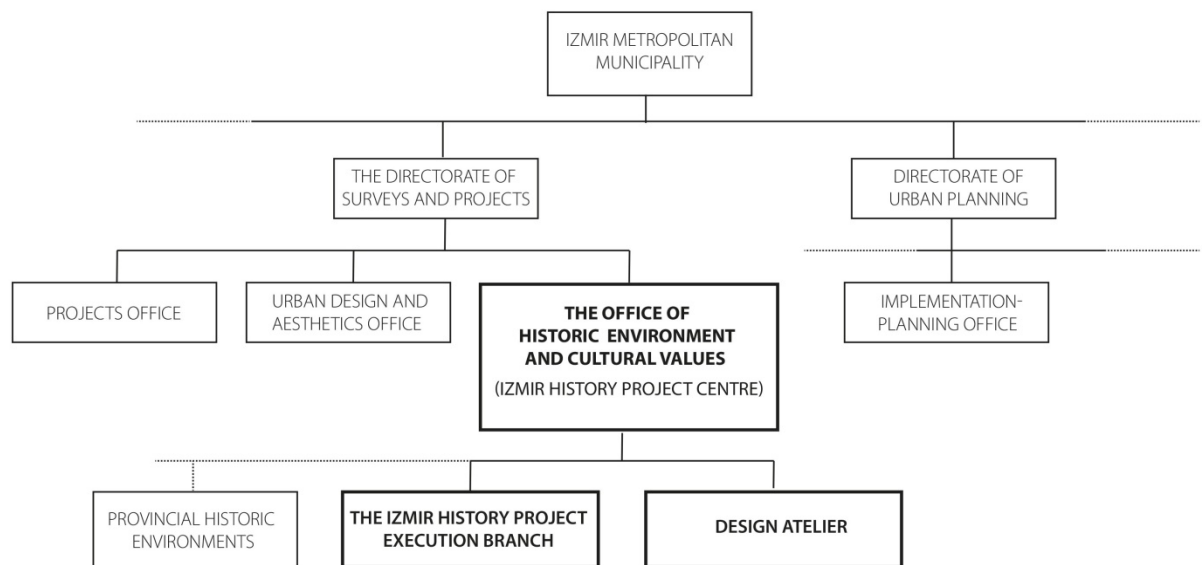


Figure 27: Organization Scheme of IMM for the Current History Project (Source: Author's elaboration)

### Konak Municipality (KM)

Konak Municipality is the local government at the district level, containing Izmir Historical City boundaries within its authority area. KM as a local municipality has been the primary actor in the preparation and operation of conservation plans since local municipalities gained importance under modifications to Local Agenda 21 in the early 2000s. Since the conservation plans were approved, the efficiency of Konak Municipality and the implementation of conservation plans have fluctuated due to changing mayors, political figures and legislative frameworks around conservation. The introduction of conservation

grants to local municipalities by the 2004 amendments to Conservation Act No. 2863, as outlined in the Chapter 4, and the establishment of the Conservation Implementation Control and Education Bureau, *KUDEB*, within Konak Municipality in 2010 encouraged new implementations according to the conservation plans. Following the approval of these conservation plans, these developments accelerated and briefly opened the doors to new conservation practices conducted by Konak Municipality, until the related grants were cut by the current national policy and the introduction of the Izmir History Project.

The 2005 Urban Renewal Act (see Chapter 4) has had a gradual impact on the roles of public actors in Izmir Historic City. It granted the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality principal authority over conservation processes. This shift has become clearer with the introduction of the Izmir History Project in 2013. Although Konak Municipality has been introduced as one of the major actors in the current Izmir History Project, it has not played a leading role in the project processes so far, as it did with the management processes of the conservation plans.

### The Izmir Development Agency (IDA)

Izmir Development Agency is one of the 26 regional development agencies in Turkey which were established in 2006. It has produced general strategic policies at the regional level, taking spatial aspects into consideration, and has provided limited grants for the conservation of cultural heritage. Within the conservation plans, the agency has not been appointed any particular role. However, the agency has promoted regional tourism policies since its establishment, which could have indirect effects on the implementation of the conservation plans.

The Izmir Development Agency has emerged as one of the actors providing financial resources to the projects within the strategic design report of the Izmir History Project. Accordingly, since 2018 the agency has started to open grant calls regarding cultural heritage projects for the entire city, including Izmir Historical City.

### The Governorship of Izmir

The Governorship of Izmir is the local representative of the central government of the city. Within the Conservation Planning Reports, the role of the governorship has not been widely indicated. Its name is only mentioned in relation to coordination within the conservation process. It is claimed that all provincial directorates of the governorship such as the Directorate of Culture and Tourism, Directorate of Security, Directorate of Foundations (Waqfs), Directorate of Provincial Special Administration have responsibility for the management of the historic city. According to the changing attitudes of each governor and their staff, the directorates of the governorship have been involved in and affected by various dimensions of the conservation planning processes. Perhaps the most significant is their support for the Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Merchants Association foundation, through collaboration with the Tradespeople in the early 2000s. The other effective role of the governorship has related to security issues, mainly

concerning the historical market. The responsible unit of the governorship within the conservation plans was initially the Provincial Special Administration (PSA), *il özel idareleri*. However, this administration was removed from the all governorships in the country in 2014.

Under the Izmir History Project process, the role of the Provincial Special Administrations was transferred to the newly established Directorate of Investment Monitoring and Coordination as the main unit responsible for cultural heritage conservation within the governorship. Apart from other related local representative bodies of the central government, which are under the umbrella of the Governorship of Izmir, such as the Directorate of Culture and Tourism, no specific role has been assigned to the governorships under the Izmir History Project. However, it has been one of the active components within the governance of the IHP, particularly with the executive councils, whose secretariat is the governorship, as will be explained in Part 5.3.6

### Izmir Directorate of Culture and Tourism (IDCC)

The IDCC is a representative local branch of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism<sup>43</sup> in Izmir, which works under the authority of the Governorship of Izmir. Under the conservation plans, the role of the Directorate of Culture and Tourism was mentioned in the identification of the relevant branches of the governorship to the management of the historic city. In the strategic report of the Izmir History Project, the role of the directorate was established as a provider of grants for restoration and renovation projects.

### Izmir Regional Cultural Heritage Conservation councils (IRCB) and Directorates (IRCBD)

The conservation councils are the most crucial institutions responsible for the development of conservation practice in Turkey. The boards aim to control conservation processes under the authority of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. From the early era of conservation plans until today's Izmir History Project, the conservation councils have been responsible for registering listed buildings and approving conservation projects for registered parcels or buildings, as well as conservation planning decisions and modifications. In this sense, the boards are the key authority controlling conservation projects and changes to planning decisions with respect to conservation principles. The role of the directorate is to serve as a secretariat for the conservation councils.

### Izmir Directorate for Foundations (Waqfs)

This is the Izmir local branch of the General Directorate of Foundations. It is a Turkish governmental institution that operates and verifies waqfs (foundations),

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<sup>43</sup> Izmir Directorate of Culture and Tourism was established in 1983. It was divided into two separate directorates, culture and tourism in 1989. When the GRCP and CP1 were in approval processes they remained separate until 2003, when they were again combined.

which dates back to the Ottoman Empire and still exists today. Since 1924, the directorate has traditionally been appointed by the Prime Minister of Turkey. However, today it operates as part of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, after radical changes were made in the Turkish government system in 2018. In Izmir, the foundations manage a wide variety of properties such as khans, mosques, mansions and fountains. Under the conservation plans and Izmir History Project, the foundations have maintained the same role: executing restoration and operational projects on waqf buildings with their own financial capacities.

### 5.2.2 Profiles and Roles of Private Sector Actors

Under the Conservation Plans, the private sector is established as an investment actor alongside the public bodies. During the preparation of the General Regulatory Conservation Plans, the planning consulted Coventry University Business School based in the UK, about the economic aspects of regeneration processes. The crucial point indicated in the consultancy report was that:

*‘The challenge of any regeneration scheme is therefore to develop an investment strategy which will seek to maximise the level of private sector investment flowing from initial public investment’<sup>44</sup>.*

Parallel to the consultancy suggestions, it was claimed in the planning report that the most critical issue regarding the economic aspect of regeneration remains the relationships between public and private sector. It was noted that this could be achieved through three approaches: coordination, organisation and resource management. In this context, public-private partnerships were recommended in order to supply credit to regeneration, re-use and conservation projects. However, this plan could not be realised until the introduction of a public-private partnership within the Izmir History Project.

#### The Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board (IEDCB)

The Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board presents different features as an organisation within the municipality, since it aims to introduce a politically neutral management model involving private and civil society actors to the municipality. It was established in tandem with the current mayor’s vision of the city, which first proposed the development of projects through participation in 2009. Accordingly, the secretariat of this coordination is drawn from Izmir Metropolitan Municipality; however, its board remains independent from the municipal councils.

The coordination board has 142 members, mostly from the private sector such as the heads of private companies’ management boards and various business associations. It is divided into thematic committees, one of which is the ‘Committee

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<sup>44</sup> Noon, David. Expert Consultancy Report, *Economic Considerations in Urban Renewal and Regeneration Processes, Issues for consideration by the Kemeraltı (Izmir) Project Team*, 2002.



for the Conservation and Development of Izmir Values'. According to the recommendations of this committee, a Public-Private Partnership, Incorporated Company of Historic Kemeraltı Construction, Investment and Commerce (TARKEM) was founded in 2012. The founders and members of this incorporated company have mostly been selected by the members of this committee. In the strategic report of the Izmir History Project, the role of Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board was only mentioned briefly, as the source of the recommendation to establish the Committee for the Conservation and Development of Izmir Values. However, by considering the establishment of TARKEM and parallel to its general policies, the Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board has played a prominent role in laying the ground for the Izmir History Project.

#### A Public-Private Partnership in the Izmir History Project: Incorporated Company of Historic Kemeraltı Construction, Investment and Commerce (TARKEM)

The most prominent financial aspect of the Izmir History Project is the establishment of the public and private partnership, Incorporated Company of Historic Kemeraltı Construction, Investment and Commerce (TARKEM). It was founded under the endorsement of the Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board and the leadership of the current mayor in 2012. The role of TARKEM is to attract financial resources to the historical city from the private sector through a trusted public-private partnership. Their vision is to produce projects which concern finance, development and community at the same time.

Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has a 30% partnership in TARKEM. Alongside the metropolitan municipality, other partners are Konak Municipality, the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Tradespeople, the Chamber of Maritime Trade, the Aegean Chamber of Industry, Izmir Commodity Exchange, Aegean Exporter's Associations, and leading actors from the private sector who have, in the words of an interviewee from TARKEM, 'significant representative capacity'. Even if it is a part of the partnership, the Izmir Chamber of Commerce has been sceptical about TARKEM. Two interviewees from the chamber noted that due to the poor relations between the current head of the chamber and the mayor of the metropolitan municipality, the Chamber of Commerce had not been actively involved in the processes of establishment and management. However, the chamber has still had 1% of partnership rights. For the conservation and regeneration projects funded and executed by TARKEM, the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality prepares data analyses and TARKEM has a duty to foster open market conditions accordingly.

There are 116 businessmen active within TARKEM who have already been involved in other types of aggregate corporations such as the popular supermarket chain, KIPA, founded in Izmir. 60% of TARKEM members are drawn from among KIPA's founders. According to the interviewee from TARKEM, the businessmen

associated with TARKEM are those who succeeded in their previous companies as they are considered ‘opinion leaders’ or ‘wise men’ for Izmir.

The Managing Board of TARKEM has many more members than usual management boards, seventeen altogether. The interviewee from TARKEM noted that it is because of their desire to achieve a perfect spectrum of representation. According to the interviewees and their visible network from the local press, the key members of TARKEM have strong connections with the current mayor of Izmir. For instance, the best-known actors in the Management Board include Muzaffer Tunçağ, a former Mayor of Konak Municipality, and Uğur Yüce, a local businessman, both of whom has close contact with the mayor. Moreover, the company aims to increase the number of members from 121 to 500 by the end of 2018 by trying to include more craftsmen and tradespeople from Kemeraltı Historical Market.

### **5.2.3 Profiles and Roles of Civil Society Actors**

In both the conservation plans and the Izmir History Project, there are related professional chambers, and development associations linked to business societies, which are introduced as civil society actors within the management processes. During the preparation of the General Regulatory Conservation Plan (GRCP) and Conservation Plan/1, there was an attempt to establish a Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Merchants Association. However, this failed due to having been initiated from above rather than developing organically among the Kemeraltı community. Furthermore, within the organisation scheme in the GRCP, a community trust was suggested. This trust would have had its own budget and secretariat in order to supply contributions to works in Kemeraltı and represent the interests of Kemeraltı craftsmen and tradespeople through an NGO. This has not yet been established. However, the Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Merchants Association were founded by bottom-up processes after the GRCP and CP/1 were prepared.

Within the Izmir History Project, the proposed roles and variety of business associations has visibly increased, however they have been presented as civil society actors. Moreover, the Committee for the Conservation and Development of Izmir Values which was founded at the suggestion of the Izmir Economic Development Coordination Board was presented as a new civil society association for cultural heritage protection. There were no ‘community’ groups concerning cultural heritage mentioned in the reports and recommendations of either the conservation plans or Izmir History Project. In fact, no active community association regarding conservation issues could be observed in Izmir Historic City. However, there are scattered individuals writing on the problems of conservation and cultural heritage in social media groups or local press, who are sometimes connected to other general community associations.

### Izmir Chamber of Commerce (ICC)

The Izmir Chamber of Commerce actively contributed to the preparation of the conservation plans by vigorously participating in meetings of the planning team. It argued for research on the historic city to be added to analyses of the plan, especially commercial data for Kemeraltı Historical Market. The chamber has executed some regeneration projects with its own resources in Kemeraltı and surrounding areas, including the quayside, from the beginning of the conservation plans phase onwards.

In the strategic design report of the Izmir History Project, the role of the Izmir Chamber of Commerce is to provide grants for new conservation and revitalisation projects. However, interviewees from the chamber remarked that in reality the role of the chamber within the history project is not to deliver funding for projects by different bodies but to conduct its own projects in the historic city.

### Business Associations

In the General Regulatory Conservation Plan, business societies such as the Aegean Industrialists and Businessmen Society (ESIAD) and the Aegean Young Businessmen Society (EGIAD) are in the first group of civil society actors, and Foundation for the Development of the Aegean Economy (EGEV) was mentioned in the second group of civil society actors within the organisation scheme. However, there was no particular role assigned to these actors.

Besides the business societies mentioned in the planning report, the Izmir Industrialists and Businessmen Society (IZSIAD), the Aegean Businesswomen Society (EGIKAD) and Izmir Culture, Art and Education Foundation (IKSEV) were added to the Izmir History Project strategic report. In reports for both the conservation plans and the project, the names mentioned are the main societies, and it was added that the processes were open to other business associations. In the Izmir History Project phase, they are also listed as civil society actors. It is indicated that they could play an extremely efficient role within the regeneration processes in respect to their economic power and profiles of their members.

### Society for the Conservation and Development of Izmir Values (SCDIV)

The Izmir Committee for the Conservation and Development of Izmir Values is a society recently introduced to the Izmir History Project. It was established at the suggestion of the Izmir Economic Development Coordination Board in 2012. The aim of the society is to raise public awareness and interest in the conservation of cultural heritage. On the society's website, the mission of the SCDIV is stated as creating a culture and tourism industry, contributing to branding the city and making the city competitive among world tourism destinations<sup>45</sup>.

In the strategic report of the Izmir History Project, it is claimed that the involvement of the Committee for the Conservation and Development of Izmir

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<sup>45</sup> <http://www.kentimizizmir.org.tr/hakkimizda/>

Values might be beneficial to conservation and regeneration processes due to the profiles of its founders and members. The role of the society is envisioned as a locomotive to produce, manage, operate and execute projects within the historic city. However, it is observed that members of its management board are again from business associations which have close relations to TARKEM. Four out of five members of the main management board of the Committee for the Conservation and Development of Izmir Values are also on the management board of TARKEM. The majority of the members of the Supervisory Board, and substitute members in the Management and Supervisory Boards of this society, are also on the management board of TARKEM.

#### **Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Merchants Association (KTCA)**

In the reports for the conservation plans, there is a strong emphasis on the importance of establishing an association to represent the tradespeople and craftsmen in the Kemeraltı Historical Market. As is mentioned above, the first effort to start a tradespeople's association was made by the leadership of the Konak Municipality and Izmir Governorship in 1999. However, the association only lasted 6 months in this case. Thereafter, the association was re-established in 2004 as a bottom-up initiative by the endeavours of its original founders from the Kemeraltı Historical Market Community.

Within the Izmir History Project strategic report, the significance of such an association of tradespeople was mentioned and it was claimed that the Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Merchants Association have played an advocacy role in the historical market until now. Nonetheless, it has no active role as a practitioner at the implementation phase of the project.

#### **Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA)**

In both phases, conservation plans and Izmir History Project, the main related professional chambers were indicated as the Chamber of Architects, the Chamber of City Planners and the Chamber of Landscape Architects as active professional chambers in the conservation process. The chambers have technical and professional roles which can both assist and benefit from conservation and regeneration processes.

Professional chambers from the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects have often played prominent roles in raising awareness and revealing objections to conservation projects, considering that there is no deeply rooted tradition of active community groups in Turkey's conservation culture. In this context, according to the interviewees, the professional chambers in Izmir have also played sound roles to ignite criticism on conservation and cultural heritage issues.

## 5.3 Key Structural Characteristics of Conservation Planning and Governance in Izmir Historical City

This section aims to build understanding of the key structural features of the two phases of urban conservation planning and governance. For this purpose, several selected indicators will contribute to the dissection of planning and governance in respect to the particularities of urban conservation. The legislative framework indicator will explore the case of Izmir Historic City in the context of Turkish legislation on conservation and planning. It will clarify how the existing national legislation led to changing conservation practices in Izmir. More detailed analysis of the existing legislation regarding conservation planning was undertaken in Chapter 4. The aim and objective setting indicator will show the general visions according to which the two phases approached urban conservation. As explained in Chapter 2, the survey is the most prominent characteristic of the conservation plans, and functions to reveal the character, significance, sense of place, distinctiveness or *genius loci* of a place according to the conservation concepts of authenticity and integrity. Hence, the analysis and research approach sheds light on the survey characteristics of each phase. The strategies will help to demonstrate which types of policies developed; to what extent they have been realised will be shown in the implementation indicators. The governance of decision-making indicator will contribute to understanding how the local governance context is arranged and to what extent it allows proposed aims, strategies and actions to be achieved. Finally, the monitoring indicator will evaluate if these systems of governance have allowed effective monitoring, evaluation and review, which are fundamental for change management in historic environments.

### 5.3.1 Conservation Plans

#### 5.3.1.1 Legislative Frameworks

The process of the General Regulatory Conservation Plan (GRCP) and Conservation Plan Stage 1 (CP1) has been mainly derived from the regulations and concepts described in Conservation Act No. 2863, the main legislation, along with Urbanism Act No. 3194. As explained in Chapter 4, this is the legislation which led to the development of concepts of area-based conservation in Turkey and introduces conservation planning as the main tool for managing historic cities, which is still valid today.

Following the approval of GRCP and CP1, the Conservation Plan for the 2<sup>nd</sup> stage, 1<sup>st</sup> region was in preparation stage while significant improvements were being made in the Turkish conservation legislation. Law No. 5226 made advanced alterations to Conservation Act No. 2863 in 2004, regarding financial resources, local authorities and participation. In terms of these alterations, the 12<sup>th</sup> article of Law No. 5226 allowed the allocation of 10% of real estate taxes to contribute to conservation projects, alongside alterations to Real Estate Act No. 1319. Moreover,

the Mass Housing Act No. 2985 allowed 10% of mass housing credits to be allocated to conservation works. In this context, along with other improvements, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism could allocate conservation and regeneration grants to the private owners of listed buildings in conservation areas.

Through these improvements, conservation works gained momentum within Izmir Historic City as well. Thanks to grant possibilities assigned through local municipalities, Konak Municipality became the main body responsible for use and collection of applications from private owners in the Izmir case. Therefore, the preparation and activation process of the Conservation Plan for the 2<sup>nd</sup> stage 2<sup>nd</sup> region coincided with these improvements in the national legislation.

However, cuts to conservation grants through local municipalities and the introduction of Urban Renewal Act No. 5366 in 2005 hindered the development of conservation through Konak Municipality which had been activated by the increasing financial opportunities. Izmir Historic City was designated as an Urban Renewal Area in 2007, and eventually, this enabled the introduction of the Izmir History Project by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and has stalled the effectiveness of conservation plans. The metropolitan municipality has utilised the Urban Renewal Act to claim overarching authority for conservation and regeneration activities through Izmir History Project.

**Table 5: Main Legislations and Their Innovations and Concepts to the Planning Period**

	<b>GRCP+ CP1</b>	<b>CP2/1</b>
<b>Main Legislation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>1983</b> Conservation Act No: 2863</li> <li>- 1985 Urbanism Act No: 3194</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Alterations to the 1983 Conservation Act No: 2863 by Law No. 5226 in <b>2004</b></li> </ul>
<b>Concepts and Innovations allowed by the Legislation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Area-based Conservation</li> <li>- Introduction of a Comprehensive Conservation Planning</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- New opportunities for conservation grants and financial resources</li> <li>- Increasing power for implementations and efficiency of local authorities</li> <li>- Supporting participation in the conservation process</li> </ul>

### *5.3.1.2 Aims and Objective Setting*

The general aims of the conservation plans were introduced in a report by the General Regulatory CP. They principally demonstrated the aim of revitalising the neglected historic city, making it more attractive for local and international visitors. In this context, the main objective became to encourage tourism in order to ‘gain more economic benefit from the historic city’. According to the planning report, the innovative idea was using a different approach from the 1984 conservation plan

which resulted in many demolitions in the historical fabric. The new plan considers the re-using instead of demolishing of the historic city to enhance its local economy. It has taken into account criticisms of the conservation field from practitioners at the time. The critics deem the conservation field ‘too conservative’. In order to reflect this, it is declared that the new plan is a ‘conservation plan’ and at the same time is a revitalisation project which has a different approach to conventional conservation plans produced in Turkey.

Therefore, the objectives accounted for the issues of i. enabling the participation of actors from the public, private sectors and community; ii. creating environments to solve possible conflicts and reach a consensus amongst local authorities and property owners/tenants; iii. mobilising related professional chambers, community organisations to pass decisions on land uses; and iv. assigning the public sector a prominent role while creating an attractive atmosphere for the private sector.

**Table 6: Main Aim and the Innovations and Concepts to the Conservation of Historic City**

	<b>Conservation Plans</b>
<b>General Aim</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- revitalisation of the neglected historic city by making it more attractive for visitors</li> </ul>
<b>Concepts Innovations of Conservation Plans</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- allowing re-uses instead of demolitions in the historic centre by contrary to the 1984 plan</li> <li>- recognising the economic benefit of the historic city</li> <li>- assigning tourism to increase economic benefit</li> <li>- introducing participatory planning discourses to the historic city for the planning and project phases</li> <li>- presenting public sector as a primary actor to create an attractive environment for investments from the private sector</li> </ul>

### *5.3.1.3 Analyses and Research behind the Conservation Processes*

The analyses of the field survey for General Regulatory (GRCP) and Conservation Plan for the 1<sup>st</sup> stage (CP1) were conducted by the Izmir Dokuz Eylül University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Urban and Regional Planning in 2000. During the preparation phases of the GRCP and CP1, consecutive meetings were made with Konak Municipality, Izmir Dokuz Eylül University and specifically with tradespeople and retailers in Kemeraltı to gather information about their demands for the processes. The analyses for CP2/1 were carried out by the Planning and Project Office of the Konak Municipality in 2004. It should be again

noted that there was no valid conservation plan for the 2<sup>nd</sup> stage, 2<sup>nd</sup> region; therefore, no complete urban survey was conducted for this part of the historic city, apart from the inventory of listed buildings. Efforts to compile this inventory list began in the 1970s under the influence of the experts on the conservation councils and of legislative advancement at the time, as was explored in Chapter 3.

Alongside the inventory list, the GRCP includes a general survey containing analyses of socio-economic features, land uses and archaeological areas. The socio-economic analysis is based on a Doctoral Dissertation conducted at Izmir Dokuz Eylül University in 2001 and data gathered from the Turkish Statistical Institute. The socio-economic analysis offers very general information<sup>46</sup>. It includes details of household features (74% elementary family), age groups (mostly young), education level (mostly low, 54% at elementary school level), income groups (mostly low), and tenants or owners (mostly owners).

The analyses for the CP1 are twofold: i. an urban survey in the planning report and ii. the design guide for the architectural features of listed buildings and buildings contributing to urban character. The urban survey encompasses detailed levels of spatial analysis such as land and building uses, structural conditions of buildings, number of storeys, listed buildings, urban tissue character, floor ratios, density, infrastructure, transportation, street paving, plants, building with construction permit, historical major and monumental buildings (mosques, synagogues, churches, khans, baths, fountains), brief demographic facts and detailed economic analysis of the historic city. Moreover, the design guide covers detailed architectural characteristics of buildings including façade components, but not the interior design. Even though the types were not as explicitly classified as in usual typo-morphological analyses, it contributes a comprehensive description of architectural types within the historic city. Thus, it could be said that typological analysis is one of the urban morphology analyses employed within the report.

The analyses for the Conservation Plan 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage and 1<sup>st</sup> followed the same methodology as CP1, comprising of an urban survey and design guide. In addition to same types of analysis as CP1, they include social amenities and ownership information for public buildings. The design guide used the same method and illustrated the building classifications in the same way as CP1. Furthermore, it can also be noted that the typological analysis for CP2/1 has different ‘types’, considering that this area includes more residential buildings while the area covered by CP1 is largely commercial.

Following the recommendations in the CP2/1 design guide, it can be suggested that the diversity of analyses should be advanced by using the mixed methodological instruments used in conservation planning. The analyses could also benefit from new digital tools used for documentation of historic environments as was exemplified in Ballarat Case in Chapter 2.

Based on the above-mentioned details of spatial analyses and their synthesis, the ‘zoning’ method was used in both CP1 and CP2/1. Hence, the CP1 area was

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<sup>46</sup> The survey was done by 10% sampling.



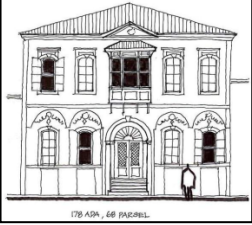
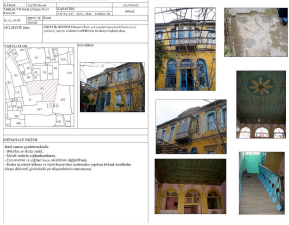
divided into 8 zones <sup>47</sup> and the CP2/1 area into 6 zones. The boundaries of these zones are illustrated in Figure 28.

**Table 7: The Features and Evaluation of the Analyses and Research behind Conservation Plans**

	<b>GRCP+ CP1</b>	<b>CP2/1</b>
<b>Main Responsible for the Analyses and the Date</b>	- Izmir Dokuz Eylül University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, <b>2000</b>	- Planning and Project Office of the Konak Municipality, <b>2004</b>
<b>The Outputs</b>	- Urban Survey in Planning Report (Too generic) - Inventory List - Design Guide (Classification of buildings, architectural elements by hand drawings; not including all the buildings but examples) -	- Urban Survey in Planning Report (More detailed) - Inventory List - Design Guide in Planning Report including more detailed typologies and serves to decide levels of interventions for restorations and based in detailed field survey

<sup>47</sup> In order to show an example how the zones were decided, the features of the zones in CP1 are presented:

The 1<sup>st</sup> zone covers the main entrance from the Konak Square, although Konak Square was not within the conservation area boundaries and the eastern boundary of the 1<sup>st</sup> zone reaches to Salepçioğlu Office building. The 1<sup>st</sup> zone encompasses the buildings having experienced most intervention under former implementations, especially the plans allowing a higher Maximum Floor Ratio. The buildings in this zone are mostly used as offices and administrative buildings. The 2<sup>nd</sup> zone includes the northern part of Anafartalar Street containing many listed buildings, which has largely commercial features at the first floor, storage at the second floor, and khans and mosques. The 3<sup>rd</sup> zone contains fuzzy boundaries with neighbouring zones; however, it is called ‘Mantocular District’, and it has a variety of building patterns covering also locally high rises and small commercial buildings. The 4<sup>th</sup> zone is the old shoemakers’ district and Jewish quarter with synagogues. The shoe production spaces were displaced by the decision of the local municipality. 1100 units and 8000 people were working before the conservation planning period. The 5<sup>th</sup> zone includes production spaces for crafts along with retail commerce. The 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> regions have mostly 3-storey residential buildings. Inhabitants are revealed as mostly immigrants and a lot of buildings are occupied without permission. Especially in the 6<sup>th</sup> zone, there is a high vacancy rate in the buildings, with a poor physical condition and not many listed buildings. In the 7<sup>th</sup> zone, there were only sporadic listed buildings without any form of historic urban pattern. The 8<sup>th</sup> zone, including old Bahribaba Park, embraces the buildings of a historic ‘girl’s school’, and some administrative buildings with large floor spaces.

	 <p>179 ADA, 68 PAEREL</p>	
<p><b>Methodology</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Character Areas depending on Zoning</li> <li>- The opinions of community on urban heritage not included in the analyses</li> <li>- The analyses not utilized from digital tools (the possibilities of the year 200)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Character Areas depending on Zoning</li> <li>- The opinions of community on urban heritage not included in the analyses, but results of participatory meetings amongst experts and practitioners are more visible</li> <li>- More engaged with the CAD and GIS technologies</li> </ul>
<p><b>Evaluation of the survey and analyses</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Not updated</li> <li>- Not as detailed as to reveal character of a place, distinctiveness or significance</li> <li>- Community not involved in the analysis section</li> <li>- Not engaged with current technological and digital trends</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Not updated</li> <li>- More detailed analyses but not sufficient to illustrate the present problems</li> <li>- Community not involved, but participatory meetings occurred amongst the experts</li> <li>- Not engaged with current technological and digital trends</li> </ul>

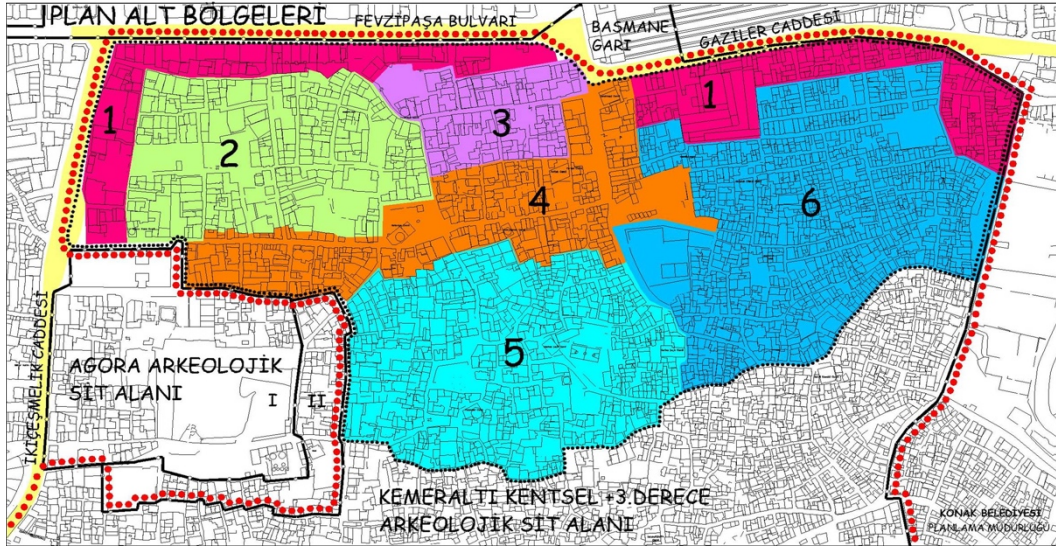


Figure 28: The character zones in the CP2/1 (Source: KM Archive, 2017)

#### 5.3.1.4 Strategy and Policy Development within the Conservation Processes

The strategies in the conservation plans were developed separately, according to three main subject areas: residential areas (Figure 29), the historical commercial market, *Kemeraltı* (Figure 30) and the archaeological areas such as the Agora, the Theatre and the Red Castle.



Figure 29: View over part of the Residential Fabric in Izmir Historic City (Source: Author, 2019).



Figure 30: View over Kemeraltı Traditional Market (Source: IMM Archive, 2018).

The General Regulatory Conservation Plan develops broader strategies for the management of the entire conservation area, such as encouraging more residential uses, providing more accommodation services to increase nocturnal activity in the historic city, boosting retail commerce rather than the wholesale trade, increasing the number of cafes, bars, restaurants, cinema and theatre activities, enhancing small squares, inserting university uses into the area, and allowing pedestrianisation, especially inside the radial shaped district enclosed by the main Anafartalar Street as can be seen in Figure 30. Tourism is highlighted as the most attractive use considering the interests of private sector investors. In addition to this, it is specified that the quality of tourist facilities ought to be enhanced in order to prevent an increase of hotels resembling the existing ones in the Basmane Hotels' District. It is noted that:

*'Visitors who demand cheap accommodation solutions and low-qualified services cannot contribute to the economic development of the historic city' (GRCP Report, 2002).*

The General Regulatory Conservation Plan suggests an increased focus on interventions at the urban block level, by linking conservation decisions with general transportation schemes. To illustrate, alongside the total urban conservation area, the GRCP paid attention to links between Gümrük Pier/Konak Pier and Kordon Historical Conservation Area, and Cumhuriyet Boulevard, Mimar Kemaleddin Street and Konak Square were indicated as important links. The planning proposals identified pedestrianisation as a significant strategy in Kemeraltı, especially in the central commercial streets. An underground carparking area was suggested in Konak Square to support conservation planning decisions. Moreover, the multi-storey carparking on Eşrefpaşa Street (Figure 31) is proposed to be demolished due to its location within the boundaries of the 1<sup>st</sup> degree

archaeological conservation area. The General Regulatory Conservation Plan suggests broad strategies including repurposing, greener areas with landscape design, and restrictions on number of storeys, especially in the places in which the 1984 conservation plan had permitted 3 storey buildings which could have reached 5 or 6 during construction through use of the slope.



**Figure 31: Multi-Storey Car Parking Area in Eşrefpaşa Street (Source: Author, 2019).**

Evidently, the overall aim is to approach the historic city from a holistic perspective in this general regulatory plan and then continue at a smaller scale, under the conservation plans' 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> stages, for detailed interventions. However, it is also claimed that the historic city needs acute interventions in some particular parcels. Otherwise, it cannot stimulate private sector investment. In addition to this ambition, one noteworthy strategy of the plan is to oblige projects on single parcels, which are developed in the special project areas, to be produced as part of an overall urban design project. In this way, the plan was able to develop holistic regulations of the projects, in which they are expected to comply with the rules of the wider urban design project which is produced according to the terms and conditions of the special project areas indicated in the conservation plans.

The GRCP places great importance on the communication of the goals and successes of this 'overall revitalisation project' via mass media, with television channels as one of the strategies. Accordingly, the planning team tried to collect the opinions of locals, especially tradespeople and craftsmen in the area, and disseminate the news through the media during the preparation of the plan. The GRCP and Conservation Plan 1 were introduced to NGOs, professional chambers,

universities and municipalities in the local agenda 21 house. These endeavours received an award from ÇEKÜL<sup>48</sup>.

In respect to strategies at smaller scales, the Conservation Plan for the 1<sup>st</sup> stage (CP1) focuses on pedestrianisation, creating links between enhanced residential, commercial and tourist spots, constructing car parking areas at the periphery of the historic city to replace the car parking areas inside, demolishing multi-storey car parking in the fish market, enhancing green areas and squares, and improving infrastructure and lightning. Notably, it is stated in the planning report that the existing socio-cultural condition of the districts cannot support these strategies. Therefore, spatial transformation is foreseen in these areas.

In commercial areas, namely in Kemeraltı Historical Market, some of the traditional craft establishments, particularly small production places, were converted to other commerce types, though some have retained traditional features by being arranged into thematic streets or clusters. The overall strategy indicated in the report is to retain the already lively historical market and encourage former crafts to return with special policies. As one of the significant characteristics of Kemeraltı, it is suggested to rehabilitate traditional khans with surrounding parcels and re-uses. The plan also suggests increasing the volume of green areas within Kemeraltı around little squares, Şadırvans and in empty spaces, introducing characteristic plants through landscape design. For Kemeraltı, the plan also proposes construction of new sanitation facilities, a police station, a community education centre and health centres in order to compensate for the lack of amenities in the historical market. Moreover, regarding the building covering ratio and floor ratio, the plan suggests conserving the original urban morphology. However, considering the original spatial configuration has been partially damaged, it suggests the construction of new buildings in some spaces according to original spatial dimensions. Hence, taking into account of each zone having a variety of spatial characteristics, building covering ratios and floor ratios were calculated according to the individual buildings and parcels.

The Conservation Plan for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage, 1<sup>st</sup> region (CP2/1) aimed to develop strategies with respect to particular spatial problems described in the planning area. Firstly, the CP2/1 paid particular attention to retaining urban morphology at all levels of spatial configurations, such as building-parcel relations, garden and building ratios and architectural elements. According to the authentic functions of buildings and parcels, the plan assesses the terms of construction and intervention levels in particular buildings. According to these terms, it encourages the use of the conservation grants and financial resources made available by the legislative changes at the time. CP2/1 further suggests execution of implementations in the 'specific project areas' proposed in the plan in order to show the positive effects and gain public trust in the plan.

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<sup>48</sup> A prominent Non-Governmental Organization on conservation issues works at the national level, see: <https://www.cekulvakfi.org.tr/we-exist-through-nature-and-culture>.

This plan also promotes increased tourism uses in the planning area, especially considering enhancement to the hotel district. The other strategy is to limit production functions within the district, in which production and storage functions are high. It is claimed that this limitation concerns industrial production which is not compatible with the traditional craft and production features in the historic city. The plan also assesses high-rise buildings as a barrier alongside the enlarged roads within the planning area and suggests reconsidering their existence and functions.

**Table 8: General Problems analysed in the Historic City and Strategies to overcome**

	<b>Conservation Plans</b>
<b>General Problems of the Historic City</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Physical degradation and neglect of the historic city</li> <li>- Transportation and traffic problems</li> <li>- Large numbers of car-parking areas</li> <li>- Emptiness overnights</li> <li>- lack of amenities such as health services, education services and public spaces</li> </ul>
<b>Strategies Developed</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Holistic planning and project managements referring to the conservation plan</li> <li>- Conservation of existing built form with all aspects</li> <li>- Enhancing tourism and youth activities for revitalization (increasing numbers of accomodations)</li> <li>- Pedestrianization and improving the accesses from the periphery</li> <li>- Demolishing multi-storey car-parking and moving the existing car-parking areas out of the historic city</li> <li>- Re-functioning of historical buildings primarily the khans</li> <li>- Restriction of some production functions in Kemeraltı Historical Market</li> </ul>

After the designation of Izmir Historic City as Urban Renewal Area (URA) in 2007, an action plan was prepared for the URA including strategies for the historic city. One interviewee from the Konak Municipality noted that this plan was comparatively unambitious when she against the urban renewal area practises in Istanbul and Ankara at the time, considering that the local authorities of Izmir were not aware of new possibilities Urban Renewal Area policies offered metropolitan municipalities. When the approval process had just been formally initiated, the IMM introduced the Izmir History Project and this action plan was interrupted.

#### *5.3.1.5 Governance of Decision-making and Status of Implementations in the Conservation Plans and Izmir History Project*

One of the most complex issues of these conservation processes has been the implementation of the decisions and projects proposed by the conservation plans. Implementation processes in progress have also faced governance challenges. The

decision-making process in the conservation planning period made efforts to be participatory both in the preparation and implementation phases. In this context, participatory meetings were undertaken during the preparation of the plans as explained in Part 5.2, and also for the implementation phases of some projects. They were mostly accomplished through the efforts of the planning team and Konak Municipality. Konak Municipality played the leading role and Izmir Metropolitan Municipality had a supplementary role in the implementations of conservation plans. Though the planning team endeavoured to involve more actors in the participatory processes, decision-making and governance have occurred mostly through coordination between the public sector, universities, professional chambers and sometimes users.

The General Regulatory Conservation Plan covers 270 Ha including 114 Ha commercial and 142 Ha residential areas. In terms of the implementations, the Conservation Plan for the 1<sup>st</sup> stage used the zoning method, with 8 specific project areas including Konak Square, the Golden Road Archaeological Conservation Area (ACA), the Stadium ACA, the Theatre ACA, the Red Castle ACA, Alipaşa Square, Hisarönü Mosque and the Agora ACA. After the conservation plans were approved in 2002, some of the proposed projects within the plans were commenced in the historic city. The planning team also executed an urban design project in 926. Street where the former shoemaker spaces are located, and in the hotel district. These two projects became symbolic examples for participatory governance approaches within the implementation phases of the conservation plans.

For the urban design project in the former shoemaker spaces on 926 Street, the conservation planning team organised participatory meetings with the mayor of Konak Municipality, at that time Erdal İzgi, property owners, tradespeople and former shoemakers. As one of the interviewees from the universities indicated, the planning authors paid utmost attention to the vacancy of the shoemaker spaces in the first stage conservation plan. Furthermore, the rehabilitation of the hotel street was also conducted as a collaborative work by Konak Municipality, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, the Chamber of Hotel Owners, the Chamber of Architects and ÇEKÜL. The participatory processes amongst the actors involved with this rehabilitation project led to it being described as one of the most successfully coordinated implementations of the conservation plans.

Within the conservation planning processes until 2013, large-scale implementations can be grouped according to three themes: enhancement of squares, repurposing of major historical buildings, and street rehabilitations<sup>49</sup>, alongside a small number of conservation projects on listed buildings with private owners in the residential and commercial areas. The implementations were done mostly on the facades, without intervening into the interiors.

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<sup>49</sup> There are also implementations within the archaeological areas such as the Agora, Theatre, Stadium and around the Red Castle. Here, the focus is on the projects within the urban conservation areas, not on archaeological ones.



In respect to the enhancement of the squares, the first implementation was carried out in Alipaşa Square, in which Alipaşa Shadırvan is located, between 2002 and 2003 (Figure 32). The revitalisation of this square was one of the ‘special project area proposals’ in the CP1. The implementations covered renovations to the facades of surrounding buildings, paving, and some environmental arrangements. The project led to creation of spatial links with a vibrant location in the historic city, Kızlarağası Khan, which had been already renovated and repurposed. The project was executed by Konak Municipality.



Figure 32: Ali Paşa Square (Source: Author, 2019).

Among the repurposing projects undertaken as part of the conservation plan implementations, the renovation and re-use of the Abacıoğlu Khan (Figure 33) has been one of the most vital examples. This restoration work was conducted by Konak Municipality in 2007. Former khan buildings were re-imagined as cafes, restaurants and shops and won the award for ‘respect to history’ from ÇEKÜL and the Phillippe Rotthier European Architecture Prize. Another significant re-use project has been the Ahmet Aga Mansion, which was converted to serve as the office of Historic Environment and Cultural Values by the IMM between 2011 and 2012. According to the conservation planning decisions, the multi-storey car park located between 866., 871., 874., and 876. Streets were also demolished in 2012. In place of the car parking area, a new fish market project was to be developed after 2012 as part of the Izmir History Project. Regarding street rehabilitation project implementations, Basmane Hotel Street (Figure 34) was the first to be rehabilitated, in 2005. The rehabilitation works included façade renovations and enhancement of infrastructures.



Figure 33: The courtyard of Renovated Abacıoğlu Khan (Source: Author, 2019).



Figure 34: Street Rehabilitation in Hotel District (Source: IMM Archive, 2018).



Figure 35: 926. Street in the former shoemakers' area (Source: Author, 2019).

The street rehabilitations in the former shoemakers' area, comprising façade renovations and infrastructure enhancement, were completed in 2007 (Figure 35). However, today the renovated streets are largely vacant, and the area has failed to thrive as an attraction since the rehabilitations were undertaken (Figure 36). Throughout the interviews, there was a recurrent argument about the decisions made during the conservation planning and project implementations in the former shoemakers' area. The district's lack of success became a shared point of focus for officers of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, the Historic Environment Office, in order to rationalise the need for changes in conservation planning decisions. Multiple interviewees remarked that the problem is the whole vacant area comprised of three-storey buildings which were proposed as 'restaurants' in the plan. After the project, the place remained vacant and could not trigger any potential investment for the market. The interviewees interpreted that the planning decisions were incompatible with the natural flow of the market and that proposing all the buildings in the entire space be repurposed as restaurants was completely unfeasible. According to some interviewees, the continuing vacancy of this area illustrates how the conservation plans remained insufficient to revitalise the historic centre. For instance:

*'The existing planning tools have not yet activated any investment or meaningful actions. Therefore, we decided to begin another term in tone with the participatory vision of urban projects for the entire city, such as 'Izmir Coast Project' and the 2nd became 'Izmir History Project'. Let me give an example; the place which remained vacant after the shoemakers were replaced to outside the historic centre was proposed to be used entirely as a restaurants zone. But this planning decision is against the natural flow of the*

*market, it is impossible to achieve. Indeed, the decision after the plan has not been realised until now. The area is all neglected now; it is totally vacant' (Interviewee from the IMMCO).*

Some interviewees associated this issue with the general structural problems of municipalities and coordination between them. For example:

*'In 926. St, the municipality relocated the shoemakers' shops and then conducted restoration projects. But the street is not alive now, so the metropolitan municipality must ask some questions. There is no separate tourism office inside the municipality, so tourism is an issue split between other offices like the conservation office, technical office, or external relations office. There is a Directorate of Culture and Tourism as a branch of the central government. Nonetheless, they do not have a sufficient financial budget. How could a tourist experience even those rehabilitated streets? Simply, there are no visible narratives, there are neither inscriptions, aesthetics nor order inside the historic city' (Interviewee from the Izmir Chamber of Commerce).*



**Figure 36: 926. Street with vacant buildings (Source: Author, 2019).**

Several interviewees, mostly from the planning offices, however, indicate that it was obvious in the conservation plan that restaurants were suggested as a 'possible use'. Due to intervention by TARKEM, the desired function was recently changed from 'restaurants' to 'commercial-hotels'. If the plan had specified the 'commercial-hotels' function initially rather than suggesting only 'restaurants' for this area, the following process would have been seen more active progress is a missing interpretation.

Therefore, the interviewees from the historic environments office mostly shared the same view: that conservation planning was not able to stimulate active

implementations on conservation and revitalisations. The strategic planning reports and officers believe the Izmir History Project's main vision is to quickly implement projects and there is no time to produce updated conservation plans. For instance:

*'Preparing and having approval for a new plan takes more than 10 years. Nonetheless, neither the craftsmen and tradespeople in Kemeraltı nor the district itself have any patience for 10 years more wait. Until now, a lot of buildings have been lost, and most of the rest are in very bad conditions. We are obliged to act faster. The approach of the Izmir History Project was rooted in the reasoning behind doing conservation' (Interviewee, Executive chief of the project).*

#### *5.3.1.6 Monitoring, evaluation and review*

An independent monitoring, evaluation and review unit suggested in the conservation plans, Kemeraltı Development Unit, has not yet been established. Before the Izmir History Project, monitoring of conservation planning processes was principally undertaken by Konak Municipality. When the Conservation Plan for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage 1<sup>st</sup> Region (CP2/1) was being prepared in the beginning of the 2000s, participatory meetings were obligatory for the conservation processes under Conservation Act No. 2863; however, the related article was subsequently removed. At the time, neighbourhood chiefs (mukhtars), local authorities, universities and the community gathered together to review and evaluate the conservation plan. It would then be adapted according to the feedback made in the meetings. The plan for the 2<sup>nd</sup> stage and 1<sup>st</sup> region was approved under the advancements brought by Law No. 5226, whereas the plan for the 1<sup>st</sup> stage was prepared before the legal advancement of conservation was achieved. Thus, it could be claimed that for the short period of time until the area was designated as an urban renewal area and related gains were rolled back, the processes of CP2/1 benefited more from these advancements. For instance, an organisational scheme was proposed under CP2/1 which directly addressed monitoring issues. One of the interviewees, also an author of this plan, noted:

*'We insisted that there should be a site management mechanism to enable accomplishment of planning decisions and proper monitoring. The planning itself has not been sufficient for achieving implementation of this decision; there should be a financial dimension, larger scale organisational schemes and capacity that should be built first'.*

Other interviewees also underlined the importance of the establishment of an independent body from the other institutions for the management of the historic city. For example:

*'the municipality should have taken into consideration the results of participatory workshops to enable their integration into the general planning scenario and strategies. If you do not do this, the development will be partial and most likely it cannot have positive effects on the historic environment. We again recommended establishing a place in which interdisciplinary research and monitoring of the historic city can take place, considering the continuous need for analysis, evaluation and review. We also suggested a site management plan in the workshops, which can frame the governance structure. In*

*this way, every institution can realise their solution through a certain programme’.*  
(Interviewee from the Chamber of Architects).

### 5.3.2 Izmir History Project

#### 5.3.2.1 Legislative Frameworks

The most advanced term of Turkish conservation legislation which started with the 2004 alterations to the Conservation Act contributed positively to the preparation of the Conservation Plan for the 2<sup>nd</sup> stage and subsequent conservation implementations within the conservation planning practices. Nonetheless, it was interrupted by the later effects of the 2005 Urban Renewal Act which led to a shift in the main authority from the local to the metropolitan municipality and decreased the efficiency of the conservation plans. This shift also resulted in the introduction of the Izmir History Project in 2013. This project is underpinned by various policy and legal frameworks. However, the major influence which has enabled this huge project covering a 248 Ha Area was the introduction of Urban Renewal Act No. 5366. Although the Izmir History Project covers an area with a vast range of conservation statuses including 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup>-degree archaeological areas, urban conservation areas, and urban transformation areas, this act made it possible to designate the whole historic city an ‘urban renewal area’. Besides the Urban Renewal Act, the project has drawn upon various items of legislation which have directly or indirectly influenced conservation planning and governance processes: Conservation Act No. 2863, Municipality Act No. 5393, Urbanism Act No. 3194 and Metropolitan Law No. 5216. While it has been also common to utilise Disaster Act No. 6306 for urban transformation areas in Turkish historic cities, this legislation has not been used for the Izmir History Project. As the executive chief of the Historic Environment Office in Izmir Metropolitan Municipality noted, ‘we are against exploiting the Disaster Act in the project, because this legislation enables urban transformation without a need for negotiations.’ He further gave an example: ‘there are a lot of buildings that were constructed according to the 1984 conservation plan. If we were willing to use the disaster act, we could declare these areas earthquake risky, start demolitions and allow new constructions easily. However, we disagree about the benefits that disaster act could provide’.

**Table 9: The Influences of Different Legislations**

	<b>Izmir History Project</b>
<b>Main Legislation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 2005 Urban Renewal Act No. 5366 (the main act)</li> <li>- +Municipality Act No. 5393, Urbanism Act No. 3194 and Metropolitan Law No. 5216</li> </ul>

<b>Influences</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Designation of Urban Renewal Areas within Urban Conservation Areas (in historic places)</li> <li>- Confusions in the authorities of urban renewal and conservation areas</li> <li>- Main authority from Konak Municipality to the Metropolitan Municipality</li> <li>- Allowing utmost authority to the municipality for (urgent) expropriations (IMM has only used in Archaeological areas so far)</li> </ul>
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### *5.3.2.2 Aims and Objective Setting*

The vision and objectives of the Izmir History Project have been established by the Historic Environment Office in the Metropolitan Municipality within the strategic design report guided by Professor İlhan Tekeli. Since the Izmir History Project has emerged as part of the participatory vision of Izmir Metropolitan City under the authority of the current mayor, the vision and objectives of the project have parallels with the overall vision of the entire city. The mayor, with the consultancy of Professor Tekeli, has presented a vision of Izmir as “developing through urban projects by participatory processes”. Like other urban projects such as ‘Izmir Sea and Izmir Coast’, the Izmir History Project has shared the general vision of the city by enabling execution of projects through the ‘participation’ of other actors. The vision and objective setting have fostered this idea by multiplying actors involved with the management of the historic city and project-based approaches.

Alongside the overall vision of increasing the variety and numbers of actors, ‘strengthening the relations of Izmir Citizens with the historic and cultural values in the city’ and revitalising the existing ‘rift areas’ by converting them to ‘project areas’ have been presented as the main objectives of the project. The Izmir Metropolitan Municipality became the key actor in establishing the current vision and objective setting for the historic city. Under the current processes for the conservation of the historic city, the other institutions in the actor network maintain roles according to their overall vision, either by collaborating with the Izmir History Project or individualising their contributions.

In fact, one of the fundamental aspects of the Izmir History Project was the establishment of TARKEM to achieve a ‘Public-Private Partnership’ for the regeneration of Izmir Historic City. Therefore, the vision of TARKEM exists in parallel with that of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. The vision of TARKEM is depicted as ‘achieving conservation and development through participatory approaches and public-private partnerships’ (interviewee from TARKEM). Their main objective is ‘implementing projects on the ground’ in order to apply this vision. The interviewee also noted that TARKEM placed both human and

financial/development projects at the heart of its vision, in an attempt to achieve both in tandem.

Izmir Chamber of Commerce has produced a vision for the historic city as well. The chamber has embraced the historic city as a part of their overall ‘sustainable tourism’ objective. Moreover, the Izmir Culture and Tourism Directorate has also promoted the vision of encouraging tourism in the city.

**Table 10: General Aims and Objectives of the Izmir History Project**

	<b>Izmir History Project</b>
<b>General Aim</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enabling execution of projects through participatory decision-making processes in the historic city</li> <li>- Allowing to activate urban revitalization which conservation plans could not have been achieved until the IHP</li> </ul>
<b>Main Objectives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Strengthening connection of Izmir citizens with their history</li> <li>- Converting rift areas to project areas</li> </ul>

### *5.3.2.3 Analysis and Research behind the Conservation Processes*

The strategic report of Izmir History Project built upon the collection of generic analyses. The report opens with a broad spectrum of background information about Izmir within Turkey and the Aegean Region, especially stressing the economic growth of the city. Subsequently, it briefly evaluates the urban and planning history of Izmir, drawing upon a review of the existing literature. The key section of the analysis section of the report is the description and delineation of the boundaries of ‘sub-regions’ in the entire Izmir History Project area. The sub-regions are decided according to urban-archaeological data largely based on a master thesis, titled ‘Urban Archaeological Issues and Resources in Izmir Historic City Centre’<sup>50</sup>. In this thesis study, Izmir Historical City was investigated in terms of its archaeological deposits and historical resources, and a respective set of zoning schemes was proposed. The whole project area’s division into 19 sub-regions hinged on this master thesis. It can be claimed that the first, second, and third editions<sup>51</sup> of the strategic design report, in which the general framework of the Izmir

<sup>50</sup> Burak Belge, *Urban Archaeological Issues and Resources in Izmir Historic City Centre: An Exploratory Case Study*, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2005.

<sup>51</sup> They were published between 2013 and 2016. The details of the reports are presented in the bibliography.



History Project is outlined, have not included any detailed spatial analysis of the historic city. That said, detailed and spatial analyses and survey results have been missing in the current project processes, considering that the existing analysis in the conservation plans has not been updated either. The new zoning scheme, by including 19 sub-regions, does not depend on comprehensive and updated field survey analyses but on a master thesis work and literature reviews.

The other methodological instrument which contains relevant analyses within the Izmir History Project has been the operational plans. The operational plans, nine for the 19 sub regions, were drawn up between 2013 and 2018, and have been produced based on the results of participatory workshops. They include the participants' opinions and contributions regarding the values-potentials-problems of the historic city, collected during the workshops. These operational plans were principally used to select the catalyst projects, which are compatible with the general aim of the project of enabling filter-up projects through participatory processes. As is explained in the previous sections, participation has become the prominent promotional discourse of the Izmir History Project. Hence, it is crucial to interrogate whether the participants have been selected from balanced and representational samples and integrated fairly into the decision-making processes. This issue will be discussed in Chapter 6.

After the individual projects were selected according to the operational plan results, a partial detailed analysis was conducted for each project area. In respect to the entire project area, there is no holistic database including surveys, research and analysis. Currently, this partial analysis for small-scale single projects has been conducted only for the Synagogue District project. Furthermore, a sociological analysis was carried out in a street within the residential district, Patlıcanlı Yokuşu Street (Figure 37), via collaboration between the Historic Environment Office of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and a university.



Figure 37: Patlıcanlı Yokuşu Street (Source: Author, 2019).

Moreover, Izmir Chamber of Commerce has conducted some research about the culture of Izmir. The chamber prepared analyses for the historic city as a cultural inventory of the population and tourists in 2009. However, according to interviewees from the chamber, the Izmir Chamber of Commerce has not opted to use this analysis for the Izmir History Project, even though the analyses covered a large number of buildings (10000) in the historical fabric. In addition to the lack of systematic analyses supporting the governance and management of the Izmir History Project, a link between the research programmes and monitoring has not been established.

Table 11: Analyses Types and Their Evaluation in the Izmir History Project

	Izmir History Project
<b>Main Responsible for the Analyses and Research</b>	- Prepared by Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Historic Environment Office, guided by Prof. İlhan Tekeli, 2013-2016 (3 <sup>rd</sup> version)
<b>Outputs</b>	- Strategic Design Report - The Operational Plans

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- New analysis reports to implement small scale projects</li> </ul>
<b>Methodology</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Built upon literature review in the strategic design report</li> <li>- Division of 19 sub-regions (character areas)</li> <li>- Participatory workshop results (people's answers for values/problems/potential for the given sub-region) in the operational plans</li> <li>- Field survey for the analyses of small scale projects</li> </ul>
<b>Evaluation of the survey and analyses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No available, updated and systematic underpinning the Izmir History Project</li> <li>- The boundaries of 19 sub-regions only depend on a master thesis not on a surveys and analysis types specific to conservation plans</li> <li>- Digital tools are not utilized in order to upgrade participatory processes and include their results in the operational plans</li> </ul>

#### *5.3.2.4 Strategy and Policy Development within the Conservation Processes*

A mix of strategies has been proposed in the Strategic Design Report to inform implementations in order to reach its overall objectives of making history more visible amongst Izmiris and revitalising 'rift areas' by stimulating 'projects'. These strategies are informed by the assumption that the conservation plans prior to the introduction of Izmir Historic Project lacked efficient results per se, and this new project would gain successful outcomes by stimulating more actors to enable projects. The first strategy focuses on providing more prestigious services in the area to revitalise and not to limit the whole area to 'low income' groups. Since the Izmir History Project aims to attract more people into the historic city, the main theme of the strategies became 'tourism'. Enhancing tourism has been associated with 'creativity and design' concepts which allow visitors to live sophisticated experiences within the historic city. To promote tourism and 'experience places', strategies such as 'urban archaeology' are suggested as a conceptual tool. Archaeological ruins are envisioned as part of daily life in Izmir. It is suggested to processing geo-spatial data with the outputs of the archaeological excavations and use them as an input for conservation plans. Moreover, this could also be useful in creating links amongst the Agora, Theatre, Stadium and the Golden Road, *Altinyol*, which has traces of a Roman road.

Attracting youth to actively use the historic city is another major strategy. To do so, locating the department of universities, leisure locations such as a 'gourmet street' and 'art street', and university accommodations within the old city has been proposed. Furthermore, the strategies also include prevention of vacant areas in the historic city by not tolerating abandonments and replacement of ongoing activities within and close environment of the historic city.

In practice, the strategies of the Izmir History Project aim to enhance the residential fabric for inhabitants while at the same time allowing ‘some gentrification’ and transformation. According to the report, this could increase the diversity of social groups living in the historic city. In order to support this strategy, it is claimed that since existing ‘tenants’ of the buildings prefer to live in the historic city for a short period, and the costs of houses are low, gentrification can be achieved in such areas. As executive chief of the Izmir History Project claimed:

*‘Our primary concern is to achieve management which keeps existing inhabitants in the area. Since we have a strategy based on conservation with the inhabitants, we have also taken a different path from other urban renewal projects in Turkey. However, the increase of property values has already begun within 4 years of launching the project and before any implementations began. Rising property values are inevitable.’*

It is suggested that involving inhabitants with conservation processes will be achieved by enabling them as service providers in the area. While one of the strategies considers establishing the historic city as a potential ‘experience place’ by creating links between residential, commercial and archaeological areas, interviewees from the Historic Environment Office in the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality were aware of certain problems attached to this approach. Firstly, even if inhabitants are ready for this change it could create social conflict, for instance over whether they are willing to be service providers, or over how it could be achieved. Thus, serious social analysis is required. The second problem could arise from the increase in property values. The third problem marks the need to increase consciousness amongst inhabitants about the values of historic environment in which they are living.

**Table 12: The General Problems and Strategies developed in Izmir Historic City**

	<b>Izmir Historic City</b>
<b>General Problems of the Historic City</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The same problems observed in the Conservation Plan</li> <li>- Expected revitalization within the Conservation Plans could not have been achieved</li> </ul>
<b>Strategies Developed</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increasing the number of actors especially whom could make investments</li> <li>- A public private partnership has been found</li> <li>- Tourism is main strategy through aiming to increase creative sectors, experience places and design</li> <li>- Allowing to increase social levels through encouraging more prestigious services</li> <li>- Increasing the activities and uses for youth</li> </ul>

### 5.3.2.5 Governance of Decision-making and Status of Implementations in Conservation Plans and Izmir History Project

Since the main motivation of the Izmir History Project is to be able to undertake show ‘projects’ within the historic city, implementation has the key role. The project area, covering 248 Ha, has been divided into 19 sub-regions as can be seen in

Figure 38. For each region, participatory workshops have been prepared to gather opinions and contributions of different community groups, universities, NGOs and related public bodies in order to assess values, problems and potentials of the historic city. The meetings are currently run by the design branch of the Historic Environment Office in Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. Even though a separate unit for the participatory processes was mentioned in the strategic report, it has not yet been established.

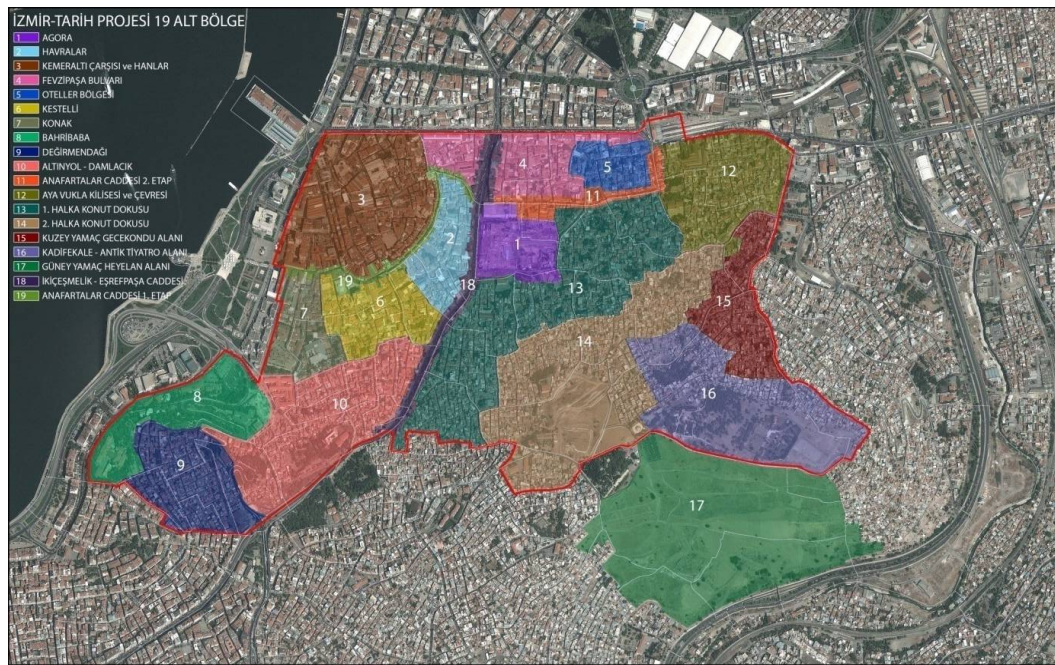


Figure 38: 19 sub regions in the IHP (Source: Strategic Report, 2015).

Following the participatory meetings, the IMMCO prepares operational plans for the sub-regions (Figure 39). At the time of writing, the participatory workshops for 12 sub-regions have been completed and operational plans of 8 sub-regions are in progress, including the Hotels District, Synagogues District, Anafartalar Street 2nd Stage, Agora, The Red Castle, and First and Second Circle Residential Areas. Following the production of the operational plans, the municipality disseminates them to get feedback and to find developers for investments regarding the appointed projects in each sub-region. The operational plans do not contain the decisions for each parcel in the sub-regions; on the other hand, it has included single projects at macro and micro scale (Izmir History Project Operation Plans 2015, 2016).

IZMIR HISTORY PROJECT – FIRST SUB-REGIONS WORKSHOP  
SUB-REGION NO. 2 – SYNAGOGUES REGION OPERATION PLANS

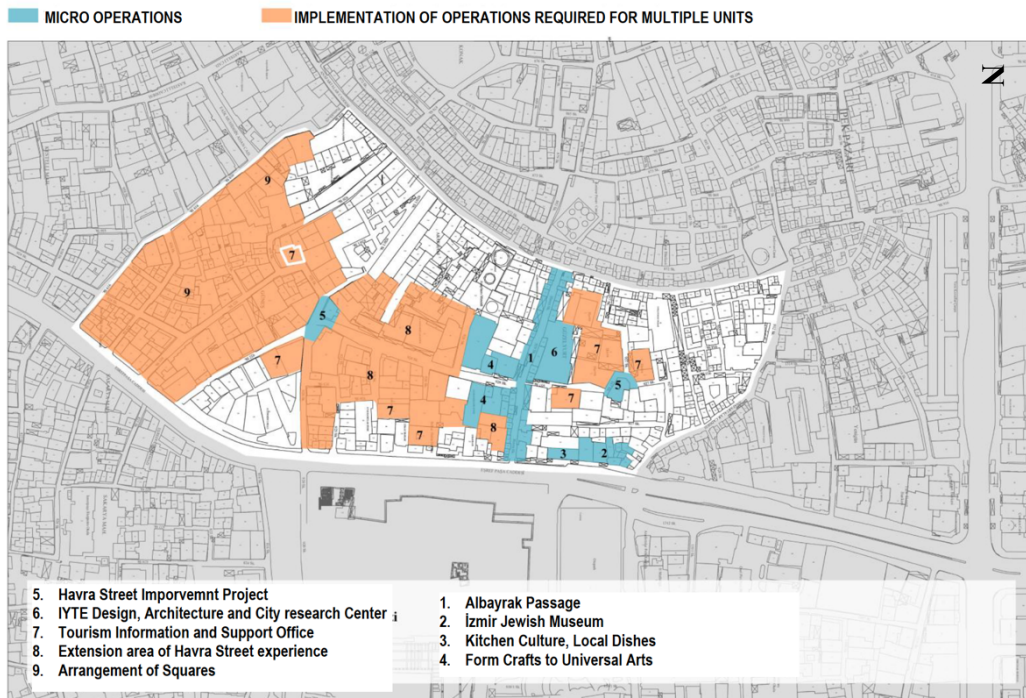


Figure 39: An example from an Operational Plan (Source: Operational Plan,2015)

Following this, the IMMCO make investigations in the selected parcels with the teams from universities. The major aim behind this process is to find ‘the parcel’ in which the desired revitalisation can be accomplished. Selected piecemeal projects on one parcel aim to revitalise development for the entire urban blocks in which they are located. After a decision has been made, the IMMCO return to the conservation plans and establish whether the decision is in harmony with the plan. If it is not, the IMMCO and project team discuss a possible planning change with the planners from the Planning Office of the Municipality and propose the planning change to the conservation council.

During the decision-making processes, the question arises of who will be responsible for implementing the selected projects. Accordingly, an interviewee from the Historic Environment Office remarked:

*‘Until the Izmir History Project, neither municipality, neither the metropolitan municipality nor Konak Municipality, were able to put plans into action. Our task is to increase the number of actors among other public bodies and the private sector. We make sure to involve the private sector with investments, but of course, under the control of the IMM and with respect to the general frame and principles of the project. Basically, TARKEM was born from the Izmiri business community to provide investments in the historic city and until now, it was the only actor willing to conduct selected projects’ (An interviewee from the IMMCO, Project Management Branch).*

When a project finds an investor, the design process of the specified projects starts. To date, the projects have been run through the co-operation of the universities, the investor - namely TARKEM - and the Project Management Branch of the IMMCO. This branch is in charge of the coordination and control of the

project implementations which are executed by the co-operation of the private sector investors and the universities, or by the investor alone. Figure 40 illustrates the processes of implementations in Izmir History Project processes.



Figure 40: Implementation Sequence (Source: Author's elaboration).

### Mapping the Projects Implemented and Underway

Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has divided the project types into three groups: regional projects such as infrastructural ones; macro scale projects like street rehabilitations and urban design projects; and micro scale projects such as the restoration and re-use of single buildings. The processes of the projects are colour coded in Figure 41 as follows: planned in lightest blue; in progress in darker blue; and implemented in the darkest blue. The implemented projects by the IMM<sup>52</sup> are mostly concentrated in the western area, as described as the 1<sup>st</sup> stage in the conservation plan. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> stage, namely the eastern part, the projects are mostly in the planning process or in progress. Nonetheless, the implemented projects on the map show all projects which have been implemented by Izmir Metropolitan Municipality in the historic city, not only the projects after Izmir History Project launched.

The map of project types illustrates the infrastructural projects such as pedestrianisation and cycle paths; street rehabilitations; single restoration/re-use projects; public space enhancements; urban design projects; and projects in archaeological areas at different progress (Figure 42). Until now, Izmir Historic Centre Sustainable Urban Transportation Plan Guide Report<sup>53</sup> has been undertaken by an international private organisation and IMMCO to guide the suggested pedestrianisation projects. Some projects for the enhancement of squares and parks were also completed, such as Hisarönü Square and Agora Park.

<sup>52</sup> The implemented projects seen in Figure 36 included also the projects undertaken by Izmir Metropolitan Municipality before the introduction of the Izmir History Project.

<sup>53</sup> <http://www.izmirtarih.com.tr/pdf/IzmirUlasim.pdf>





High Technology Institute (Figure 43). The Synagogue District is located within the Güneş and Güzelyurt Neighbourhoods of the historic city. In the past, the Jewish community became settled in this district, with roots from Istanbul, Thessaloniki, Portugal and Spain. The district had mix-use features with nine Synagogues, residential and commercial buildings. Today, the district includes one of the most vibrant streets of the historic city, Havra<sup>54</sup> Street (Figure 44), which is used for commercial functions, and some vacant streets including the former shoemakers' area. It is mentioned that the project aims to enhance the permeability of the Synagogue District with the rest of the historic city and activates different uses for the region such as commercial, accommodation, gastronomic and cultural facilities. As stated in the strategies section, the single catalyst projects which aim to revitalise their close environment were defined here as the Izmir Jewish Museum, and a university unit with educational functions.

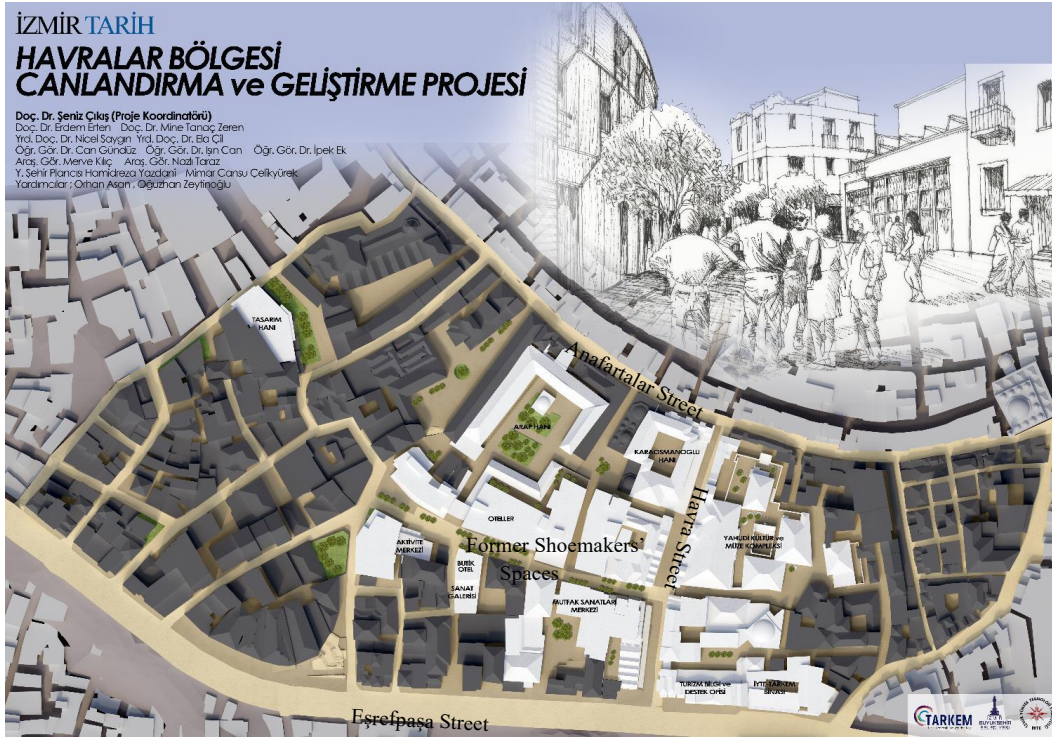


Figure 43: Synagogue Project funded by TARKEM (IMM Archive, 2017).

In respect to the projects in the Synagogue District, planning decisions were changed in some parts of the district. According to the planning change report (2016), the related changes were made to the operational plans as a result of the outcomes of the participatory workshop held on August 14, 2014 and of the Synagogue District Revitalisation and Development Project decisions.

<sup>54</sup> Synagogue in Turkish.

### Participatory Workshop and Operational Plan for the Synagogue District

In the participatory workshop, the area's values, problems, potentials and possible projects were defined in collaboration with the participants. The values were focused on the multi-cultural features of the space, with the Jewish religious buildings and vibrant commercial street centre of Havra Street. In the operational plan, it is indicated that the district has a high potential to attract foreign and local tourists thanks to its religious character and lively Havra Street. These could be promoted as 'experience places', according to the strategies of the Izmir History Project. The problems were described as a high vacancy rate in the former shoemakers' area, the poor conditions of the buildings, the closeness of the Synagogue to Ikiçeşmelik Street as a barrier to accessibility between the eastern and western parts of the historic city and specifically between Synagogue District and the Agora. The potentials stated by the participants include the potential of the buildings as training places, creation of thematic streets such as art streets in vacant areas and enhancing security, the quality of infrastructure, and commercial areas. The outcomes support the idea of 'attracting youths' to the Synagogue district by promoting related new uses (Operational Planning Report, 2015).



Figure 44: Havra Street (Source: Author, 2019).

In the operation plan, three new macro functions were proposed: converting synagogues to a museum complex, transforming the former shoemakers' area and textile warehouses to restaurants, a gastronomic centre, and places for craft, art and design centres. It was mentioned that Izmir Jewish Community Foundation had also prepared a report on conservation of the synagogues as tourist attractions and the

potential establishment of a Jewish museum complex in 2014. According to this report, four synagogues, Siniora, Algazi, Hevra and Foresteros were proposed to be combined by converting them into the centre of a museum complex. Also, Etz Hayim and Shalom Synagogues should be added to the complex. At the district level, this plan suggested new uses such as museums, exhibition halls, classrooms, cafes, restaurants, bookstores on Judaism, art galleries, and souvenir shops (Operational Planning Report, 2015). To date, the restoration works of Bet Hillel, 2014, and the Portuguese synagogues have been implemented (Figure 45). In the plan of the Jewish Community Foundation, the synagogue would have been converted to a museum on the well-known rabbi, Hayim Palachi. However, it is still closed now although the restoration works have been completed. In the operational plan, it is reported that this project will promote Izmir as an internationally known city and contribute to finding more actors to financially support the project.



**Figure 45: Restoration of Bet Hillel Synagogue (Source: Author, 2018).**

For the former shoemakers' area, 84% of the participants agreed on the possibility of a gastronomic centre providing both kosher and Izmir cuisine. In the operational plans, the investor and organising actors called for coordination with property owners. Even though the participatory workshop results supported gastronomic functions in the area, and it is indicated that it is compatible with the conservation planning decisions, planning decision changes were undertaken. In the planning change report, it is stated that the proposed 'gastronomy' function in the conservation plan is disadvantageous for such a place close to the lively commercial streets of Kemeralti. 95% of the participants agreed on the potential benefits of bringing back traditional crafts to the area, claiming that are places for mutual

learning and education. 94% of the participants found it important to support artists and designers in the area and 75% of the participants supported converting the textile warehouses area to a fashion centre with training activities. According to the operational plans, these activities were compatible with the conservation planning decisions.

Micro projects indicated in the plan included Havra Street Improvement Project, an extension of 'experience places' to 926. Street, establishment of Izmir High Technology Institute Design, Architecture, Urban Research Centre, rearrangements of two squares through demolition of two ordinary buildings, introduction of tourist information and the re-use of Albayrak Passage for bookshops, souvenir shops and antique shops linked to the Jewish Museum Complex.

Actors in the projects for macro scale, micro scale and general infrastructure were divided into three types: organisers, investors and operators. In the operational plans they were indicated as IMM, KM, Izmir Jewish Community Foundation, TARKEM, and Izmir High Technology Institute (IZTECH).

#### Planning Changes According to the Project

The Synagogue District Revitalisation and Development Project was divided into 5 focus areas: i) the Design, Architecture, Urban Research Centre for IZTECH, Block No. 203, Lot No. 62 ii). 926. Street as a culinary art street with cafes, restaurants, hotels, and an activity centre, iii) enhancement of Havra Street, iv) Jewish Museum Complex, and v) enhancement of Saints, *Azizler*, Street. Planning change proposals do not cover the whole Synagogue District as the 2<sup>nd</sup> sub-region in 19 sub-regions, but they are proposed for the area within the boundaries of Havra Street, Anafartalar St., 927 St. to the north, 920. St to the south, Anafartalar St. and 937 St. to the west, and Eşrefpaşa, 926, 923 Streets to the east (Figure 46).

As is listed the Table 6, the planning changes were made through planning notes, usages, status, cadastral lines and design. It is crucial to indicate that the most significant change was the change to the 12<sup>th</sup> Article of the conservation plan, relating to the definitions of the 'Special Project Area'. In the conservation plan, an urban design project was obliged to be accomplished according to the general principles of the special project area specified in the plan. However, the new article caused changes to the general principles which now allow projects on the single parcels or buildings without requiring an overall urban design project. Apparently, this change opens the way for implementations by the Izmir History Project as single projects on single parcels, without reference to the conservation plan or an urban design project. This amendment resulted in the loss of the holistic approach of the conservation plans and released the process from planning decisions and control.

Likewise, specifically in the Synagogue District project, this change allows specific project areas on the single parcels (Figure 47). As it is seen in Table 13, status type, two parcels are defined as a 'special project area', and planning decisions can be changed within these parcels regarding functional and construction

terms. Moreover, by empowering a new 1/500 settlement plan, the new project can make a decision on amalgamation of the parcels, which is completely against the general article of the plan which claims that ‘conserving the cadastral pattern (urban pattern) in the planning area is principal’.

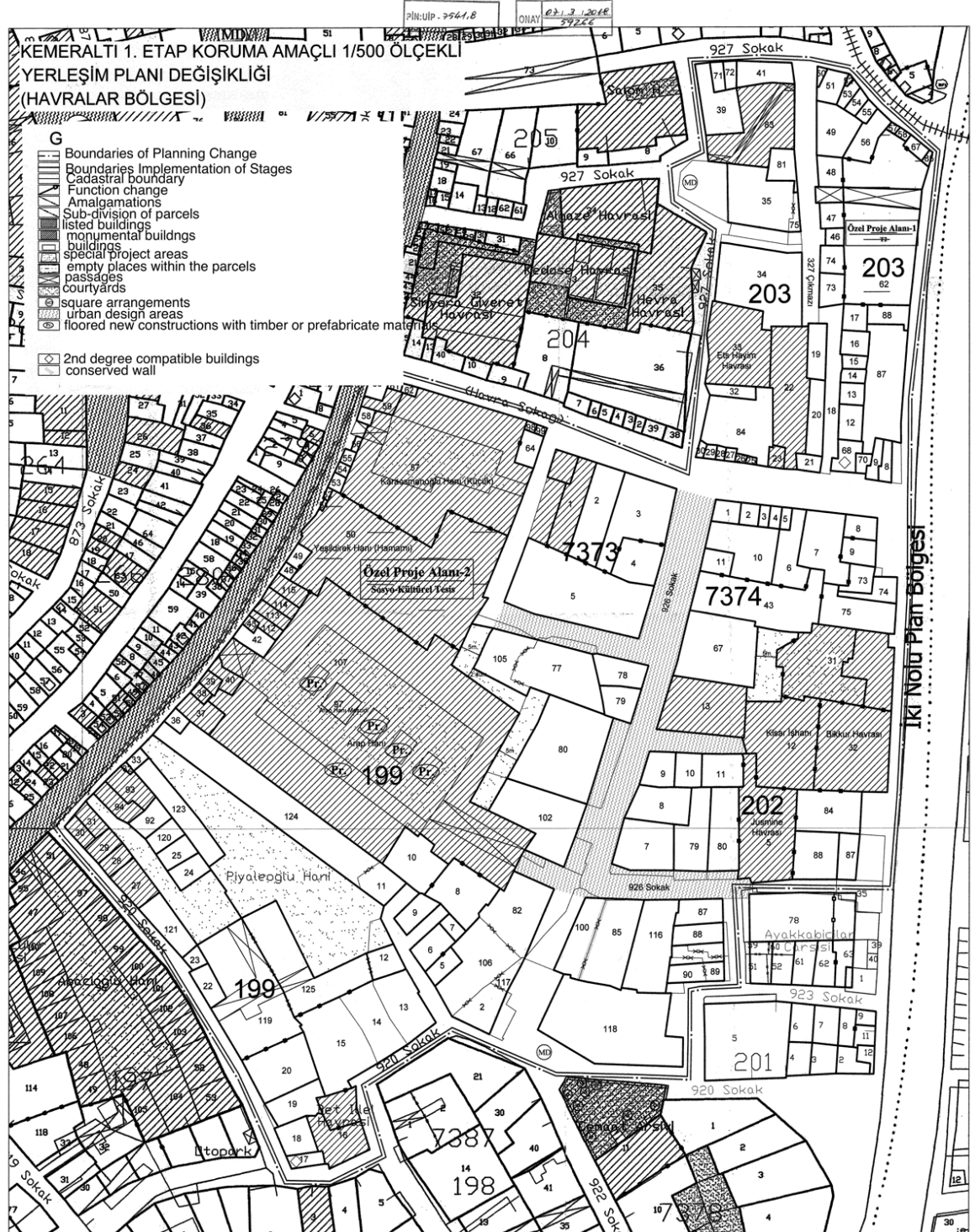


Figure 46: Planning Change, 1/500 (Source: Chamber of Urban planners Archive, 2018).



Figure 47: Project Design Examples from Synagogue District (Source: IZTECH Archive, 2018).

Table 13: Planning Changes in the Synagogue District

The Types of Planning Changes	Area of Change	The Decision in The Conservation Plan	Planning Change	Reasoning for Change
<b>Planning Notes</b>	District-Wide	1/500 scale in the 1 <sup>st</sup> stage conservation area is essential for implementations	New prepared 1/500 plan for the area is essential; new stage implementation boundaries were defined	The cadastral analyses of the old plans are not updated and insufficient
<b>Usage</b>	Karaosmanoğlu Khan	Shoe Shops, T-U2	Tourism Preferential Commercial, T-H2	The increase in tourism potential of the area
	District-wide	Restaurants, TL-L2, T-L3	Tourism Preferential Commercial, T-H2, T-H3	The changed dynamics of the district support the gastronomic features which were suggested in the operational plans and HABOP
<b>Status</b>	Urban block No. 199, Parcel No. 50 Yeşildirek Khan	-	Designated as Special Project Area-2/socio-cultural complex It can contain commercial functions up to 35% of total coverage area	The existing use could cause loss of authenticity
	Urban block No. 199, Parcel No. 50 Yeşildirek Khan	Area for expropriation, R	No expropriation	The related institution for expropriations was not indicated in the plan and the parcel is listed
	Urban Block No. 203, Parcel No. 62	Floor Area Ratio: 1	Designated as Special Project Area-1/retail commercial, T2: research centre It can contain commercial establishments on the ground floor, FAR: 1.60, construction of building with courtyard	Increase the possibility of different architectural designs
	Urban Block No. 199, Parcel No. 82	Passage design	Removing the passages	Increase the visibility of the khans

<b>Cadastral lines and design</b>	Urban Block No. 199, Parcel No. 82, 102	Cadastral lines	Change in the lines	Improve the usage of courtyards
	Piyaleoğlu and Arap Khans	Cadastral lines	Change in the lines	Improve the usage of courtyards
	Urban Block No. 203, Parcel No. 18, 34, 35, 75	Pedestrian or non-pedestrian proposals	Change in pedestrian routes	Strengthening accessibility
	Urban Block No.202, Parcel. No: 67	Back yard distance was not indicated	New back yard distances	Better light
	Urban Block No.199, Parcel. No: 105, 80, 102	Back yard distance was not indicated	New back yard distances	Better light
	<b>Amalgamations for the parcels</b>	Urban Block No.199	Single parcels	Amalgamations on Parcels No. 82+2+106+117 Parcels No. 77+105 Parcels No: 85+100
Urban Block No.203		Single parcels	Amalgamations on Parcels No. 75+35	Allowing new building construction

An interviewee from the Planning Office of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality remarked that the main motivation of one of the first Izmir History Projects is that the Synagogues District has already been a lively area and it could create relations with the developments around the Agora. The interviewee was more concerned about the conservation planning changes and stated:

*'According to the project decisions and programme development made in the Synagogue District, the fundamentals of the conservation plan were changed. This methodology itself is unsound and problematic. The property owner, inhabitants, and the craftsmen are key for transformation. If you cannot convince them to make an action, you cannot provide the integrated conservation. We suggested to go on with the existing planning decisions and gathering all the actors together around the conservation plans. The main responsible office (IMMCO) and local authorities have not been convinced. They insist on the idea that planning decisions have been not sufficient and could not yet stimulate any transformation. They continued with the change in planning decisions according to the projects' (Interviewee from the IMM Planning Office).*



In a similar vein:

*'The officers in IMMCO are mostly architects whose focus is limited to partial projects. Common comment on the execution officers and coordinators has tended to perceive conservation plan decisions as one of the factors that cause neglect in these areas and see the plan as inactive in stimulating related investment in the area. The solution to get rid of the barriers to implementation has been found in the establishment of this public-private partnership, TARKEM. Participatory workshops have been started without involving the planning office of the IMM; afterwards they have been engaged more with the planning processes' (Interviewee from the IMM Planning Office).*

#### Other projects funded by the Public-Private Partnership (TARKEM)

Apart from the Synagogue District Project, TARKEM has contributed to further implementations. After the foundation of TARKEM, these works were interrupted by the appointment of a trustee to the head of TARKEM within the political climate of Turkey in 2016<sup>55</sup>. The interviewee from TARKEM expressed that from the foundation of TARKEM in 2012, planning works occupied the agenda of the partnership until 2017. Ultimately, they have made a good start to the project phase. Although they have received professional consultations for their projects from private engineering and architectural companies, or related university departments, they maintain their own professional teams within TARKEM. Before, the focus was on the planners' team; now it is on architects, and there is an intention to include more building engineers. The interviewee believes that they have completed the planning part of the Izmir History Project and notes that:

*'The planning part has been completed, considering now we know in which parcels the projects will be executed, and it is time to evaluate core business strategies to conduct negotiations with the property owners. The task of the team here is mostly to do the coordination' (An interviewee from TARKEM).*

TARKEM has developed nine models in order to realise the projects fitting their 'hot point strategy', such as purchasing the properties, either parcels or buildings, from their owners, renting, establishing an associated company with the owners on the land, gaining usage rights, or having superficies, *üst hakkı*. If TARKEM is interested in some parcels or buildings, firstly an expert report is received from the metropolitan municipality about the economic value of the place. TARKEM then initiates negotiations about purchasing the ownership or renting based on the model chosen for the particular project in view of the market conditions. Indeed, here, TARKEM's role is as the 'private company' in the negotiation process, but with the support and control of the municipality (An Interviewee from TARKEM).

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<sup>55</sup>There was an attempted military coup on July 15, 2016; in consequence of this attempt a lot of persons were dismissed from their duties and trustees were appointed in their places. For the news of the TARKEM case see: <http://www.egedesonsoz.com/haber/tarkem-e-kayyum-sokunda-yeni-perde-yonetim-gorevden-alindi/939373> retrieved on 14/12/2018.

TARKEM has so far acquired 7-8 project areas by applying methods such as purchasing or renting the property or establishing an associated company. Thus far, TARKEM has bought single buildings; however, there are single buildings which are located on more than one parcel. For instance, they include the Yusuf Ziya Elementary School building in the Kestelli Project. In the Tevfik Paşa District, there are places where the municipality has performed expropriations and TARKEM has subsequently purchased the property. The interviewee noted:

*'Starting implementations on buildings with multiple owners is difficult. Therefore, TARKEM has begun with large buildings with fewer owners, since the aim is to encourage other owners in terms of their willingness to consent to the projects. So far, the properties in which we have implemented projects have generally had 10 owners and 500 metre square areas. We usually conduct projects in which we can easily make interventions, due also to our financial limitations. We are trying to undertake as many implementations as possible with our limited budget.'*

There are additional perspectives on TARKEM's first implementations from other interviewees in other institutions. For example:

*Up to now, TARKEM has mostly conducted projects on unlisted parcels, because it is very difficult and time consuming to implement project works on listed buildings. Nevertheless, it could be questioned why they did not start with conservation works on listed buildings in poor conditions (Interviewee from IMMPO).*

The financial models for the projects were also described by interviewees from the Historic Environment Office of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality as a very complex issue which has different problems in residential and commercial areas. In the commercial areas, one idea, revealed by two interviewees from TARKEM and IMMCO, is to involve more Kemeraltı craftsmen and tradespeople as partners in TARKEM. In this way, they could be engaged more with the specific grants. The coordinator of the Izmir History Project noted that the financial model is much more complex in the residential areas than the commercial ones. It is because of the disadvantaged economic conditions and education levels of the residents and the high unemployment rates. The majority of the residents are without regular income with extended families. There are very different problems in the residential areas, so inserting a grant mechanism and conducting rehabilitation projects via the local municipalities was proposed for the residential areas. They noted that there are not so many partial ownership problems for the residential areas. However, this is a very big problem for the khan buildings. For instance:

*'There were 133 owners for the same building in the Çakaloğlu Khan. This means the municipality ought to acquire 133 consents in order to start a project...This is a long-term process; within 4 years we are still in the tendering processes for most of the projects waiting for implementation' (Interviewee from IMMCO).*

### Expropriations and other projects by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality

The Izmir History Project has led to several expropriations, mostly on archaeological sites, and in restricted areas due to geological risk. However, it has not been done through urgent expropriations as in recent examples in the historic cities of Turkey regulated by the Urban Renewal Act as introduced in Chapter 4. Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has implemented expropriations in geologically risky areas and 1<sup>st</sup> degree archaeological Conservation Areas through negotiations with residents. The first executed expropriation program took place around the Agora Archaeological Conservation Area (ACA). In the Agora ACA, all of the parcels were expropriated. Furthermore, the listed buildings were restored and given uses related to the archaeological site; unlisted buildings were demolished. Expropriations have also taken place in the Theatre ACA in the skirts of the Red Castle. An interviewee from the IMMCO noted:

*'We are very proud of the expropriation processes, due to the fact that Izmir Metropolitan Municipality solely used its own financial resources for the expropriations. In fact, managing underground archaeological values is mainly under the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism instead of local authorities. However, the IMM considered the broader future of Izmir Historical City. After the implementations, the Agora became a place that Izmiris were aware of; links and access to the outside were created. We undertake expropriations mostly for areas with social and cultural functions instead of those with commercial purposes. For commercial uses, we leave it to market dynamics and people living in and using the historical centre. Again, our main goal is to create the minimum necessary revitalisation to motivate other investments.'* (Interviewee Executive Chief of the IMMCO).

Some streets in Kemeraltı have also been pedestrianised with street rehabilitation projects. The rehabilitation project was only conducted on the facades, leaving the indoors to the property owners. The other projects include a few re-uses in some buildings, and construction of a new fish market in place of the demolished multi storey car park (Figure 48-Figure 49). Some of these projects were started before the Izmir History Project and continued or completed after the introduction of the project. However, all the projects after the project introduction have been promoted under the name of the Izmir History Project.



Figure 48: New fish market project (IMM Archive, 2018).

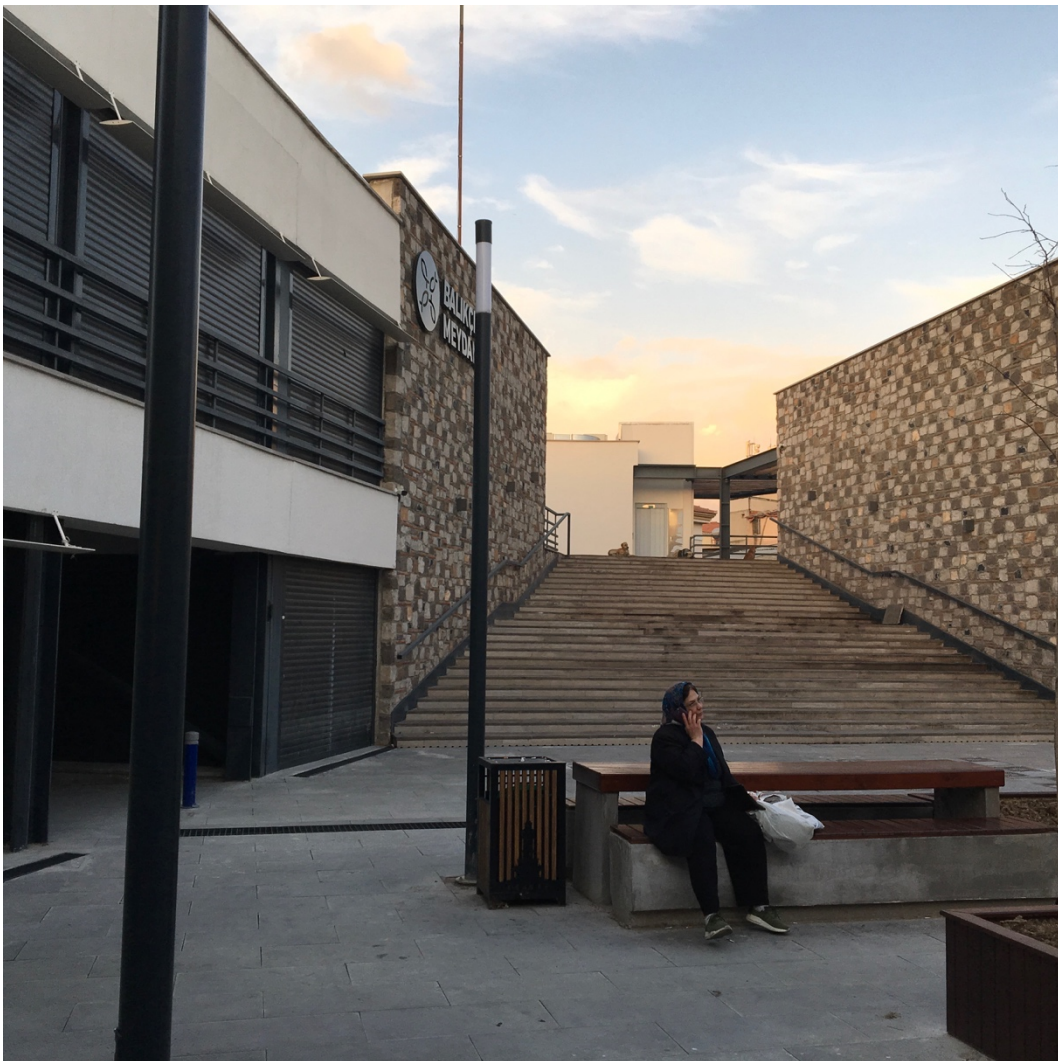


Figure 49: Fish Market Construction, 2019 (Source: Author, 2019).

### Projects Executed by Other Institutions

In addition to the municipalities and TARKEM, another actor engaged in implementations is Izmir Chamber of Commerce (ICC). Evidently, the chamber prefers to implement projects in the name of Izmir Chamber of Commerce, not under the umbrella of Izmir History Project. The chamber has recently provided funding for the Agora excavations; nevertheless, it has executed the project itself with its own resources and management. This means that the chamber is not available to provide funding for any project requested by other bodies. Before the initiation of Izmir History Project, the chamber executed projects in order to contribute to the revitalisation of the historic centre. It was stated that the chamber conducts prestigious projects in ways which can encourage advancement of chamber members from the Izmir Historic City (Interviewees from the Izmir Chamber of Commerce).

The chamber has produced projects autonomously following the tourism encouragement plans from 1992, such as Passport Pier, *Pasaport Dalgakıran*. Although the chamber has a small partnership in TARKEM, it has continued to work independently. It has been a part of executive council of Izmir History Project administered by the governorship. An interviewee claimed that ‘in this way, we represent ourselves for related issues’. It appeared that the chamber has produced projects mostly to achieve their tourism strategies in Izmir and approach the historic city in respect to these general tourism enhancement goals. As an interviewee from the chamber noted, ‘our objective is to establish tourist attractions according to tourism plans and projects’. They have also tried to make connections between their other projects around tourism and Izmir Historic City; they have selected their projects in the historic city according to these criteria. For instance:

*‘The objectives of the Izmir Chamber of Commerce’s projects have also been connected to other projects in which the chamber has invested. We have invested in the management of cruise tourism in the port area; accordingly, the tourists arriving by cruise are willing to visit tourist spots. The tourist could benefit from the project areas of the chamber. Academics and officers in the municipality have long term goals and time, however, the developers/investors like this chamber are seeking fast solutions. For Izmir our vision is the ‘trademark tourism city: Izmir’. We published a free Izmir tourist guide. We gave our comments and recommendations as a report to inform the municipality, we are interested in every detail of tourism in the historic city. Thus far, we have implemented restoration projects of Salepçioğlu Khan, Başdurak Mosque, infrastructure and paving arrangements in Kestelli District and provided some sponsorship for the Agora excavations’ (Interviewee from the Izmir Chamber of Commerce).*

Their aim is parallel to the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and TARKEM: producing a single but effective project to revitalize its close environment. However, the chamber preferred to achieve the implementation process quickly without hindrance by the lengthy permission process faced by TARKEM. As an interviewee noted:

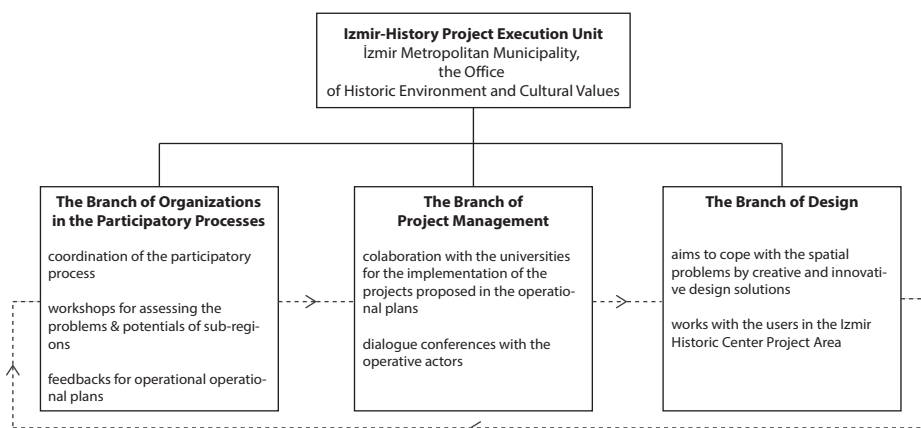
*'We converted 28 shops to tourist handicraft shops under the Başıdurak Mosque. The different point of our projects stem from their speed of implementation; we have an autonomous budget that we can use independently from the municipality. Therefore, we stand out from the municipality which has slow implementation processes' (Interviewee from the Izmir Chamber of Commerce).*

Decision-making for the projects occurred in the managerial board of the chamber. Municipalities have already made decisions on the related planning instruments. They are not part of this process; however, their role is to negotiate with the property owners. For example, in Başıdurak Mosque, they rented the property from the foundations (waqfs) for 10 years instead of purchasing. It appears that the chamber does not perceive overall aim of the Izmir History Project as obligatory, and has criticised implementations by the municipalities:

*'For the chamber, there is no difference between the periods before and after Izmir History Project. Our objective is to revitalise the area in respect to our tourism, development and sustainability vision, through the projects. The municipality has conducted projects such as street rehabilitations by restoring only the facades, however our projects consider revitalisation also through the commercial activities inside the renovated facades. The facade rehabilitations have only served for frozen conservation' (Interviewee from the Izmir Chamber of Commerce).*

### 5.3.2.7 Monitoring, evaluation and review

In the proposed organisational scheme of the Izmir History Project (Figure 50), the platform for monitoring implementations has been indicated. The report underlines the importance of regular reporting and feedback. Nevertheless, this platform has not been separated at the current organisation level yet. In recent processes, the place for evaluation and review of the operational plans is the dialogue meetings. Reports from the participatory workshop results and project decisions have taken place in these meetings. Beyond this, the major authority for monitoring, evaluation and review is the Historic Environment Office of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality.



**Figure 50: The Proposed Organisation Scheme of the IHP (Source: Author's elaboration).**

Apart from the main institution, the main reviews for projects and related changes to the conservation plans are provided by the conservation councils. After a project has been settled upon, the Historic Environment Office has to present the project to the conservation council in order to get approval, and the project decisions must also be shared with Konak Municipality and other actors to collect the reviews of other related institutions in the project (Interviewee, Chief of Project Management IMMCO).

## **5.4 Discussion and Findings through the Comparison of Each Phase**

Contrasting related criteria on aims, objectives and strategies between the period characterised by conservation plans and the period after Izmir History Project was introduced, it can be claimed that they share common features with some discursive particularities. Both periods are defined by one main approach: enhancing economic gains from the historic city by promoting tourism and youth usage. In the discourse of the conservation plans, this notion emerged clearly through claims that it aims to revitalise the city with people who can bring more economic benefits to the historic city. However, the discourse of the Izmir History Project has grown more subtle by emphasising ‘experience places’ and creativity rather than simply discussing tourism.

The main strategy shared between both periods is to attract investors to the area through the facilitating role of the local authorities. In the conservation planning report, it is stated clearly that public bodies should initially undertake prestigious projects to attract the private sector and stimulate the market. While the identity of these investors was not clear during the conservation planning period, the IHP has internalised the same approach, achieving it through the introduction of TARKEM as a public-private partnership.

The planning strategy of both is reliant on demonstrative projects. The conservation plans have a holistic approach to selecting the projects based on analysis and proposes urban design projects at the block level. However, the IHP has embraced an approach entirely reliant on individual projects whose effects are projected to filter up to the surrounding environment.

In terms of analysis and research behind the projects, the conservation plans include attempts to conduct detailed urban surveys before planning decisions are made and provide design briefs including typologies for historical buildings. However, the level of detail of these analyses falls far short of the standards displayed in the methodological instruments of conservation planning as illustrated in chapter 2. The most significant drawback of the Izmir History Project is the lack of updated analysis of the historic city. Even the overall updated ownership analyses for the historical city have been collected during the processes via government efforts. The participatory meetings were promising in respect to inclusion of

communities in heritage making processes, however, this potential has not been met with real progress in practise.

Regarding governance and implementation processes, the period since the initiation of the Izmir History Project has seen an intense complexification of governance systems. In theory, the project aims to achieve coordination amongst public institutions by organising executive meetings at the different hierarchical levels. However, the intricate model of the Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board, TARKEM and participatory workshops has shaken up decision-making processes with new capacities, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

In respect to implementations, the period defined by conservation plans maintained a focus on street rehabilitations with façade renovations and re-uses. However, this period was heavily impacted by fluctuations in the legislative environment for conservation, in particular in terms of participation. In general, it can be claimed that there was a positive period after the 2004 alteration, in view of Konak Municipality's implementations and grants to private owners. However, the cut of grants, introduction of Urban Renewal Area, and Izmir History Project totally transformed the nature of implementations. The first example of the IHP projects, the Synagogue District, is emblematic of the current approach. In this context, the planning change report from 2016 is absolutely crucial. Although the report charts the issues relating to planning changes for the projects in the Synagogue District, it also makes essential alterations to the general articles on conservation planning. Basically, as explained in detail above, this change opens the door to the production of projects on single parcels, by-passing the need to refer to planning decisions. Furthermore, the change to the planning articles' requirement of urban design projects for specific historical areas also led to the implementation of individual projects without the requirement of producing urban design projects to be considered at the 1/500 scale. This in fact closely mirrors the approach of the 2005 urban renewal act implementations in other cities, by allowing precarious and accelerated projects on single parcels. It is an approach directly antagonistic to the premise of the Izmir History Project which stated its rejection of the abuses committed under the urban renewal act, but what has transpired is the usage of law in order to undertake projects under the leadership of private actors, disregarding the results of participatory meetings. Figure 51 charts the matrix of key structural characteristics of conservation planning and Izmir History Project phases through the above-mentioned parameters.



	CONSERVATION PLANS 1 <sup>ST</sup> PHASE 2000-2013	IZMIR HISTORY PROJECT 2 <sup>ND</sup> PHASE 2013-PRESENT	EVALUATION OF THE SHIFT FROM 1 <sup>ST</sup> TO 2 <sup>ND</sup> PHASE
LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 1983 Conservation Act. No. <b>2863</b> (the main one)</li> <li>- 2004 Amendments to the Conservation Act</li> <li>- 2011 Decrees having the force of Law to the Conservation Act</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 2005 the Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-Use No. <b>5366</b>, 'Urban Renewal Act' No. (the main one)</li> <li>- Metropolitan Law No. 5216 and Municipality Act No. 5393 (main supplementary laws)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Change of authority from 'local' to more 'central' power-Konak Municipality to Izmir Metropolitan Municipality</li> <li>- Allowing to single projects bypassing the conservation plan within the urban renewal area (Izmir History Project Area)</li> <li>- Change in the autonomous structure of conservation councils as a controlling body</li> </ul>
AIM AND OBJECTIVE SETTING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- regeneration of Izmir historic city through increasing economic benefit</li> <li>- promoting participatory planning in preparation and decision making</li> <li>- approaching historic city in a holistic way with the hierarchical levels of plans</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- activating urban revitalization by another methods from the conservation plans</li> <li>- The most dominant discourse is enabling participation</li> <li>- enabling to produce single projects in order to stimulate more investment and revitalization</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- same approach for revitalization through gaining economic benefit for the historic city</li> <li>- participation is evident in two phases but in the 2nd phase it is more active and fostered as prominent concept</li> <li>- leaving the holistic vision of the plan in the 2nd phase by continuing with single projects</li> </ul>
STRATEGY AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- boosting tourism activities in every context</li> <li>- increasing the numbers of uses and activities for youth</li> <li>- allowing pedestrianizations, more accessible to historic city</li> <li>- decreasing the number of car-parkings</li> <li>- accomplishing re-uses</li> <li>- limiting some of the production functions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- generic strategies</li> <li>- boosting tourism and youth activities through creative discourse, experience places and design</li> <li>- establishing public private partnership (TARKEM) increasing the numbers of investments</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- same approaches on boosting tourism and youth activities for revitalization</li> <li>- the 2nd phase addresses to more experimental discourse rather than using more direct entrepreneurial city features</li> </ul>
ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- urban surveys, design briefs, inventory list prepared for the analyses and research</li> <li>- not recently updated after the beginnings of 2000's</li> <li>- describing character areas depending on zoning method but not including communities' opinions (expert based)</li> <li>- not engaging enough with current technologies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- more generic analyses and research as common in the strategic plans</li> <li>- good attempt to create collaborative planning environment to based on people centric or landscape values but not effectively used and disseminated</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- no updated sheer analyses and research behind the 2nd phase</li> <li>- losing the planning approach caused to omit the vital part of the conservation plans in the Izmir History Project</li> <li>- research collaborations for updated urban surveys, activating more digital tools to involve citizens in the participatory planning is required</li> </ul>
DECISION MAKING IMPLEMENTATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Konak Municipality, universities and Professional Chambers were the leading public actors with supportive actors</li> <li>- participatory planning was tried but not comprehensively achieved regarding to involve community</li> <li>- implementations focused on re-uses, street rehabilitations with facade renovations and enhancement of some squares</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and TARKEM are the main actors in the decision-making processes</li> <li>- the results of participatory workshops have been hardly seen in the implementation and proposed projects</li> <li>- implementations so far focused on revitalization of Synagogues District, ongoing pedestrianization project, and some re-uses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Decision-making structure changed from the leading power of KM to the partnership of IMM and TARKEM</li> <li>- The projects following the conservation plan limited in number</li> <li>- The first projects of TARKEM has aimed to enhance Tourism</li> <li>- The major change in the planning articles led to allow bypassing planning hierarchy and produce single projects by changing only single planning decisions led to use holistic vision of the plan</li> </ul>
MONITORING, EVALUATION REVIEW	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kemeraltı Development Unit was suggested as independent monitoring unit for the plans but not realized</li> <li>- participatory meetings among the public actors, universities, and professional chambers provided review and feedback processes especially after 2004</li> <li>- the routine projects and planning change control made by conservation councils</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- no special branch available for monitoring of the IHP</li> <li>- IMM, Historic Environment Office, Design Branch is responsible for evaluation and review processes of participatory meetings</li> <li>- IMM, Historic Environment Office, Project Execution Branch is in charge of control projects</li> <li>- the routine projects and planning change control made by conservation councils</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- no separate monitoring unit available for the two phases</li> <li>- there is always suggestion to open site management office independent from any institution, but not realized</li> <li>- Aside the practitioners, only routine controls for project and planning approvals and changes made by conservation councils</li> <li>- Conservation council members are randomly assigned by Central Government</li> </ul>

Figure 51: Matrix of Key Structural Characteristics of Each Phase in Conservation Planning and Urban Governance.

# Chapter 6

## **6. Discussions and Findings**

This chapter will discuss how the structure of urban governance, as outlined in the previous chapter, functions in the conservation practices of Izmir Historic City. To do this, a set of interviews, detailed in Section 5.1, has been examined in order to provide evidence for discussions through thematic sections and subsections. Firstly, Section 6.1 will explore to what extent the decision-making capacity of the participants has been actualised and how their hierarchical levels are shaped in relation to various networks. In this section, the findings from interviews will highlight the shifts in power relations between the conservation planning and Izmir History Project phases. It demonstrates that the decision-making capacity of public sector actors has been modified and private actors and civil society have taken on alternative roles according to their distinctive connections.

In this regard, Section 6.2 will explore the connectivity amongst public institutions and to what extent this relates to changing political figures. The shifts in roles amongst these actors will have an inevitable impact on the connectivity between the conservation plans and urban projects. What has been collected in the participatory processes and their reflections on the implementations will also reveal the connectivity between participation and its outcomes in the Izmir History Project. The final Section 6.3 will shed light on one particular subject within urban conservation, which is knowledge use within the overall management of the historic city.

### **6.1 Participant Decision-making Capacity**

While each actor has certain roles and horizontal coordination has been a significant discourse of the Izmir History Project, their capacities differ within the decision-making process. The changing patterns of the planning and governance structure have also led to functional changes in the decision-making capacity of participants.

### 6.1.1 Power Shifts from Local to Metropolitan Municipality

The power of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has increased in the wake of the Izmir History Project due to the urban renewal area designation in the historic city. In the former processes, regulated mostly by conservation plans, the leading body was Konak Municipality, from the early 2000s onwards. During the preparation period of the General Regulatory Conservation Plan and Conservation Plan 1, participatory meetings were partly integrated into planning processes. As illustrated in Section 5.3.1, the university team, as author of the GRCP and CP1, tried to start participatory processes for the plan preparations, even though there was no encouragement of participatory systems outlined in the legislative system at that time. In particular, they placed importance on involving tradespeople and craftsmen in the Kemeraltı Historical Market by organising meetings. Subsequently, participatory meetings were required by conservation legislation during the preparation of Conservation Plan 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage 1<sup>st</sup> Region. However, this lasted only until the regulation was removed from the legislative framework.

In fact, along with the 2005 Urban Renewal Act, significant changes in the Metropolitan Municipality Act and Conservation Act which impacted the financial resources available to local municipalities led to a decrease in the power and authority of Konak Municipality, also with regard to implementing conservation works. Although the urban renewal area implementations have not been imposed as harshly as in Istanbul (Dinçer, 2011), Izmir has also been influenced by changing legislation, culture and planning policies. Izmir History Project is principally managed by the metropolitan municipality despite the fact that financial situations of local municipalities have been undermined by the introduction of the Metropolitan Municipalities Act which allows collection of financial resources within metropolitan municipalities. Local municipalities have very limited budgets, so they are at a disadvantage in managing and implementing the urban projects that they are eager to conduct. Therefore, the role of Konak Municipality has been limited because of the changes in their authority and resources.

The most effective period in respect to the accomplishment of conservation works by local municipalities was from 2004 until it was interrupted by the above-mentioned recent legislation. As outlined in Section 4.1.2, in 2004 there was a very promising advancement in Conservation Act No. 2863, brought by Law. No. 5226, relating to supplying grants for private property owners as a contribution in kind or project contributions. While these grants were being distributed, the conservation plans for the Izmir Historic City were in their preparation and implementation phases. Some grants were also allocated to Izmir through Konak Municipality but encountered some difficulties in practice. One interviewee noted:

*Hence, there were project grants available to individual property owners through Konak Municipality, around 200.000 Turkish Liras [referring to mentioned regulations]. From the municipality, notifications were made to the address of the owners of the listed buildings which are included on Konak Municipality's inventory list. Konak municipality has also conducted an inventory list to map the historical buildings at the time.*

*Nonetheless, the majority of the owners claimed that the Ministry of Culture and Tourism asked for too much procedural work to apply' (Interviewee from Konak Municipality).*

After the local municipalities' financial budget became limited and the Izmir History Project was introduced in 2013, Konak Municipality became involved in project processes by the IMM. However, their decision-making capacity as a participant has been at a much lower level than the metropolitan municipality, in contrast to the previous conservation planning period. It has been included in the project as a public institution but not as one of the owners of the project. Recently, as the deputy mayor claimed, Konak Municipality has not implemented any conservation work under the logo of Izmir History Project. With their restricted financial budget, the municipality do execute a few projects. In this context, those projects have mostly been acquired when the foundations (waqfs) have rented out one of their buildings as a site for the conservation work of Konak Municipality.

In some cases, such shifts in authority have the potential to stimulate struggles in respect to the distribution of responsibility for local actions. This is in part due to the fact that individual political figures and groups may seek to present local actions through urban projects as showcases of their services and evidence of their political competence. In the Izmir case, the two municipalities belong to the same political party, for which reason it appears there is more potential for cooperation and less for conflict. Correspondingly, the interviewees from IMM generally observed a strong basis for coordination with Konak Municipality. While effective coordination has been mentioned by interviewees from Izmir Metropolitan and Konak Municipality at the higher hierarchical level, there are some criticisms on the participant capacity of Konak Municipality from community groups and Konak Municipality themselves. According to interviewees from the community groups, the mayor of Konak Municipality does not have much opportunity to demonstrate any opposition to the works of the metropolitan municipality, even if they send critical reports on the conservation implementations to the municipality. In same manner, the technical staff who work in Konak Municipality also noted the low-level power of Konak Municipality within decision-making processes. For instance:

*'Konak Municipality have not been involved in the Izmir History Project from the beginning but has been included along the way of the processes. In fact, the KM has always been invited to the meetings at the level of technical officers. Nevertheless, the institution is not one of the strongest components of the decision-making process. When an officer from the KM participates in the meetings, it has been observed that the meeting agenda has already been settled and decisions have already been taken amongst the "real actors". Hence, the role of the officers becomes one of approving already made decisions within the agenda. In this context, the KM officer is outside of the operational processes. At the end of the meeting, there is a signature by the KM, therefore, it seems to have involved the KM' (Interviewee from the Konak Municipality).*

This shows how the participant capacity of Konak Municipality in decision-making processes has been perceived by different types of actors and even by different hierarchical levels within the same institutions. In fact, this visible shift in

capacity is significant in exemplifying how recent legislation alterations led to a break in development in the local context. It is clear that the power of decision making for urban conservation has been centralised around metropolitan municipalities. This runs parallel to other policies of the current government relating to urban affairs and the cultural sector in general. Indeed, it presents a centralisation of power in order to eliminate voices from the local context, to facilitate and enable the production of more urban projects through partnerships with the private sector. This matters also in the municipal statecraft of local municipalities. One example is the reduced role of the Conservation, Implementation and Controlling Bureaus (KUDEB) for the management of historic environments in local municipalities. That is also a challenge for the legitimacy of the conservation plans which have been implemented principally by the local municipality through its conservation offices.

### **6.1.2 Critiques of the Increased Power of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality**

There have been recurrent critiques of the absolute power of IMM in decision-making processes. Some interviewees highlighted how all the participatory processes have depended on political games. While this tension could be triggered by the confrontation between the different political parties in the central and local governments, it could also emerge from power dynamics and political interests inside the public bodies of local governance. It appears that alongside the ruling political party in Izmir's opposition to the central government, the conflict is sometimes driven by internal power relations in the local context. Apart from the shift in authority from Konak Municipality to IMM, there seems to be disapproval of the absolute power of the IMM in the Izmir History Project from other public institutions. This is because it results in neglect of the relevant capacities of other public institutions in the project processes. Many interviewees gave the example of the foundations (waqfs), suggesting that these institutions could have been involved in the processes under their own capacity. The whole management process of the project could benefit from the traditional system of the waqfs, since the majority of the public buildings in Izmir Historic City, particularly in Kemeraltı Historic Market, belong to these foundations. There are also other public representative institutions of central government such as the Izmir Development Agency and the institutions within the governorship shown in the processes but not as effective as they could achieve. There is also an interpretation of this issue inside the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, such as:

*'Municipalities are political institutions. They are operated by a mayor and her/his political party. The conflict has not always been stimulated by this conflict between central and local government, but it can be a reason from time to time. Each institute has their own operational process, and each institute is eager to show 'their service, their product'; nevertheless, the IMM prefers to manage the process under the name of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. Thus, it could have not achieved a process in which*

*every different institute could be internalised within the Izmir History Project. There should be a site management plan and unit overarching over all the actors. When all the coordination has been done by the IMM, it is inevitable that the project will belong to the IMM' (Interviewee from Design Branch IMMCO).*

While there is an evident power imbalance between the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and the other public institutions, some interviewees from the private sector also expressed that private actors are selected according to the preferences of IMM. Therefore, the most prominent private actors appear to be selected from TARKEM, the public-private partnership of the municipality. In this way, the impermeable processes can cause other private actors, who are not embedded in these political and economic networks, to be excluded from the Izmir History Project. According to an interviewee from one private actor, this process 'has resulted in the lack of aggregation of different resources' which has also culminated in projects that have one approach rather than bringing different perspectives to restoration and revitalisation works.

Furthermore, it is evident that there are also major criticisms of the process of participatory workshops. These focus on how the participatory approach has become mostly rhetorical under the dominant role of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. Indeed, officers from Izmir Metropolitan Municipality who have been active in carrying out the participatory process claimed that organising meetings and operationalising the outcomes in a fair way is a great challenge considering the diverse actor constellations within Izmir Historic City. They believe that they should include the broadest possible inputs, including those of academics, users, key figures in the area, neighbourhood representatives (mukhtars), and NGOs. However, the critics of the participatory workshops concentrate on the selection process and ineffectiveness of the workshops. For instance, one argues about the selective invitations to the participatory meetings and noted that:

*'There is a process for selecting the participants in the workshops; if you have opposing ideas and comments, you are marginalised from the project processes. I have investigated the backgrounds of participants. The parameters showed up as having connections to the main actors, such being a student of Prof. Tekeli, or conducting projects with Prof. Tekeli. Therefore, I do not believe in the participatory process. These processes must be democratic, but at the same time, it is a methodology of research. It is crucial that the ones who you are inviting are considered in terms of their representative characteristics. If the aim is to talk about tourism, the hotel, pension, and hostel owners or operators should be invited, if it is related to transportation the taxi drivers attend. In the Izmir case, there are no specific participants who should have been there. The percentages of participants are very different. Academics and bureaucrats dominate the participatory workshops; they should be balanced according to their representation capacities. If this balanced representation process cannot be achieved, the participatory workshops turn out to be the voices of the owner of the project' (Interviewee from a Community Organisation).*

Following this, the most common criticism has centred around the belief that the analysis derived from the participatory process did not find reflection in the

reports, documents or projects which followed. It has been questioned exactly how the Izmir History Project has benefited from the participatory workshops. Many interviewees stated that the participatory meetings were organised in such a way that as a participant one could only be aware of the subjects covered at a specific table and would get barely any concept of the discussions at other tables. For instance, one very critical issue is that of the immigrant populations concentrated in the Basmane District of the historic city. A representative of one immigrant and refugee community group mentioned that whilst there is a small section discussing immigrant issues in the strategic report, there is no obvious exploration of the role of or impact on immigrants in the final decisions. This also stems from the lack of feedback and review processes amongst all types of participant. Most interviewees reflected on the lack of feedback during the conservation processes. For instance:

*'We sent reports to the municipality including comments, feedback and problems for the Izmir History Project and for the area, however, we have not seen any impact of these reports in the later strategic reports, operational plans, projects or any change in the participatory processes. The outputs and design projects have supposedly been extracted from the participatory workshops. However, they have already been decided before the workshops. The IMM has conducted other meetings in which they have already distributed the roles, and they organised participatory workshops after with decisions already made. This is not a dialogue; this is a monologue. I believe this participatory process is just an illusion. We have been invited there to give the projects' reasoning. Ultimately, what is shown on the papers is that the IMM have designed these projects together with us, nevertheless the IMM has already made their decisions according to their own reasoning with other actors. We then observed that the selected projects will be done on the parcels that TARKEM could own.... If I noticed before that it is a neoliberal project, I would have never supported it from the beginning' (Interviewee, an academic).*

Some interviewees also expressed their choice to cease participating in the Izmir History Processes due to the fact that they consider their contributions have not been taken into account. For instance, the Chamber of City Planners declared that their institution will not participate in IHP processes until they have received a response to their reports considering their feedback and contributions, which have been taken for granted and disregarded in the related outputs of the projects. Many interviewees suggested that the shortcomings of the Izmir History Project largely stem from the close environment that was created by the municipal hierarchy and the role of the chief advisor of the project. The critiques focused on the main consultant of the project, Professor İlhan Tekeli, claiming that his respected role has become one of the reasons for the top-down nature of the Izmir History Project, even if he has been one of the promoters of the participatory vision within the Turkish planning discipline.

*'I approach the IHP from three different perspectives: gentrification, governance and private sector/market. Prof. Tekeli is the founder and representative of participatory governance ideas in the Turkey since the 1980s. Firstly, he established the theoretical framework for the Izmir Historic City and limited the participants according to this framework. One cannot step outside this frame. If you are out of this, you are excluded*



*from the processes. It is different being an academic, and being a consultant, considering it could turn to work for the politicians in the city. In the particular case of Izmir, he has confused consultancy with implementation. The mayor has used his academic knowledge' (Interviewee from a Community Organization).*

It appears that while the aim of IMM was to broaden the range of actors involved, their domination of internal political and economic networks has suppressed any intended dialogical atmosphere between diverse participants. Comparing the conservation planning period until 2013 to the period following Izmir History Project, the overall approach to the management of the historic city has seen a changing power balance in each phase. After the introduction of the project in 2013, the individual project approach as parallel to visions, aims and strategies of the entire project prevailed across management levels. This is doubtless also linked to the inadequacies and gaps in the existing legislative and regulatory system at the country level. The result remains a far cry from the goal of urban conservation through a holistic change management system which tries to involve communities and stimulate research groups and other actors in a balanced way.

### **6.1.3 Private sector actors engaging more with decision making**

TARKEM has become the main private actor working in collaboration with the metropolitan municipality. Although this public-private partnership was established with the aim of implementing regeneration projects with financial contributions from the private sector, most interviewees depicted it as dominating the decision-making processes of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. It is claimed that the participatory processes, which initially aimed to include multiple actors in decision-making, has eventually targeted primarily the private actor, TARKEM. It was also admitted by TARKEM that its one vote in the participatory meetings meant more than that, considering its motivation and capacity to implement development projects as an investor. Thus, the company mainly works as an investor unit of the municipality. Although it is a public-private partnership, it tends to be interpreted as a private company by most interviewees. This issue has been also admitted in the internal operational system of TARKEM, which recognise that TARKEM plays the role of a private company in project processes. One interviewee remarked:

*'TARKEM has meetings about the feasibility of the projects. Feasibility evaluation reports about a project have been provided by the IMM. In the meetings of TARKEM, who have members working in the market/private sector, they investigate the projects according to the open market conditions in terms of their feasibility and the possible time it will take to redeem the investment. Consequently, the members decide if the project is feasible or not depending on the market conditions' (An Interviewee from TARKEM).*

Some interviewees also considered the private sector's increase in decision-making power in conservation processes as marketisation of governance procedures. Along with TARKEM, there is another association, as was explained in Section 5.2: this is Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board

(IEDCB); some interviewees also associated them with private actors' engagements with processes. The IEDCB has members largely from the Izmiri business community. Whilst there are symbolic representatives of the professional chambers and labour unions, the rest are formed of private sector representatives from holdings, and the business world. As is shown in Section 5.2.1, the members of this board and TARKEM are intertwined as is evident in their management board members and shared vision and aims for the historic city. A community organization was curious about this group and requested detailed information about their activities and meeting reports from the municipality, since the secretarial role of its meetings has been carried out by the metropolitan municipality. However, they were refused this information due to the fact that the metropolitan municipality classed this group as a civil society organisation. Therefore, they could not share their information with the public since they are not legally part of the municipal structure. An interviewee noted:

*'The problem is the incorporation/marketisation of governance units and municipalities, marketisation of civil society associations such as the IEDCB. I call them 'urban brokers' who do want to marketise the city. They aim to shape a focus independent from the central government's control within the local government. The council in the Izmir Development Agency mostly contains members closer to the central government. Then, the IEDCB was found as a counter development council...It has fuzzy boundaries between public and private sectors because the secretariat has been conducted by the IMM. The big projects in Izmir have been discussed at this level of governance' (Interviewee from a community organisation).*

According to many interviewees, the marketisation of the metropolitan municipality through these intertwined political and economic networks with TARKEM and the Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board has culminated with the projects focusing more on economic and political values than social ones while revitalising the historic city. However, from the perspective of the officers in the Metropolitan Municipality, the financial constraints of a public body make this engagement compulsory for any implementations in the historic city. As explained in the Section 5.3.2, the municipality invested a great deal in conducting expropriations in archaeological and geological risky areas. These expenditures took up a significant part of the municipal budget; therefore, for implementations this kind of partnerships became unavoidable. Nevertheless, numerous interviewees outside of the metropolitan municipality and TARKEM have been critical about the ways in which the municipality have interacted with the private sector. It is remarked that the role of the metropolitan municipality is to facilitate the processes for the private sector, including TARKEM, which could result in neoliberal projects rather than the achievement of public/social municipality goals. For instance:

*'The IMM has a role as facilitator for the works of TARKEM; the projects have started on the parcels owned by TARKEM. And, the other concern is that two of the partners of TARKEM are Prof. Tekeli and the wife of the mayor, which does not provide a positive image in terms of professional ethics. The first projects implemented in the*

*Synagogue District appeared to us as an attempt at 'gentrification'. Moreover, the significant discourse in the strategic report and during the IHP processes became to transform the historic city not just for the existing communities, which are now dominated by Kurdish and Syrian groups. The main argument of the meetings was centred on the limited access for ordinary Izmirians to the neighbourhoods in the historical city; the project owners noted that they cannot easily enter the area. However, the area has been in physical degradation, considering that the inhabitants and craftsmen cannot afford to make restoration work. That is why the historic city has degraded to today's condition. Stressing the insecurity of the environment was considered so-called reasoning for urban transformation/gentrification' (An Interviewee Chamber of City Planners).*

However, from the TARKEM side, it is claimed that the opposition to projects in the historic city on the grounds of gentrification is due to misunderstandings and misinterpretations on the part of other actors within the processes. They undertake projects more efficiently compared to the projects executed by solely public bodies considering their adequate capacity; however, the municipalities could have other concerns such as 'political elections' which they do not have, allowing them to be motivated solely in respect to the development goals of the revitalisation projects in the historic city. According to the interviewees from the partnership, their more liberal activities could be the reasons for this type of critiques. In this manner, for instance, an interviewee from TARKEM seemed deeply concerned about the criticisms of their implementation as gentrification by other actors and remarked:

*'There were very limited projects and implementations before TARKEM participated into the conservation processes. TARKEM is here in order to regenerate the historic centre for everyone. Our goal is to make people visit here and live here by regenerating it through these projects. If regeneration means gentrification, then we accept gentrification'.*

It seems that the profile and role of TARKEM very much stimulated the discussion on private sector contributions to the processes. The discussions revealed that the main private actor is criticised by all other groups apart from the municipality and the partners. It is evident also from the other private actors in the processes. It is pointed out that the municipality has only played a facilitating role for the partners of TARKEM instead of targeting other private sector actors. For instance, an interviewee mentioned that the municipality has neglected to prepare any inscriptive information for others who want to establish businesses in the processes. As one of the interviewees from the professional chamber of architects claimed, TARKEM could be a good example of a public-private partnership in the Turkish context. However, Turkey lacks strong controlling mechanisms and empowered planning approaches which are fundamental for achieving socially sustainable management processes. In this context, criticisms of TARKEM observe how it has introduced entrepreneurial city features to the urban governance processes of Izmir History Project through partnerships.

### 6.1.4 The Third Sector: Civil Society versus Inhabitants

The most effective civil society group within the Izmir History Project appears to be Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board, which is within the tight network of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and TARKEM and dominated by the business group as discussed in the previous section. This section will try to outline the patterns and profiles of communities in the historic city, presenting another type of ‘civil society’ from that represented by the Economic Development and Coordination Board. As is outlined in Chapter 4, Izmir Historic City can be divided in three dominant functional zones: the residential, commercial (namely the Kemeraltı Historical Market), and archaeological. In terms of the residential areas, the basic problem for adequate conservation and rehabilitation works stems from the lack of financial aid to the inhabitants, who are mostly are low-income groups who cannot afford the restoration processes, or properties with multiple owners which makes implementation very challenging process. As examined in Chapter 4, there are constantly changing regulations for financial grants to property owners in historic cities. There was an impetus after 2004, however, the available grants are now very limited. Furthermore, the very confusing application procedure itself became a disincentive likely to discourage property owners from attempting to acquire a comparatively small grant. Most of the interviewees also argued that the inhabitants tend to see the status of ‘heritage’ as restrictions to their property. The deputy mayor of Konak Municipality has commented of the patterns of the inhabitants and problems:

*‘There is no consciousness about conservation among the population. The conservation status is assumed to be restriction to intervene on your building. For the interventions there are no appropriate resources or subsidies now. There are some property tax exceptions available. 10 % of property taxes are collected for the conservation of cultural assets, in this context, we give around 6-7 million TL to the governorship per year. But there is no return, we could just get 1 million back even though 70% of the listed buildings of Izmir are in the boundaries of the Konak Municipality. The big problem is that collected money is not totally available to the property owners. Costs of any restoration works start from 500.000 TL. Moreover, the approval processes from the conservation councils are too long. Thus, the majority of the population is not willing and not able to afford conservation works. Only through the state’s annotation to the listed building can restoration work be done’ (The deputy mayor of the KM).*

Due to the goal of conservation and revitalisation in collaboration with inhabitants, the design branch of the main responsible office within the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality was established in Basmane District, in a residential area. It is called the ‘Design Branch’ due to the fact that the municipality took the model of Kadıköy

Design Atelier<sup>56</sup> in Istanbul. By organizing workshops, seminars and events with academics, universities, artists and influencers, the design branch tried to make the Izmir History Project, and heritage and conservation in general, more visible in the neighbourhood. The design branch started with children by designing a playground for them in the Agora Park. In this way, they could communicate with families through the children. As it can be seen from Figure 52, the park is actively used by children and women during the day. The other prominent project of the design branch became the KÖK<sup>57</sup> Basmane, which was initiated with funding from the United Nations. It was a women's cooperative relating to gastronomical activities carried out by the women living in the area. Although the project attracted interest from the women, it was interrupted by UN funding cuts. The design branch could not continue the project solely with the municipalities' own resources. And, according to the interviewee from the design branch, they could not search for support from other bodies due to political tensions within the population of the district. An interviewee from the design branch has summarised the difficulties they have faced in terms of the types of inhabitants in the area:

*'In fact, the social, economic and cultural contexts of Izmir Historic City are completely different to those in Kadıköy. In the residential areas, inhabitants are so conservative, it has been a challenge to involve them in processes under the name of 'design'. People living here in Basmane, and the other residential districts in the historic city, have other basic problems such as unemployment and lack of education. The communities have been living in their own groups mostly related to ethnicity, which are mainly Turkish, Kurdish, and Syrian immigrants and refugees... It was also difficult to connect with the women in the area. The families are too conservative for successful interaction of women within the project processes' (Interviewee from the IMMCO Design Branch).*

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<sup>56</sup> Kadıköy Design Atelier is known as a characteristic urban initiative in Kadıköy District of Istanbul, conducting projects largely through bottom-up processes while engaging with the local government. Please see for further details: <http://takortak.org/atolye/kadikoy/>.

<sup>57</sup> KÖK means root in Turkish Language.



Figure 52: The Park Next to Agora Archaeological Area (Source: Author, 2019)

The other significant group of communities in Izmir Historic City are tradespeople, shopkeepers, artisans, inhabitants, and users of Kemeraltı Historical Market. Although there are a lot of problems observed by the interviewees, there is a common view that, whatever projects are implemented, Kemeraltı Historical Market will remain a thriving area. However, at the same time the interviewees revealed many complications which arise in this very diverse traditional market area. In the lively atmosphere of Kemeraltı, there has also been involvement by Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Craftsmen' Association; the details of the establishment of this association at the beginning of the 2000s are given in Section 3.2. While it was founded through a synergy of many tradespeople and craftsmen in the area, and supported by the governorship and municipalities, the association eventually changed its working patterns. It was confirmed by many interviewees from community organizations that the reasons of the changing organizational and operational scheme is linked to changes in political figures. Thus, support for the association and the internal dynamics within the association has depended on changing governors and mayors of the municipalities. As one of the early founders of Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Craftsmen' association claims that:

*'We established Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Craftsmen' Association based on the needs and problems of Kemeraltı at the time in 2004. In the beginning, we tried to make our problems and demands more visible through booklets, manifestos, organisations and demonstrations. But day by day, the association slipped into the control of the ones who take care of their own political benefit now. In my opinion, if you intervene with politics then you risk excluding others who do not support your party' (Interviewee from the founders of the KTCA).*

The other interviewee, a former member of the Kemeraltı Tradespeople and Craftsmen' Association interpreted the present situation of the KTCA. It interrogates motivations of the changing patterns of the association and to what extent it is effective today. Such as:

*'Instead of KTCA, today the associations of the mosques are more efficient in the area. We established the association with enthusiasm to find solutions for the problems of shopkeepers and tradespeople. In the beginning the municipality did not support us financially. There is also the fear for votes in elections, there are other voting dynamics here, even the political party who is in the power here or the other parties are reluctant to take a risk, so they do not involve themselves actively with the issues in Kemeraltı. The changing responsibility of the association also influences the impact of the dominant groups and became closer to a certain type of political party. KTCA has still survived but as a signboard' (Interviewee from the founders of KTCA).*

In respect to the problems of Kemeraltı in the past and present, the interviewees revealed that the authorities have not included the opinions and problems of Kemeraltı traders either in decision-making or the implementations, in both the conservation plan and Izmir History Project processes thus far. It became clear that Kemeraltı communities perceive conservation plans or any regulations imposed by the municipalities as only restrictions to the physical environment of the historical market. This means that they can only observe the works of authorities as restrictions on the usage of their spaces. For instance:

*'Until now, nobody has seriously asked for the needs for the tradespeople and shopkeepers. They executed projects even with the EU, but there was no will to get users' opinions. The municipality detects and concerns itself with little details without asking really why. For example, there are incompatible sunshades and metal elements. But these elements serve the needs of users. They used metal elements prevent rainwater damage. What is the solution of the municipality for the rainwater in the shops to sustain the traditional market? There is no real participation. Every different branch and shop have different needs. If the municipality tries to solve problems by merely restricting, it cannot function. It should start by asking the requirements of the inhabitants here. They ask for the measured drawing for interventions, but it is an expensive service given by professionals, who will afford it?' (An Interviewee from the founders of KTCA).*

The recurrent themes derived from the interviews mark the profound problems of Kemeraltı such as general infrastructure, security, waste, and the lack of facilities and financial grants. Nevertheless, it is claimed that implementations by the municipalities have only been visible around a few projects such as rehabilitation of several khans and streets, for 20 years of conservation plans. Furthermore, it arose that they do not see any difference between the introduction of the Izmir History Project and the earlier conservation planning phase. The survival of the historical market alongside shopping malls and larger shopping centres requires detailed investigation and specific management models, balancing the needs of the present users and inhabitants and regulations in terms of conservation. Regarding the problems emanating from restrictions in conservation planning and regulations,

the association proposed a governance model for the management of the historical market to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2008, but it was not realised. It is revealed that there are more than 10.000 craftsmen and tradespeople and more than 400 professional branches in the historical area. The basic drawback behind all these problems is marked as the lack of in-depth analysis of the historical market achieved through gathering accounts of the problems of the present users. As one of the interviewees remarked:

*'There should first be evaluation based on the analysis and the diagnosis comes after. Then you do cure and regeneration. However, in Kemeraltı the first two steps have been skipped in favour of the rehabilitation step' (An Interviewee from the founders of KTCA).*

The interviewees who work in the area as tradespeople or shopkeepers, who live in the area or who are actively involved with community organisations in Izmir have also addressed certain spatial problems which no municipalities or planning policies have managed to solve yet. Alongside the general infrastructure and physical degradation, the most highlighted specific problems entail the car-parking areas in the empty places of the historic city which are occupied and managed by mafia groups; the lack of control of these types of areas and construction and operation permits; the inadequate or overwhelming restrictions on physical interventions and usages; insufficient services and facilities both for visitors and inhabitants; and abandonment of the historic city at nights. For instance, one interviewee mentioned that:

*'There are a lot of problems also stemming from infrastructure. You ask for hygiene from a restaurant; however, the cost of water is 5 times more in commercial buildings. There are no proper restroom services in Kemeraltı, only inside the mosques, how can you bring tourists here if you do not provide essential services? There are also counterfeit products, you cannot sell plastic as leather in Kemeraltı, it should be controlled' (Interview with one of the founders of KTCA).*

One other significant discussion which emerged from the interviews is that the lack of in-depth analysis became a primary reason for not revealing and making visible the characteristics of the historic city. The discussions have not only focused on the conservation of tangible characteristics but marked the crucial interplay between social values and physical environment and its role in revealing the unique character of the historic city. Most of the interviewees has accused the local authorities of not effectively collecting information about the tangible and intangible values of the area and making them a part of conservation policies. For instance:

*'The problem is the lack of communication with the community. There is not enough capacity building in the municipalities. The head of IMMCO could say if the bakery, börekçi, has not obeyed the rules of historical city, he can open a shop in another place. But this börekçi is popular and unique and it is a component of Kemeraltı's values... There are peddlers in the original character of Kemeraltı such as Şerbetçiler,*



*now they are forbidden. If the municipality could organise proper control of them, they can sustain their roles in the original atmosphere of the market. Conserving a historical building is not conservation of the historic environment. People make the place live' (Interview with one of the founders of KTCA).*

A similar issue arose around the lack of analysis and related conservation around revitalisation policies. One interviewee, an urban activist and member of a community organisation, reported that the inadequacies of management in the historic city have caused a loss of significance and distinctiveness of place. Similarly to many other interviewees, he argued that the initial implementations of the Izmir History Project, and all processes from the conservation plans, are inadequate for the profound problems in respect to the loss of peculiarities and degradation of the historic environment. This issue is also related to the authorities in the local government applying top-down approaches, since even if they started to introduce participatory processes, it is again amongst the same players, and their piecemeal project-based approach. An interviewee exemplifies the diversity of the Izmir Historic City and to what extent it has been maintained comprehensively:

*'The passage closes to the facades of the radio museum, a lot of fountains, khans and hammams are in poor physical conditions. The interventions should have been planned on the neighbourhood level, not on one street or a single parcel as has been undertaken so far. In Kubilay Neighbourhood, a tomb was destroyed by treasure hunters, and it has not been on the agenda of the municipality. We are asking simple questions. Why there are so many car parking areas on demolished building parcels...we are asking why the world pays attention to conservation and we waste it?...Prof. Tekeli has produced projects with the elites for elite people, not for us. If, for example, they hold the night market in the Hatuniye square we will protest. The minarets of Hatuniye mosque has been vibrating for years, synagogues are in a bad condition. However, Izmir is a city embracing church bell, azan, and hazzan (çan, ezan, hazan). As in Sakarya neighbourhood, you can see the star of David and the Christian cross on the same door, they should celebrate this kind of diversity with their projects. Old Izmir is in desperation due to their insolence (Interviewee, one of the key figures in cultural heritage from a civil initiative).*

Many interviewees highlighted that although there are scattered groups and individual activists considering the problems on urban issues, there is no civil society organisation concerned specifically with conservation and cultural heritage issues. Even though it seems inactive today, one interviewee noted that they tried to form a community group called KAT (conservation-understanding-design) and organised trips to understand the historic city. More organised opposition to the implementations or projects has so far mostly come from professional chambers such as the Chamber of Architects or Chamber of City Planners. As is outlined in Chapter 4, in general, professional chambers act like civil society groups for urban activism in the context of the lack of related community organizations. However, the chambers are also criticised as expert-based, one interviewee from the Chamber of Architects interpreted their contributions as a civil society organization and the need for bottom-up initiatives:

*'The professional chambers have been active since the 1970s on issues according to their professions. They have the right to make formal objections through lawsuits. However, civil society groups should emerge from the community itself, and sometimes if it is necessary, they should also criticise the chambers. Some little community groups sometimes warn about the need of registration of some historical buildings. As the chamber of architects, I think we are active for taking notice of these warnings in planning and decision-making processes. In Izmir, protests against dangerous interventions to the historic centre have been ongoing much longer than in Istanbul and Ankara. We support the municipality when they embrace international concepts of conservation and we do try to preserve the buildings if the local authorities attempt to ruin them' (Interviewee from the Chamber of Architects).*

Some interviewees made recommendations on how civil society could be supported in the historic city and how this could link with the other problems of the city such as the vacant areas:

*'There are so many vacant areas outside the main live part of Kemeraltı. The conservation area status restricts their liberal use and the existing shops cannot afford any intervention. The municipality has carried out street rehabilitation projects, but the social and physical situation of other parts are in bad conditions. We have sought the enhancement of richness of our lives, not just to conserve cobblestone pavements. There should be more places for community groups, civil society associations from each realm; however, the rents are so expensive that associations can afford them. The municipality are not helpful for this. If the local authorities support the spread of associations here, maybe mafioso groups can be eliminated from Kemeraltı' (Interviewee from the founders of KTMD and Lion's club Kemeraltı).*

This section shed light on the participation capacities of the communities that provoke diverse discussion points interpreted by different actors, mostly in community groups in the historic city. The discussions presented the importance of carrying out multi-dimensional and in-depth analysis and surveys and considering how significant they are in producing policies for the conservation of historic environments. Allowing different actors to interpret the participatory processes in the conservation and planning period laid the path for participants such as TARKEM, business groups and academics to take more active roles in the processes rather than involving the inhabitants and diverse community groups. In terms of residential areas, it is revealed that community groups are diverse and approach historical values from more physical perspectives, since they have different priorities. Both Izmir History Project and the conservation plans have neglected to conduct systematic social surveys in the area; as a result the strategies in the structural planning documents, such as conserving in collaboration with the community, remain on paper since analysis of the aspects, characteristics and opinions of this community is missing. Perhaps for this reason, the design branch of the metropolitan municipality has remained inactive, even though they were established to achieve Izmir History Project with the community. In this context, the importance of conservation planning steps such as surveys, policies and management by the guidelines of holistic documents has gained importance. The

metropolitan municipality have decided to open a public information building in the historic city in order to provide consultancy services for the bureaucratic difficulties of conservation and identify the problems on the site. However, it had not yet opened at the point when this research was completed.

It has become clear that managing and sustaining a historical market in the current era is very challenging. From the interviews, it is understood that the tradespeople, craftsmen and users of Kemeraltı have not been satisfied with the implementations by the local government so far. Moreover, their critiques again raise the very serious matter of analysis type and inadequacy, and how this has led to disregard of the Kemeraltı community's real problems and obscured the need to maintain social values in Kemeraltı and the entire historic city. At this point, basic public criticism has not depended on whether the process took place under Izmir History Project or the conservation plans, or which government structure these processes were managed by, but it is associated with involved communities and their present problems. It seems the discourse of participation in both processes masked the involvement of economically and politically powerful groups like the network of IMM, TARKEM and IEDCB behind social inclusion goals.

### **6.1.5 Control Sector: The Efficiency of Conservation Councils**

Conservation councils have been significant institutions, representing a controlling public body in the context of the Turkish conservation system. However, their autonomous features have been threatened by the current legislative changes in Turkey as outlined in Section 4.1. Many interviewees remarked on the national legislative changes and their possible links to the Izmir case. Of significant concern is the shift in the autonomous structure of the boards. Today, members of conservation councils are appointed by the ministry. This implies that the central government can select the members they prefer, when previously YÖK (Council of Higher Education) assigned members from academia. Although according to interviewees tension between the conservation council and local governments has not been evident so far in the Izmir case, this relies entirely on the current makeup of conservation councils which can arbitrarily be changed by the central government. An interviewee from the Chamber of Architects addressed this issue and claimed that:

*'Someone can decide to remove the conservation area designations and conservation councils could easily approve it. Nevertheless, the conservation councils should have an autonomous structure and role beyond just approving the projects that central government prefers to implement' (Interviewee from the Chamber of Architects).*

Between the conservation planning period and the current Izmir History Project Processes, the routine work of the conservation councils, such as approval or disapproval of planning decisions, changes or conservation projects has not been changed. Within the Izmir History Project, it is clear that the conservation councils have not been included institutionally. However, the individual officers and

members of the board can attend participatory meetings and express their opinions about the Izmir History Project. One interviewee from the directorate of the conservation council noted on this issue:

*'In my opinion, institutional participation should be initiated. Otherwise, the feedback and comments from the institute have been individual rather than institutional. Our individual contributions have limited effects'.*

This suggestion also stems from the difference between the conservation councils as a distinct entity and the directorate of the conservation council. The conservation councils have been administered by the directorate, which is responsible for organising their meetings, agenda, reports and all the paperwork. In the Izmir case, the directorate has developed a conservation culture amongst their officers and according to the interviewees from the directorate it has been followed by "the mentor system". However, the conservation council members could change according to the selection of central government and correspondingly their approach to conservation could change. This would represent a critical risk for the position and legitimacy of the conservation councils as an interviewee noted:

*'In fact, the conservation councils have been rendered inactive after the member selection solely by the ministry. For instance, if the board member acts in consideration of his or her existence in the board, the decisions could differentiate from the conservation attitude of the directorate. These dynamics could change when the urban renewal area board will be established for Izmir besides the conservation council. Then, will also relate to the changing political conditions and the demand from the private market. Sometimes, the role of boards just becomes approval of what is brought in front of them, because central government institutions demand this. For instance, the ministry could assign all the board members from the private sector. Ultimately, within the processes, we formally receive the outputs when the decision-making processes are transferred to real plans and projects' (Interview from Directorate of the Conservation council).*

It appears that there is no administrative conflict between the municipalities' work and the conservation councils for Izmir at present. However, it is absolutely dependent on the approaches of selected members. In order to prevent this legislative gap, the current processes in the Izmir History Project should enhance the administrative role of the conservation councils within. This will also bring their experience in conservation works to bear on the project processes. Furthermore, the boards are very symbolic institutions, due to the fact that there is no appropriate controlling system apart from the conservation councils within the regulatory system.

### **6.1.6 The Role of the Regional Level in the Processes: Izmir Development Agency**

Izmir Development Agency has not been an efficiently active actor in conservation planning or the Izmir History project. When the Izmir Metropolitan

Municipality invites, the agency participates and provides comments, but it has not shown strong decision-making capacity during the conservation processes. In fact, the development agencies had largely different aims and objectives when they were first established at the regional governance level under the localism effects in Turkey. However, the national urban policies have changed during the time in which they have been practicing. In this context, the Izmir Development Agency have produced regional plans which have a more economic and social than spatial focus at the regional scale. Izmir's regional plans have three different development trajectories, 13 strategic priorities and more than 70 goals. Cultural heritage and conservation have been mentioned in a few policies. However, many goals of the regional plan could have been frozen considering that they depend on the capacities of assigned institutions which perform the roles that are commissioned to them in the report. Therefore, depending on the goals, a recent financial support programme came onto the agenda. As an interviewee from Izmir Development Agency noted:

*'We do not focus especially on conservation of cultural heritage. However, we recently opened a programme call in order to provide financial support for the projects and implementation on the conservation of cultural heritage in the province of Izmir. In the province, but we put priority grades to the projects within the historic centre' (Interviewee from IDA).*

Although the agency has various types of financial support programme calls, this financial support programme was the first relating to cultural heritage introduced by the Izmir Development Agency. Hence, according to the interviewee from the agency, another kind of technical programme report was prepared which is different to the standard reports of the other calls. In this term, the report was equipped with more technical details such as construction techniques, architectural elements and physical conditions of the buildings in the applications. The agency provided 15 million Turkish liras to support participants which are legal entities and not individuals. 75% of the total cost will be given by the agency and 25% will be provided by the applicants. The support will be given to either a project or to an implementation if there is already a project for the related heritage buildings or sites. After the applications and formal checks have been completed, the evaluation processes will be initiated by sending the applications to two different assessors outside of the Izmir Development Agency. When the assessors give their grades according to the programme guide, another jury will investigate and make final comments. Following this, if the managing board of IDA approves, the funding will be allocated. Monitoring process will then start within IDA regarding the technical process. A Planning officer from the Izmir Development Agency outlined the criteria the agency will seek for the projects:

*'We consider if the project application concerns their projects in the wider contexts, such as if it is compatible with the function already given to the project area, or if it contributes to the overall scenario in the district. If they have a broader vision about their programmes and concern the programme in the long term, we will also evaluate it positively. Also, our first aim is that conservation and regeneration of cultural heritage*

*assets should enhance the quality of urban life and touristic activities in the district. So, function is important as the physical features of the applicant's projects' (Interviewee from IDA).*

The first regional development agency has been established in Izmir, but thanks to the financial restrictions and loss of the initial motivations for their foundation, the Izmir Development Agency has also lost power in terms of its efficiency for urban development. However, as one of the central government agencies in Izmir, it is significant to notice that the agency has begun to open new types of calls for the sake of conservation of cultural heritage. Moreover, it prioritised the historic centre in these calls, after Izmir History Project launched. It can be said that even if the budget for the projects is relatively small, the agency has increased its efficiency from the conservation planning phases.

### **6.1.7 Participation from Central Government Bodies**

The participatory capacities of the local representative bodies of the central government are very limited in the processes. In particular, the foundations (waqfs), as the owners of large numbers of properties in the Izmir Historic City, have not been sufficiently involved in the processes, even if they have made some income from renting their properties. The local directorate of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism also has a limited role due to budget constraints. The Directorate belongs to and responds to the governorship of Izmir whilst it is not entirely part of the governorship. It is a working unit under the umbrella of the Izmir governorship and has responsibility for works around culture and tourism in the city. Although the directorate of the ministry has the right to give individual funding for the conservation of cultural heritage, it has only been provided for very limited and special projects on listed properties. The directorate investigates and sends the documents of applicants for projects or implementations to the ministry. The final approval or disapproval of applications is the responsibility of the ministry. The percentage of the grant depends on the applications; the directorate can support 40,50,60 % of the total cost depending on the project. There is also a property support tax, which is collected by the municipalities; the majority of this goes to the municipalities. An interviewee from the directorate explains their priorities for the allocation of the grants and notes:

*'The demand comes from the individuals, and the ministry decides to provide grants according to the applications, budget limitations and rankings. The ministry pays more attention to the buildings which have historically symbolic meanings such as links to the history of the republic, or Atatürk' (Interviewee from Directorate of Culture and Tourism).*

It could be claimed that the local representatives of the central government have had limited participant capacity within both the Izmir History Project and conservation planning phases. They have provided some grants to a few projects and implementations within a very selective application process. Furthermore, they

are invited to the general executive boards of the Izmir History Projects; the interviewees noted that the real power within the Izmir History Project and all the former processes in conservation is the municipalities. In addition to the grants, these public bodies can organize meetings relating mostly to tourism enhancement that aim to include all other actors related to tourism, which can be larger than the target group of the municipalities. For instance, the latest series of tourism meetings were held in 2018 and produced tourism goals for entire city including Izmir Historic City.

## 6.2 Connectivity

The strongest collaboration and negotiation within the governance system of Izmir History Project is revealed to be between two key institutions in the system: Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and TARKEM. As explained in Chapter 5, after producing operational plans, dialogue meetings occur in which Izmir Metropolitan Municipality introduces possible projects and asks which actor is willing to realise the project ideas. Until 2018, the only willing actor has been TARKEM. It has a strong role at the governance level as an interviewee indicated:

*'TARKEM is the unique institute participating in the execution board at the governorship and municipality levels of governance. It provides also the links between these boards. For example, it suggests security measures to the governorship such as inserting city surveillance cameras, and at the same time, suggests lighting plans for the streets to the municipality. TARKEM has a voice in each institution on the board through its developer/investor character, and its interdisciplinary nature' (Interviewee from TARKEM).*

There are basically four platforms presenting connectivity within the institutional governance system of decision-making processes in the Izmir History Project (Figure 53). Within the hierarchy, the first level, the supreme council, consists of the mayor, the consultants of the mayor, the general secretariat of the mayor and the representatives of TARKEM. At this level, the mayor and other participants decide about the financial feasibility of big investments or expropriation processes. The second level, the governor's executive council, is amongst the more connected internal institutes who discuss the project executions and the related changes in conservation plans. It consists of the main institutions of the Izmir History Project, the Historic Environments' Office, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Planning Office, the project collaborators - at the time university departments - and TARKEM as the developer/investor. The third cycle is the executive council, that is, alongside the secretariat of the IMMCO, the institutes related to larger issues such as IMMCO, IMM technical unit, Konak Municipality, and other institutes linked to the types of execution. The fourth cycle includes a larger group of institutions also known as the executive council but including the secretariat of the governorship and more generic areas such as security, food management, and the culture and tourism office. Even though conflicts have

emerged between the institutes of central government and local government, the relationship between the governor and IMMCO has remained stable. The governor has embarked on gathering ownership data from the institutions for which, until now, there has been no available data.



Figure 53: Governance Levels of the IHP (Source: Author's elaboration).

This hierarchical structure has resulted in the higher governance level holding a more powerful role, which only allows actors at the other hierarchical levels to implement already made decisions rather than being active participants in decision making. For instance:

*We must work in coordination for the analysis-registration-designation processes. We understood from our personal contacts that the projects coming from the municipalities could not be the projects that all the technical staff were aware of. Sometimes, projects were decided by higher levels within the municipalities. It means that the opinions of institutions and individuals working in the same institutions have not always shared the same approaches and opinions. Usually, the IMMCO contains architects and their perspective is mostly from the project and design point of views whereas we argue from larger scales (Interviewee from the Directorate of Conservation councils).*

### **6.2.1 The Lack of Connectivity among the Public Institutions of Izmir Urban Governance**

Many interviewees talked about how the general lack of connectivity in the Turkish bureaucratic system has led to an internal lack of coordination amongst Izmiri conservation institutions. Although one of the reasons for the introduction of Izmir History Project was to compensate for this lack, some interviewees from the



Historic Environment's Office indicated that the office itself has had to tackle the problems within the Izmir History Project:

*'We have dealt with every aspect of the project such as infrastructure, art-culture...in a very detailed way. However, there is a lack of connectivity at some points of the project, it is because of the Turkish bureaucracy' (Interviewee, Design Branch Coordinator).*

However, it is also noted that the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has deliberately chosen to be the principal institution in order not face 'another medium of conflict and confrontations' driven by the lack of connectivity between institutes, as was seen in the conservation planning phase. The metropolitan municipality have benefited from the Urban Renewal Act to become the main authority and not opted to use 'a site management plan' which would mean sharing authority with other actors. However, in terms of other benefits of this act, the lack of connectivity between central and local government sometimes prevents related benefits. For instance:

*'IMM has tried to benefit from the Urban Renewal Act by using the article 'there is an obligation as transferring ownership rights of the public land belonging to the ministry of treasury to the municipality'. Although the transferring process has been commenced by the IMM, the head and team of the provincial treasury have been reluctant to make the process active. This is also caused by the tension between the central and local government departments' (Interviewee from IMM Planning Office).*

The connectivity between central and local government institutions is also discussed through the inadequate descriptions of role of the actors within the legislation on planning and conservation. As is also framed in Chapter 2, conservation goals can be achieved in the local contexts, but if the distribution of roles is not clear amongst the local actors, it results with the lack of connectivity as well. It is revealed that this is also evident in the lack of connections between the conservation areas and the wider city in the legislative system. Therefore, in addition to the lack of connectivity among authorities within the boundaries of the conservation areas, it can also block successful relations at the governance level with the entire city. It is then linked to separation of spatial aspects from economic aspects; at the national level this connection has not been established through legislation and ultimately it has reflected on conservation processes in Izmir. Many interviewees claimed that the Izmir History Project appeared to bring a solution for the economic aspects which could not have been solved by connectivity of public actors in the conservation planning phase. However, the inadequacies are also evidenced by the controlling system of the processes within the overall urban governance system. The only controlling body appears to be the conservation councils, which have a say only on limited aspects and have no concrete role to control the overall outcomes of the projects. As an interviewee from the directorate of the conservation council reflected on this and its links with the community level:

*'Conservation is a high cost activity; it is also significant how it can be afforded and how the ownership problems will be solved. Conservation should have a strong public pillar. It is only assigned to conservation councils and its directorates. But it should be the responsibility of every institution. Power holders could have made huge negative impacts on the historic environment through economic exploitation, however there is no controlling mechanism for this. On the other hand, if a property owner or tenant makes repairs to the roof of an historic building, the conservation council can impose a fine. Above all, the requirement is to reshape the community. We, in Turkey, are a community trying to follow Europe without forming our own identity. If the political authorities could not value the conservation laws, citizens also follow it. We, as officers in the directory, could write what we see as dangerous for conservation of historic environment in the report, however the upper level decision making could take it for granted' (Interviewee from the Directorate of Conservation councils).*

The lack of connectivity in respect to the controlling level led to each actor in the process to feel free to implement projects whatever the planning decisions propose. This is evident in the discourse of a private actor within the process:

*Izmir Chamber of Commerce had very strong connections with the central government especially on transportation issues. But we could not have same interaction with the metropolitan municipality. We investigate the plans, but plans are not static and unchangeable entities, if we find our decisions worth to implementing in the interests of Izmir, we also try to change them. Because we have the power to implement the projects faster. Of course, we perceive plans and legislation as a base, but if it is necessary, they could be tailored (Interviewee from the Izmir Chamber of Commerce).*

Since Izmir Metropolitan Municipality is administered by an opposition political party, the declared vision of the Izmir History Project is to accomplish an alternative type of conservation from the national norm, by encouraging participation amongst all levels of society as related actors within city governance. However, a common criticism has emerged that ultimately, the IHP processes have followed the same road as urban transformations which occurred in cities with ruling party-dominated local governments due to loss of effective coordination with other actors. As one interviewee notes:

*'The discourse of the IHP is to use projects as the main tools to revitalise the historic centre. In my opinion, this as a transformative instrument is unlikely to achieve the conservation and regeneration goal. The project-based approach is aligned with recent urban transformations by the central government. A local government which claims to use participatory vision and then follows the project-based approach of the central government is ironic' (Interviewee from the Directorate of Conservation councils).*

One often-criticised aspect of the lack of connectivity amongst institutions is the insufficient engagement of the foundations (waqfs) which could be of great benefit at the governance level. An interviewee noticed this lack and connected it with the possible works that they could achieve together.

*'There is no connection between foundations (waqfs) and IMM, if they achieve this connection another type of project could be accomplished. The Ministry of Culture and*

*Tourism visited the historic city, it was me who showed him around, this should have been done by the IMM. The ministry of culture, waqfs and IMM have not been worked together properly for this area. The cultural inventory list must be updated and renovated, however there is no current attempt to do this among these actors' (Interviewee, a key figure in cultural heritage from a civil initiative).*

It appears that although there is no conflict amongst the local municipalities, there is a lack of connectivity mostly amongst the central and local government institutions. This acceptance of legislative gaps has established Izmir Metropolitan Municipality as the leading authority in the process, forfeiting the benefits which could spring from strong connectivity amongst public institutions. This also led to the main office in the Izmir History Project, Historic Environment Office (IMMCO), becoming overloaded with the management of the entire process, undertaking secretarial, controlling and execution works simultaneously.

### **6.2.2 The Link between Changing Political Actors and Changing Conservation Attitudes**

It is evident that the lack of connectivity in conservation processes has also depended on the changes in mayors and their political teams. These shifts in political leadership have seen mayors with diverse attitudes to conservation, which have led to varying approaches and characteristics to projects. This also relates to the notion of urban projects as a showcase of individual mayors' achievements. According to many interviewees, Ahmet Priştina (1999-2004), who was the former mayor of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, was a very symbolic figure behind the overall approach to urban projects in Izmir; the subsequent mayor, Aziz Kocaoğlu (2004-present), has attempted to continue his vision. Thus, Kocaoğlu has continued to approach management via a project approach. To illustrate, one academic interviewee commented on the big urban projects by Ahmet Priştina and their relevance to the projects in Izmir History Project:

*'The showcase project of Izmir was the Izmir Coast project. Eventually, the projects in the Red Castle and Kemeraltı of the historic centre have been targeted to be part of the whole scenario completed by the project of the former mayor Ahmet Priştina in which high-rise office buildings are located surrounding the coastal area. Hence, this scenario has begun with the coastal area and progressively reached the historic centre and its environment in the 'basin of İzmir' (Academic interviewee).*

Some of the interviewees noted that there is a strong connection between changing political figures, even if they belong to the same political party, and their conservation approach, which fundamentally alters the attitude to conservation of the time. For instance, this is evident in the changing mayors of the local Konak Municipality. Alongside the positive changes to conservation legislation in the early 2000s, the mayors also played a central role in trying to prepare and implement holistic conservation planning in the city. However, the approach has not continued following the recent change of mayors. As one interviewee summarised it:

*'In Konak Municipality, when local municipalities have an active role in the conservation, the conservation plans were prepared by the time of Erdal İzgi (1999-2004). Then, his follower Muzaffer Tunçağ (2004-2009) supported the conservation work. His wife, as an architect, has influenced the active process of conservation. However, Hakan Tarhan (2009-2014) had a project-based political view targeting quickly visible projects, and he disregarded long-term planning processes. If political will had continued, all conservation plans could have been revised and completed within the whole urban renewal area, namely the Izmir History Project areas' (Interviewee from IMM Planning Office).*

It is also noted by the interviewees that all mayors have different teams and consultants who have had their own impacts on the projects. Thus, it is suggested by some of the interviewees that the difference between the Izmir History Project and conservation planning phases stem from not the processes themselves but from the shifting influence of individual mayors.

*'At the times, when the conservation plans were under preparation, one of the famous architects, Oktay Ekinci, and the conservation specialist, Doğan Kuban, were the consultants for the processes. When the current mayor, Aziz Kocaoğlu, took power, these consultants stopped working with the current mayor. The involvement of the new actors has been connected with each other in the process. The conservation plans were prepared but expected actions could not be implemented. And each central and local government has taken another approach to conservation of the historic environment' (Interviewee from the Konak Municipality).*

It can be claimed that the legislation, connectivity, regulation and controlling system has been so poorly entrenched that conservation practice is fundamentally vulnerable to changes in political leadership. Even if they belong to the same political party, different mayors' different visions of urban management and conservation have resulted in interruptions to already prepared processes and initiated alternative activities through different actors connected to the mayor of the time. This demonstrates the fragility of the urban governance and planning system, especially in terms of conservation.

### **6.2.3 Connections between Conservation Plans, the Izmir History Project and other General or Sectoral plans**

The lack of connectivity between planning sectors is immediately evident in the disconnection between the urban plans of Izmir and the conservation plan of the historic city. Some interviewees noted that conservation is not strongly represented in the central plans or other sectoral plans, which has resulted in a lack of connectivity between urban conservation areas and the rest of the city. For instance:

*'There is no connection between conservation plans and other planning instruments. This is one of the major reasons why conservation is a problem in the Izmir case as well. In the larger scale plans, the conservation areas are an input like a boundary line, the content has usually been disregarded. There are also effects of the former plans which we can see have destroyed the historical region after all. It is the same for the 1/5000*

*conservation plan which also considers the plan in its own boundaries' (Interviewee from IMM Planning Office).*

The overall conservation areas, which are located close to the historic centre, have a variety of plans and they do not link with each other. This fragmentation of planning and lack of overall strategy led to the transitional areas being spatially disconnected from Izmir Historic Centre. For instance, one very contested project, named 'Folk-Art Project' after the developer's construction company, is an incompatible high rise building just within the boundary of the historic centre. Community organizations have protested about this project. Furthermore, many interviewees claimed that this project and similar decisions are the results of the lack of a general site management plan for the conservation sites and their transitional areas. Some of them linked it to the Izmir History Project, suggesting it interrupted the endeavours of the planning offices to prepare new plans for missing places and re-connect all the fragmented plans under a more holistic approach.

*'The close environment of the historic centre is an area with a lot of partial and sectoral plans. There are 1/25000 and 1/5000 plans, two other conservation plans. If we continue with conservation plans rather than launching this new Izmir History Project, the other plans, if the conservation area designation was still valid in Alsancak which is invalid now, the plans could create harmony with each other's vision. The historic centre with the Red Castle and surrounding traditional housing district, Kemeraltı commercial market, then agora, the coastal part with the new projects such as Passport Quay, the customs warehouse, and Alsancak with the urban fabric of first national architectural examples should have stronger relations with each other to achieve this goal. There should be a site management plan in order to encompass the historic city centre with its surrounding environment' (Interviewee from Konak Municipality).*

Despite the importance of the planning approach mentioned, it has also been commented that this does not mean all the plans are positive. This undoubtedly relates to the methodologies, approaches and reasoning of planning decisions, which neglect to apply 'communicative mind' and interdisciplinary thinking. In this context, many interviewees gave examples of the negative effects of former plans such as the 1955 urban plan and the 1984 conservation plan. As was briefly explained in Chapter 4, they made decisions on the enlargement of roads to some places in which there was a traditional urban pattern. A further concern about some decisions under the former plans is that they themselves have necessitated new projects today. According to the coordinator of the Izmir History Project and the executive chef of IMMCO, although sometimes the changes in planning decisions and approaches are necessary, the community and professional experts tended to blame developers. He indicates that sometimes planning itself would be the reason for increased economic interest in urban space, however the proposed solution is mostly to advocate a planning approach against economic concerns. He claimed that:

*'In the folk-art case, the problem again starts from a decision made by planners. In the vicinity area of the historic centre, the planner gave the floor area ratio as 5. After a*

*while, an investor, folk-art, discovered the area and wanted to implement their project. Also, the high-rise buildings along the Kordon were constructed regarding a planning decision. But, when a developer wants to use the construction right given via planning itself, the complaints target the developer. At the same time, I am also upset about the construction of the Folk-art building which is in the periphery of historic centre' (Interviewee executive chef of the IMMCO).*

The substantial point that has been raised by many interviewees from public actors and community groups is that the introduction of the Izmir History Project invalidated the former conservation plans. It has not explicitly cancelled the plans; however, the conservation plans are not effective anymore thanks to the changes to their essential articles conserving the overall holistic approach of the plan. While the implementer and promoter of the Izmir History Project holds the conservation plans responsible for the degradation of Izmir Historic City, other actors argued over what this shift from the planning to project approach could bring to conservation. Many interviewees commented that this lack of connection between the valid conservation plans and the Izmir History Project led to the bypassing of planning. For example, as one interviewee discussed the significance of the holistic sense of the plan and why a planning approach is fundamental:

*'Following the conservation plans would have been the appropriate approach; they should start from the holistic vision. If it is necessary, the planning decisions could also be changed by understanding their overall impacts. The view is first producing the projects. If the planning decisions prevent this project, that can be handled via changing the planning decisions. And they made these changes in the plans. This is an easier way to produce projects at high-speed. When it departs from the project point, it starts to lose the whole. Today, the conservation plan has holes and has started to lose its overall sense considering the physical change also triggered other relative spatial changes. The sociological analyses should also have been updated periodically. The plan itself serves to bring together interdisciplinary analysis, spatialisation of the problems, and solutions. If it is abandoned, in turn, there are just punctual projects. Therefore, project at point a cannot feed the project at b point. Ultimately, the entire system does not work' (Interviewee from the Directorate of Conservation councils).*

As is explained in Section 5.3.1, this design brief aimed to reveal the original architectural and physical characteristics of the traditional pattern, providing a guide for new interventions for specific zones. However, new changes also made this guide ommissible and proposed another type of design pattern as exemplified in the Synagogue District Project in Chapter 5. An example given by an interviewee presents how arbitrarily and easily the changes in planning took place during the implementation phase of the one of the projects in the Izmir History Project:

*'In the Synagogue District, there was a police station building which the project wanted to transform into a research and development institute (R&D). The planning decisions were changed accordingly, however, in the end the project owners decided not to use it as R&D building. In that case, what was the reason for changing the holistic planning decisions?' (Interviewee from the Planning Office).*

This demonstrates how the new Izmir History Project proposed another type of methodology for the management of the historic environment, which differs from what was drawn up for the conservation plan examined in Chapter 2. Regardless of its name, whether conservation plan or management plan, it presents an approach to follow in order to understand the urban character, with in-depth analysis specific to historic cities; policies can be based on this analysis and the historic city can be managed accordingly. However, the Izmir History Project thus far skipped the ‘understanding’ part of the conservation plan, which the other steps in process should be built upon. The resulting single projects promise solutions for the degradation of the historic city for all, but in fact propose projects to attract more tourists and investors to the historic centre. This runs contrary to the strategies and aims presented by the Izmir History Project. As claimed by an interviewee from a community organization which is active in protests against the Folk-art building, such as:

*‘At the end of report, there is a confession by Prof. Tekeli, claiming that it is a gentrification project. We, within our community groups, consider this connected to other projects such as Kultur park, and folk-art buildings. We want to consider Izmir historic centre with its transitional environment, kultur park, folk art, and overall silhouette. These should be input in the conservation plans’ (Interviewee from a community organisation).*

#### **6.2.4 The Disconnections between the Participatory Processes and Outcomes**

As is discussed in above section, conservation plans became gradually inactive after the introduction of the Izmir History Project. The project mainly aimed to differentiate from the conservation planning approach by achieving regeneration projects in ‘rifted areas’ with a participatory approach. For this reason, participatory processes were organised with a certain type of methodology following the participatory meetings and operational plans, as is examined in detail in Chapter 5. It is shown that the participatory meetings have been realised with public actors, professional chambers, academics and private sector groups rather than intensely engaging with the community. It was above mentioned how interviewees outlined the ways in which some groups within the community were not included within the processes while others have had a more dominant role. Comments from interviewees demonstrate that the reflections, comments, opinions and projects raised in the participatory meetings were not reflected in the implementations. It is revealed that many interviewees were critical about this lack of connectivity. For instance:

*‘Gathering so many people together do not mean ‘participation’. In the participatory processes of Izmir, I do not observe from the output that participants are aware of how they can actively contribute to the participatory system. Participants cannot see their contribution as a reflection in the instruments obtained after the workshops. It is in the*

*nature of participation that individual reasons, or interests could be in conflict. Planning is the tool to manage the conflicts emerging from the capitalist processes. The municipality has made all the workshops by gathering people in the meetings. For example, we all commented about how important it is to strengthen the axis which connects Kemeraltı market and the Red Castle and what can be done. But we do not see any reflection of our discussions on the ground. Central governments could provide infrastructure like internet and energy, and the other actions could be taken by IMM' (Interviewee from the Chamber of Architects).*

Alongside widespread observations that the results of the workshops were not integrated into the reports and implementations, it is also apparent that in some projects, decisions were only passed according to the expectations of the private sector. In this sense, the lack of vitality of the planning and regulatory governance system is evident. For instance:

*'There are two restoration projects that will be repurposed as Boutique Hotels, there were no boutique hotel proposals extracted from our participatory workshops. Sometimes, including the private sector in the processes may cause manipulation of the participatory processes in this way. However, the project office of the Izmir History Project has seriously put maximum effort to control the project processes, sometimes also controlling the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality per se' (Interviewee, IMMCO, Design Branch Coordinator).*

Another significant discussion arose around how the opinions which emerged in participatory meetings have been used as a marketing discourse. This is also related to the issue that covered in the literature framing as recent 'experimental' conceptual set of the municipalities rather than only using the conventional entrepreneurial urban governance concepts. This could be also linked to the Izmir case by the discourse in the strategic report which addresses more inclusion, community urban experiences and design aspects of the project. As one interviewee commented:

*'We search for what has succeed in the Izmir History Project. You advertise the IHP a lot, you advertise TARKEM as a new model, and there is nothing going on in reality. They have just made some suggestions like student centres by dressing up these ideas with fancy designs. However, if there is no real solution for the problems of the tradesman, shopkeepers to sustain traditional market, there is nothing' (Interviewee from a community organisation).*

Furthermore, even if the community of Izmir Historic City have supportive opinions on new participation efforts in general, it is shown that it does not mean a lot if it does not bring solutions to real problems. These solutions are mostly deemed to be an increase of availability in financial grants, and positive economic, social or cultural impacts of new interventions to the physical environment. As one interviewee explained:

*'Tradespeople and shopkeepers can see participation positively just until they see the physical interventions or financial resources. The shopkeepers cannot maintain or do*



*restoration work without financial support. There are no youth visiting here. The car parking in the fish market was demolished, then they constructed another building with iron there. The IMM could provide the fishermen with a place in another inactive street. We would like to make it empty to provide more open spaces for the historic city such as a concert place in which social and cultural organisations could happen during the night for everyone including youth or people not living here. Just make any wall an open cinema for youth. This building is one of the biggest faults in what they have achieved until now' (Interviewee from the former founders of Kemeraltı Tradespeople and shopkeepers' associations and Lion's club Kemeraltı).*

It appears from the discussion that in terms of the other participants in the participatory meetings, aside from the main authority and the economic sector, has absolutely positive opinions about this vision of the Izmir History Project. However, there are critical views about the ways that the collected views are realised on the ground.

### **6.3 Knowledge Use**

This section will examine how the knowledge produced by analysis, research, surveys and participatory processes has been utilised in practice. In the strategic plans and according to the interviewees from the municipality, a database for the entire area has been planned. Prior to 2019, there had still been no attempt to initiate this. For the districts of new projects, analyses were carried out by the university within the boundaries of single project areas. The analyses were just produced to feed the project; they have not been used to spread knowledge but limited to the core institutions. As charted in Chapter 2, the core of conservation as a separate sector in planning lay behind the particularities of the analyses, survey, and documentation of historic environments to reveal authenticity and manage the historic place according to its characteristics. However, the new Izmir History Project has deprived itself of the benefits of acquiring and using knowledge from a thorough analysis of the historic city. The project relies on analyses built upon the survey from the conservation plans, which has not been updated or made compatible with new technologies. Many critiques have discussed the absence of a complete urban and cultural heritage values analysis and evaluation behind the project. For instance:

*'This project has been started and continued without having at least proper documentation and analysis of the place. The reason behind this is the vision of the project as 'not planning but project based' (An Interviewee from Academia).*

Some interviewees underlined that the survey is a compulsory part of any planning attempt and in historic environments it should be done through conservation plans. The change of approach of the management from planning to single projects has been one of the causes of abandonment of strategies such as "first analysis and then planning". A Mediterranean Academy, *Akdeniz Akademi*, was established to support research for the Izmir History Project. This is also linked to one of the aims of the overall Izmir Project which is strengthening research on

Izmir through its connections with Mediterranean history and culture. However, this research group has become inactive since it could not function as the research unit for the Izmir History Project. As is shown in the Chapter 5, the analysis presented is a literature review, and not conducted specifically to support the Izmir History Project. Some interviewees also claimed that the analysis provided in the strategic report is insufficient; it is mostly built upon a master thesis that examined the underground archaeological deposits of the historic town:

*The underground inventory analysis in Izmir is not deep and accurate, even Burak Belge mentioned the same. It needs more detailed analysis, but these kinds of analyses could be achieved via conservation planning. We are aware that the analyses of the conservation plans are old and maybe the decisions need to be revised. But strategic reports cannot substitute for planning, it does not depend on survey analyses, just a general vision and strategies. It seems it is a design of the author of the strategic report. Firstly, we should understand what the problems for Izmir and the degradation of the city are. Also, sociological analyses are needed' (Interviewee Chamber of City Planners).*

In fact, one of the most common responses in terms of how knowledge use functions in the project processes was the highlighting of the need for a sociological analysis behind the project. This issue appears crucial in order to accomplish the goals of the Izmir History Project, which aim to include people in conservation and regeneration. However, even the social and economic analyses of the conservation plans are not adequate considering the site is constantly changing. That means the projects have been initiated without proper knowledge of the details of the social and economic aspects of the historic city. There was one attempt to carry out a sociological analysis with university collaboration in the Patlıcanlı Street, *Patlıcanlı Yokuşu*. Some interviewees commented on this:

*'It is not enough to produce small scale analyses with the students from the university such as Patlıcanlı Yokuşu (Figure 54). If there is this huge Izmir history project, the scale and detail of analyses with sociologists and archaeologists should have been in harmony with the wider discourse. It is impossible to understand what is happening behind the doors in the IHP' (An Interviewee from academia).*

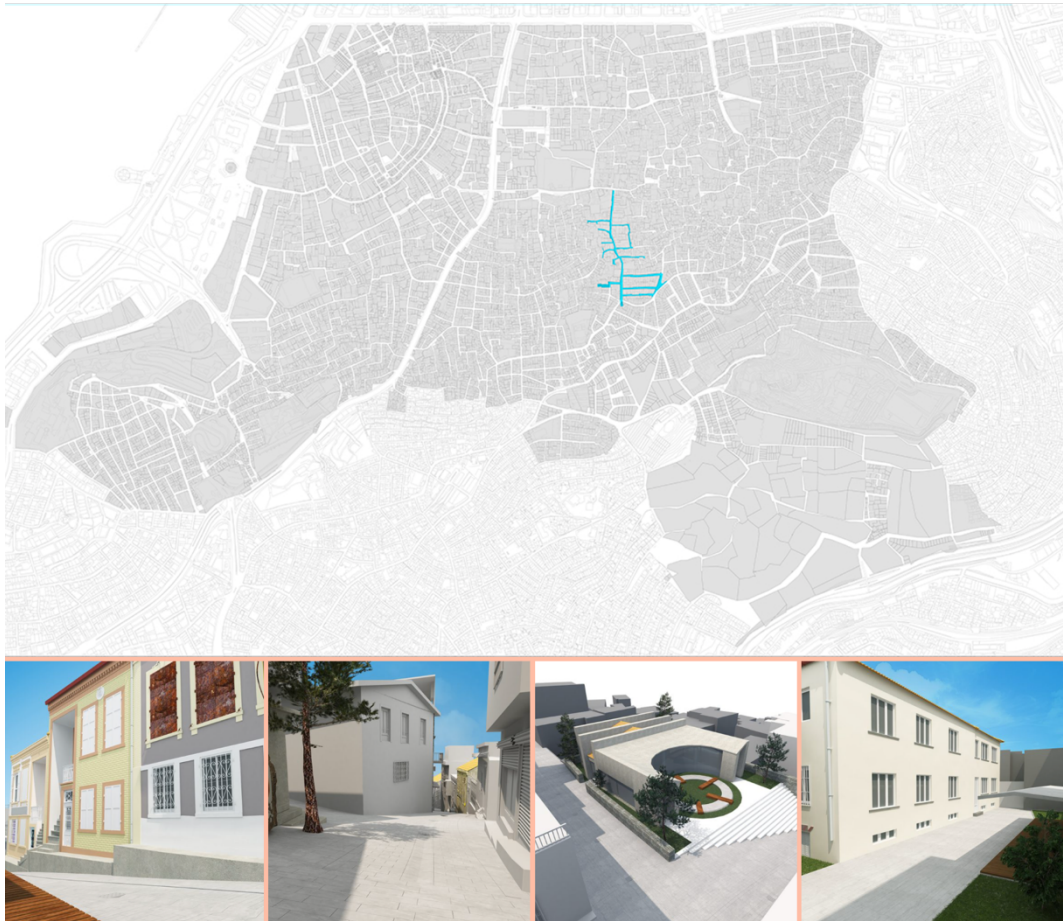


Figure 54: Pathcanlı Yokuşu as a small-scale research (Source: IMM Archive, 2018).

Furthermore, the lack of sociological analysis led to different interpretations of the social pattern in the neighbourhood by the practitioners of the Izmir History Project. There are contradictory comments on the sociological analysis. As a coordinator of the public-private partnership, TARKEM, assumed that the population in the traditional districts are already unwilling to stay longer in their houses, he claimed that the project should target not the existing population but the ‘real’ Izmiris’. As he claimed:

*‘The sociologists and anthropologists have worked in this area, and they revealed that the districts do not belong to the ones who currently live there. These districts are temporary places for people in which the inhabitants change over 20 years. There were Turkish and Jewish people 100 years ago. Then Kurdish people came from Urfa, Diyarbakir and Mardin; then people from Somalia and Algeria. Now it is a place for Syrian immigrants or refugees. So, in TARKEM’s view, when it cannot be claimed that people living here are part of the identity of the historic city, how can it be said that we conduct gentrification projects? The region’s real Izmiri people cannot experience the city in daily life, if the Izmiri people can access these districts and someone calls it gentrification then we again accept gentrification. Because we cannot do the project just for people temporarily living there. As our objective is to reignite the relationship between Izmiri people and their history then TARKEM must also consider them. Those*

*sociological concepts have consciously become detached from the real meaning in order to criticise' (Interviewee from TARKEM).*

In the same vein, the coordinator of Izmir History Project and executive chef of IMMCO commented from the opposite viewpoint:

*'Considering these issues, the IMMCO conducted two different projects. One is Kök Basmane project, and the other is the social analysis which we conducted in Patlıcanlı Yokuşu Street. Even though the inhabitants here are immigrants from Mardin, some of them also became property owners. There is a common idea that inhabitants here in the residential districts are temporary, and whenever they are able to find another place, they will abandon the district, which is not entirely true. If there are property owners, they will be the first ones who benefit from the value increase' (Interviewee executive chef of the IMMCO).*

As shown above, contradictory comments from interviewees from the two main actors of the Izmir History Project exemplify the lack of research and analysis and their dissemination. The sociological aspects were one dimension of insufficient knowledge use in the historic city. The other very important issue raised is how the analyses could not effectively reveal the significance or character of specific places; this requires the collaboration of interdisciplinary research groups and the inclusion of people in the process, allowing them to express what values they assigned to various attributes, according to the understanding of values and attributes in the historic urban landscape approach, as explained in Chapter 2. However, many interviewees claimed that authorities have not been concerned with research on the historical character of Izmir Historic Centre which could cause them to disregard particularities of the historic city. For example:

*'In Izmir, commercial shops could be observed on the ground floors of mosques, in usual Islamic mosques, it would be madrasah and masjids. Muslim houses include hammams inside the building. Those are the Mediterranean Turkish housing types. They have little courtyards with lemon and bergamot trees. But these characteristics of this particular historic environment has not been used as an input, everywhere is full of palm trees which are not indigenous here...It is not a good practice what is going on Izmir Historic City so far, it is an illusion like pulling a rabbit from a hat. The authorities forced some trades move out of Kemeraltı such as glass makers, marbles, and shoemakers, taking granted of what the social and economic structure here prefers. You can find everything in Kemeraltı from a diaper to a shroud, it has very diverse lines of trades and shops from the beginning' (Interviewee from one of the former founders of KTCA).*

In fact, the design branch of the Historic Environment Office of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality was established in order to produce design solutions in concert with the people living in the historic city; this is why it was placed within the Basmane neighbourhood. However, the design branch was also criticised for disconnection between its officers and the historic environment. One interviewee from the district observes the dislocation of officers in the metropolitan

municipality, project consultants and TARKEM from the problems of cultural heritage conservation on the ground:

*'TARKEM as itself has no knowledge about the historic city. The design branch of the municipality should not enclose the officers within the building. They should detect illegal constructions, risky historical buildings such as tombs and, most importantly they should do more urban surveys. It should go beyond the connections of public officers and urban space considering conservation also includes commitment and internalisation... We asked the consultant of the Izmir History Project about the cultural inventory list, he is not aware of it, therefore he introduced projects not grounded here' (Interviewee key figure about cultural heritage from a civil initiative).*

Alongside tangible values, the urban conservation discipline has long sought to define the intangible values which make a place distinctive, such as character and sense of place, cultural significance or genius loci. A lack of the necessary knowledge to understand local character can result in the loss of urban heritage with its diverse meanings. In the case of Izmir, lack of analysis benefiting from these concepts developed within urban conservation obscures any understanding of values beyond the physical. In respect to this subject, many interviewees gave the example of Basmane District and the shoemakers' places in Izmir Historic City to demonstrate the impact of the lack of analysis behind the projects:

*'We warned the municipality before it started the projects that the area needs very detailed spatial and sociological analyses. Each university unit is ready to undertake this kind of analysis. For instance, Basmane has a really different spatial fabric in terms of temporality. If you displace its characteristics with precarious projects, like the municipality did in the shoemaker's places in the city, it will be a failure in terms of conservation and regeneration. The replacement of the shoemakers' area has been key in the neglect of Kemeraltı market considering the production there also fed the related commerce and retails. Now, they do not know how to revitalise this area. And, it is still not living due to the lack of analysis. The insertion of new sectors as a top-down decision like bringing the university here has not worked in such a market' (Interviewee from Academia).*

Another interviewee commented on this issue in terms of the possible outcomes, such as:

*'For instance, Basmane has been the place for people who are newcomers to the city from low-income groups. It is a place for transition; people start from Basmane and from there seek a more settled place. If you ruin this temporary accommodation character of Basmane you will lose the character and it may be transformed into a place for the accommodation of high-level income people' (An Interviewee from Chamber of City Planners)*

There is a huge amount of dedicated labour behind the conservation plans and Izmir History Project. However, if they do not build upon proper knowledge use produced by in-depth analysis, by seriously engaging communities with the management process, it will bring forth the same results which have been seen in other urban transformation projects in Turkey. Indeed, while the lack of urban

governance and connectivity is crucial, the fundamental drawback of the planning approach is revealed as analysis, which every other subject is built upon. As the deputy mayor of Konak Municipality claimed, 'we put effort into conservation. But it does not stem from detailed analysis, it happens by coincidence'. It is revealed by the many interviewees that besides the lack of social, economic, ownership analysis there is also an enormous building stock which should be registered as cultural heritage. Before turning to high-speed regeneration projects such as converting buildings to boutique hotels, the management of the project should focus on these issues. Otherwise, a lot of cultural heritage buildings will continue to physically degrade, also causing loss of authenticity and integrity from the physical dimension.

## 6.4 Conclusions

From the beginning, the Izmir History Project has aimed to implement projects through participation by enabling horizontal governance amongst multiplied actors. However, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and related formations of the private sector became the main actors in the processes. In this context, it can be claimed that the processes have developed a top-down planning approach due to the leading role of IMM and its consultant as chief planners in the decision-making systems. IMM and TARKEM maintain the maximum decision-making capacity within the process by labelling their work under the umbrella name of the Izmir History Project.

It is apparent that most of the participants have not seen their contributions and feedback taken into account in decision making. This is evident when the decisions over the projects are compared to the results of the dialogical meetings. The selection of participants according to individual relations has been also claimed as an example of how the participatory processes created 'an illusion', which ultimately boiled down to political rhetoric. The capacity to empower communities to become involved in heritage making processes did not succeed in this way, considering the representation capacities of the participants. The civil initiatives which emerged from the Kemeraltı Historical Market and other organisations have remarked that overall, the works of the municipality have appeared to take an academic approach without taking into account the real problems of the historic city on the ground.

Connectivity amongst the actors is also at a very low level in the conservation processes. The political tension between the local and central government is not the only reason. The lack of coordination is also evident inside the local government institutions. Together, the interviewees recurrently insisted on the necessity of a site management scheme which would have management capacity exceeding the individual institutions and create an independent organisation in order to coordinate the actors within the processes.

In terms of knowledge use, the most significant point raised was the possible gentrification resulting from the Izmir History Project, whose projects do not

depend on social and economic analysis at the district level, as is obvious in the planning and governance processes. Put simply, knowledge of the historic city has not been properly gathered and used for the sake of proposing solutions for its problems. This also results in the loss of a significant part of the methodology of a conservation plan which be built upon a survey, results, and analysis of the historic city to understand its character and significance. It is revealed that the processes in the Izmir History Project have continued a process of strategic planning in which the existing regulatory tools have lost their connectivity due to alterations in the planning articles. There is also no effort to reclaim the planning approach, but the ongoing processes show how the new processes embrace single project implementations as an approach to management. However, as is examined in the literature framing, the new Historic Urban Landscape approach could have led to positive results when combined with already existing powerful regulation and conservation planning. The new tools brought forth by the HUL approach then have a role to stimulate more diverse and sophisticated research and surveys by activating more and more local actors under the leading role of the municipality. However, the results of Izmir History Project have proved that in the context where the regulatory and planning tools have not been strengthened, the processes can emerge instead as entrepreneurial urban governance. The only difference observed is that the new discourse of the Izmir History Project utilised the concepts of ‘creativity’, ‘design’, ‘experience’ and ‘inclusion’; however, these remained only another face of conventional entrepreneurial governance as it is drawn in Chapter 2.

# Chapter 7



## 7. Conclusions

This thesis has delved into two different periods of conservation which have shaped Izmir Historical City: i. the period in which the historic city has been overwhelmingly regulated by conservation plans from 2002, and ii. the period in which the Izmir History Project has engaged with the existing management modes of the historic city. In doing so, governance and planning processes have been scrutinised through a structural-functional model designed to evaluate the conservation planning system. The results of this investigation demonstrate that both periods have been influenced by a range of conservation planning dynamics, as explored in the international literature framed in Chapter 2, and to the country context through legislation and the subtle characteristics of Izmir Historic City.

This study has revealed that in general, the Izmir History Project has not integrated the ‘historic urban landscape’ concept into its planning instruments and implementation processes. However, with its expansion to include a wider range of actors in heritage making processes, its participatory meetings aiming to gather opinion from the public, and its strategy-oriented planning processes, it shares more features with the recommendations of the HUL Approach than any contemporary urban conservation approach in the historic cities of Turkey. In addition to the HUL approach illustrated in the literature, the project shares commonalities with the discussions in empowering communities in the heritage making process. This is also reflected in the project's aim to broaden definitions of heritage and bring in concepts as yet not considered in Izmir. It has intended to involve communities in a dialogue, in order to collect data on how people perceive heritage values, problems and possibilities in Izmir Historic City.

Investigation of the initial research question, how policies of conservation plans have developed and been experienced in the Izmir case, has shown that the aims, objectives, strategies and policies of the Conservation Plans have been affected by the changes in legislation and policies at the national level. At the beginning of the 2000s, Turkey adapted the policies of the Local Agenda 21, giving a more prominent role to local governments. The other main characteristics of this period included an increasing awareness of historic cities’ potential in terms of their contribution to national and local self-image and economic development. In this context, the main authority for the conservation plans became the local authority, the Konak Municipality. In the same vein as in other contexts in Turkey, the for General Regulatory (GRCP) and Conservation Plan for the 1<sup>st</sup> stage (CP1) were introduced as a ‘revitalisation project’, mainly aiming to enhance tourism and draw

economic benefit from the historic environment via re-uses of the existing historical tissue. Regarding the Izmir context, this approach was considered innovative at the time, in comparison to the former conservation plan which simply proposed demolitions in the physical fabric (Conservation Plan 1984). This approach of gaining economic benefits from re-uses of historic cities shares parallels with many restructurings of urban space at the international level in a globalised context, and is closely related to the concept of gentrification (Enlil, 2000).

The peak period in terms of positive developments in conservation was ushered in by the 2004 alterations to the conservation legislation. This is also reflected in the CP2/1. Put simply, the introduction of financial resources/grants from public institutions to local governments and the private owners of historical buildings presented a crucial advancement in terms of preserving the old town's past, leading to implementations such as street rehabilitations and re-uses. However, the momentum gained quickly slackened with the invocation of new legislation through the urban renewal act. The complexity of procedures for private owners and the local authority's gradual adaptation to the new process also impeded implementations. Furthermore, when the urban renewal act began to be activated in Izmir, the advancements which had been achieved since 2004 were mostly interrupted. The progress attained during this period demonstrates some parallels with the regional funds allocated from the region of Sicily to Palermo Historic Centre in the 1990s, which allowed many public projects to be realised and enabled many private owners to undertake efficient social conservation work. However, this progress did not endure long in Izmir Historical City in comparison to the Palermo example.

In general, it seems that the methodological instruments used to analyse conservation plans were not applied according to the well-known analysis methods such as morphological, townscape or character analysis methods. Although an attempt was made within the design briefs of CP1 and CP2/1 which resembled a typological analysis, it did not include the interiors, was conducted merely on the facades, and lacked a detailed typo-morphological analysis considering the main aspects as is exemplified in the conservation plans of Palermo. The lack of detailed analysis was one of the major factors affecting projects such as street rehabilitations, as is explained in Chapter 5. These were only applied to the renovations of the facades and street furniture and neglected the interiors. The analysis also neglected to search for authenticity in the settlements as revealed by the urban morphological analysis.

The other obstacle to development of efficient conservation plans stems from the gaps in the current Turkish legislative framework on urban conservation, which allow the management of an urban conservation and renewal area without the necessity of a conservation plan. These areas can be governed by the 'terms of uses and constructions' prepared temporarily by conservation councils. After an area is designated as an urban conservation area, it is necessary to prepare a conservation plan. However, the conservation councils can extend this time period if required and continue to use the 'terms of uses and constructions' for an extended period.

Considering the loss of the autonomous nature of the conservation councils under recent legislative changes, preparation of a conservation plan now depends on the whim of the authorities rather than being enforced by law.

Considering these legislative gaps in terms of conservation, planning and participation issues in urban management, the Izmir History Project has risen to the surface with the premise of achieving conservation through actors coordinated horizontally via participatory processes. However, this intention, as discussed in interviews, was far from being successfully coordinated in practice. The findings of this investigation complement those of earlier scholars such as the well-known Turkish Urban Sociologist, Mübeccel Kıray, who identified the issue more than 40 years ago in her book titled ‘Izmir: The City Which Cannot Organise’:

*‘Although all sectors share a common ideal for the conservation of Izmir Historical City, Kemeraltı, it is difficult to say that each sector had a consensus on those common objectives. Even if they individually have good intentions, the difficulty of putting together different points of view on the same ideals is our national characteristic, and this characteristic intrinsically fits the features of Izmir as a city’ (Kıray, 1972).*

It is also suggested in the GRCP report that every political actor has a distinct attitude to conservation, and that the defining effect of this conservation plan would depend on the shifting loyalties of actors towards the general aims and structure of the prepared plan. However, the most obvious finding to emerge from the interviews is that the IMM has again commenced a new phase of conservation which led to changes in the roles and power distribution of actors, and in the structure of the general aims of the conservation plans. This has also presented a barrier to effective coordination amongst the public institutions of the central and local authorities. Importantly, by not involving the foundations (waqfs) which control the majority of Kemeraltı’s historical buildings such as Khans and Mosques, the project does not opt to benefit from this specific model rooted in Anatolian culture. By taking the famous Iranian historic city, Yazd, as an example, Cinà et al. (2018) have suggested the foundations (waqfs) in these geographies should have more active role in conservation to contribute to a good governance model.

Overall, the results of this research support the idea that the Izmir History Project has become a sum of individual project ideas, mainly decided and organised by the IMM, with the absolute role of the current mayor and actors mostly from the private sector. In fact, the Izmir History Project appears to represent an element of the works by an entrepreneurial municipality which has been shaped by the influence of the Izmir Economic Development and Coordination Board (IEDCB), which is dominated by private sector actors from the business ecosystem of Izmir.

The relevance of the IEDCB is clearly supported by the current findings. As is indicated in the report and evaluated in the empirical chapters, a commission concerned urban values within the IEDCB led to the establishment of a public-private partnership, TARKEM, and the Society for Conservation and Development of the Izmir Values whose management board memberships share the same key names with the business environment, who have close connections with the mayor.

These findings have significant implications for the understanding of how this network of relations and its effects on practices within the city illustrate the features of entrepreneurial urbanism/heritage as it is framed in the literature.

The IEDCB and the Society for Conservation and Development have always been considered as civil society actors within the discourse of the reports and the interviews. Therefore, this study has raised important questions about the blurred definitions of civil society and the role and power of private actors within the public sector by expanding it to conservation and planning discussions. As has been discussed in the literature on political science, civil society and the market/private sector have often shared implicit intertwined meanings. These theoretical discussions have been also relevant to the conservation and planning literature in which civil society has often has vague and positive implications; as Wood (1990) eloquently discusses in her recent seminal paper ‘uses and abuses of civil society’, the evaluation of ‘plurality or multiplicity’ should recognise ‘historical realities, which does not deny the systemic unity of capitalism’. This issue has been also been recognised in the planning theory literature through discussions of the use of civil society in communicative planning theories (Goonewardena & Kipfer, 2005).

The contribution of this study has also been to confirm the usage of public-private partnerships to shift state-provided planning policies to private companies; as van der Hurk and Siemiatycki (2018) argue, the main motivation behind this kind of partnerships is the authorities' willingness to pass the financial risks of the projects on to private partners. However, this has stoked debate on whether PPPs have caused a fundamental shift in traditional architectural design and planning processes, which drew more on public benefit and direct relationships with the government. Nevertheless, the arrival of the big construction companies in the game as contractors has replaced these aims with the goal of completing a project in the quickest and most cost-efficient manner. In this way, they reconceptualise the value of urban provisions in terms of profit and speed.

Overall, this study strengthens the idea that the processes ushered in by the Izmir History Project have drifted far from those necessary to guarantee conservation, considering they have cut lose any elements of a holistic planning and policy approach, instead executing single projects on single parcels in a country burdened with legislative gaps in respect to conservation. This is obvious from the changes in conservation planning decisions on usage and urban morphology according to individual project decisions as is seen in the Project Synagogue's District. As is revealed in chapter 5, the planning changes contain amalgamations of existing parcels which imply changes in existing urban morphology. In addition to this, the newly proposed uses by are not completely compatible with the ideas collected in the participatory meetings.

One of the most significant aspects of this can be seen in the lack of detailed analysis and research behind the Izmir History Project. The analyses of the existing conservation plans have not been updated and all processes have lacked a specific analytic approach developed from existing conservation planning knowledge. As Jokhilehto (2010) has noted, the particularity of historic areas stems from their

‘intrinsic heterogeneity’. According to him, to report the heterogeneity and diverse values, a significant effort must be put into undertaking an intricately detailed survey of the physical and socio-economical aspects of the given historic area. Magrin (2015) also warned that in current practices of conservation, where a detailed survey is missing, ‘sometimes, and increasingly frequently, an invented tradition is proposed for these contemporary cities and societies that, in the absence of clear, debated knowledge and an awareness of urban issues, all too easily pursues unsuitable or inconsistent ideals, providing fertile ground for new forms of speculation’.

As is also revealed in the analysis and evaluation of the governance processes, the IMM’s endeavour to conduct participatory meetings has not been properly reflected in practice so far. The meetings were dominated by academics, experts and private sector actors including only a few representatives from the communities such as mukhtars. Therefore, the collected information on heritage mostly draws on the perception of the academics, experts and the private sector and not on the viewpoints of communities. The analysis and research is also far behind what has been suggested in the HUL Approach, such as understanding the historic urban landscape with all its layers and heritage through meanings attributed to it by communities. The thesis has provided a deeper insight into the participatory processes developed by the IMM, which it could be claimed have remained merely rhetoric and not emerged into practise. If the processes continue in this way, the activities in the historic city could be targeted to a certain group of people as depicted by Swyngedouw et al. (2002): “the outsider, the investor, developer, businesswoman or – man, or the money-packed tourist”. That this is a manifestation of entrepreneurial urban management is also evident from the rhetoric of the ‘creativity’ discourse which is liberally spread throughout the documents of Izmir History Project, echoing the discourse around the ongoing conservation in Palermo.

Therefore, the evidence from this study suggests that each actor within the process has perceived Izmir History Project as a project belonging to the IMM and to Prof. İlhan Tekeli as a consultant, inhibiting the development of ‘horizontal coordination’.

The contribution of this study has been to confirm that the conservation of historic centres should not be perceived as a flagship project of particular political figures or prestigious activities or in the interests of the private sector. In the discourse of the documents and interviews, the IHP has not employed the typical reckless implementation characteristic of the current central government. However, it has also utilised the gaps in the legislation and the lack of planning policies to bypass holistic planning policies and conduct individual prestige projects. As Pendlebury (2015) has noted, amongst the multiplied actors in urban governance processes, the field of conservation of historic environments seeks guarantees of whether conservation actions ‘occur within hard-won national framework of laws and policies’ or via ‘established modes of capital accumulation through land and property development’. Nevertheless, the results of this study indicate that

conservation is not guaranteed in the case of Izmir Historical City. There is also neither actively organised bottom-up communities nor proper autonomous systems controlling the implementations. In this way, what is occurring in the current governance and planning practices in Izmir fits the national cultural policy of the government defined as ‘centralised-decentralisation’(Aksoy & Şeyben, 2015). As a consequence, the processes have not represented ‘social municipality’/ ‘social planning’ or heritage for communities but is closer to a process driven by the intertwined relational network of the public and private sectors.

The present study has gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of the impact of changing patterns of governance and planning processes for historical cities. The most important limitation lies in the fact that the investigation could not examine the spatial implications of the planning periods due to the frame of the research work. Although the current study is based on a small sample of participants, the findings suggest that the interpretative research could provide new insights into planning and governance processes dominated by municipalities and the private sector. It suggests that conducting research on spatial change with different dynamics of conservation and participatory action research for community involvement would both be fruitful areas for further work. Further research should be undertaken to explore how different heritage possibilities could be brought into conservation planning to extend lists of the historical buildings while at the same time guaranteeing ‘hard-won’ policies and conservation planning successes.

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